PRESENTED BY
MRS. J.W. ROOSEVELT.
NOVEMBER, 1910.

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ANTIQUITIES OF MEXICO:

COMPRISING

FAC-SIMILES

OF

ANCIENT MEXICAN PAINTINGS AND HIEROGLYPHICS,

PRESERVED

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TOGETHER WITH

THE MONUMENTS OF NEW SPAIN,

By M. DUPAIX:

WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE

SCALES OF MEASUREMENT AND ACCOMPANYING DESCRIPTIONS.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED BY MANY VALUABLE

Inedited Manuscripts,

By LORD KINGSBOROUGH.

THE DRAWINGS, ON STONE, BY A. AGLIO.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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YEARS.														
1558	Rabbit	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
1559	Cane	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
1560	Flint	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
1561	House	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
1562	Rabbit	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
1563	Cane	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
1564	Flint	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
1565	House	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
1566	Rabbit	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
1567	Cane	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
1568	Flint	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
1569	House	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
1570	Rabbit	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6

YEARS														
1571	Cane	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
1572	Flint	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
1573	House	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
1574	Rabbit	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
1575	Cane	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
1576	Flint	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
1577	House	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
1578	Rabbit	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
1579	Cane	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
1580	Flint	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
1581	House	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
1582	Rabbit	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
1583	Cane	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6

YEARS.														
1584	Flint	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
1585	House	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
1586	Rabbit	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
1587	Cane	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
1588	Flint	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
1589	House	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
1600	Rabbit	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
1601	Cane	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
1602	Flint	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
1603	House	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
1604	Rabbit	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
1605	Cane	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
1606	Flint	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6

YEARS.														
1607	House	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
1608	Rabbit	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
1609	Cane	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
1610	Flint	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
1611	House	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
1612	Rabbit	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
1613	Cane	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
1614	Flint	8 8	2 2	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
1615	House	9 9	3 3	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
1616	Rabbit	10 10	4 4	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
1617	Cane	11 11	5 5	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
1618	Flint	12 12	6 6	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
1619	House	13 13	7 7	1 1	8 8	2 2	9 9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HIEROGLYPHICAL PAINTINGS OF THE COLLECTION OF MENDOZA.

THE History and Foundation of the Capital of Mexico here commences, which was founded and peopled by the Mexicans, who were at that time named *Meçitis;* the origin of whose empire, and the lives and actions of whose kings, are truly and briefly declared in this history, accordingly as they are successively signified by the paintings and hieroglyphics which follow.

In the year thirteen hundred and twenty-four after the advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Mexicans arrived at the site of the capital of Mexico; and as they found the place and situation agreeable, after having for many years wandered in their travels from country to country, in some of which they stopped for several years, having prosecuted their journey from distant parts, none of the situations in which they had made a temporary abode contenting them, they arrived at the site of Mexico, which was at that time a complete swamp, overgrown with thick rushes, which they call *tuli*, and tall flags resembling a thicket. The entire extent of this site was occupied by a clear stream of water in the shape of a cross, free from weeds and rushes, which cross resembled that of Saint Andrew, as the painting shows. Nearly at the bounds and centre of this space and cross, the Meçitis found a large stone * or rock, on which was a high tunal, to which an eagle with rich plumage was accustomed to resort to devour its prey, so that the ground was strewed round about with the bones of birds, and many feathers of different colours. Having passed through and explored the whole site, and found it fertile and abundant in game, fish, and fowl, and such productions as are peculiar to a marshy soil, with which they might be enabled to support themselves, and to turn their industry to account in their dealings with the neighbouring people, and further induced by the security which the water afforded, which their neighbours could not cut off, and from other motives and causes, they determined to extend their travels no further; and having so determined, they fortified themselves, substituting in the place of walls and bulwarks, the water and thick clumps of tulis and of flags. Having laid the foundation or commence-

* Instead of *honda, donde* should have been printed in the corresponding Spanish passage, and a comma should have been inserted after *peña;* and for *Candal,* which is there supposed to be the proper name of the eagle, the word *caudal* should be substituted.

ment of a settlement and population, they determined to bestow a name and appellation on the place, calling it *Tenuchtitlan*, because and on account of the tunal growing upon the stone*.

The Mexican army had ten persons as chiefs, whose names were Ocelpan, Quapan, Acacitli, Ahuexotl, Tenuch, Tecineuh, Xomimitl, Xocoyol, Xiuhcaqui, and Atototl, (as likewise is demonstrated by the painting,) who having made choice of a site, elected as their head and king Tenuch, in order that he might rule over them, as a person eminently fitted for that office, who united in himself talents and abilities qualifying him for command. The other chiefs became in a manner his lieutenants, and filled the post of captains over the mixed multitude. Some years having passed away in a course of settlement, and the population of the city increasing, the capital received likewise the name of Mexico, being named and called after the Mexicans, and was distinguished by the appellation of the place and habitation of the Mexicans; and as the number of the people had somewhat increased, they began like a brave and warlike nation to direct their attention to conquests over their neighbours; and accordingly they signalized their courage in arms, thereby reducing to a state of vassalage, and to the payment of tribute, two cities in the vicinity of Mexico, named Colhuacan and Tenayucan, (which is also proved by the painting,) which events occurred in the course of the reign of Tenuch, which lasted fifty-one years; at the expiration of which period he died.

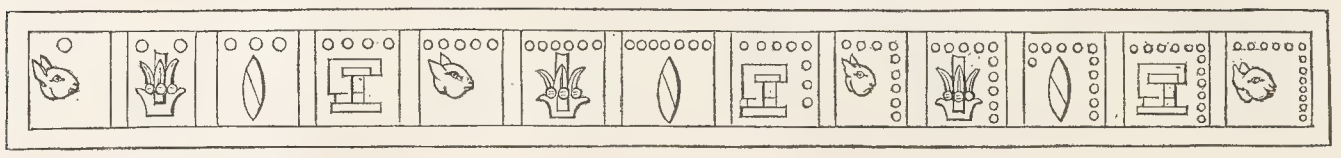
* This account appears to be compounded of truth and fiction. It is probable that when the Mexicans selected, for the sake of security, a swampy island in the Mexican Lake as the site of the capital of their future empire, the first thing they proceeded to do, was to make drains, as well for the purpose of rendering the ground more firm for the sake of building, as to guard against the noxious exhalations which, continually arising from so marshy a soil, would have proved very destructive to the lives of the new colonists; and that the main drains were cut in the shape of the cross represented in the plate. We learn from the letters of Cortes, that the city of Mexico itself was entirely intersected with drains and canals, and that while some of the streets were wholly water, others were half earth and half water, a line of road for foot-passengers running parallel to the half which served as a passage for boats and canoes. The Spanish brigantines during the last days of the siege of Mexico, sailed into the city by the larger canals, and greatly contributed to its destruction. Peter Martyr compares it to Venice, and says in his fifth Decade, that he had seen a map of it which was done by the natives: "After that we saw another great map, a little lesse, but not lesse alluring to our mindes, which contained the city of Tenustitan itself, described by the same hand, of the inhabitants, with her temples, bridges, and lakes." The cross of Saint Andrew was likewise a sacred symbol among the Indians. Gomara, describing the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Cumana, says: "Entre los muchos idolos y figuras que adoran por dioses, tienen una aspa como la de Sant Andres, y un signo, como de escrivano, quadradò, cerrado y atravesado en cruz, de esquina a esquina, y muchos frailes y otros Españoles dezian ser cruz, y que con el se defendian de las fantasmas de noche, y lò ponian a los niños en nacièndo." "Amongst the many idols and figures which they worship as gods, they have a cross like that of Saint Andrew, and a sign, done as it were by a penman, square, enclosed, and with a cross diagonally passing through it, which many monks and other Spaniards have pronounced to be a cross, and with it they defend themselves from nightly spectres, and place it over children shortly after their birth." In the edition of Peter Martyr's work, published in Paris, by Hakluyt, and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, a wood engraving, as well as a description of the same kind of cross, occurs. The engraving exactly resembles the cross in which the Mexicans founded their city, and the description is similar to that given by Gomara, which in the English translation of the Decades is as follows. "They knew them (the Chiribians, or Chiribichenses, which name differs from that of Chibirias, the mother of Bacab,) honour the crosse, although lying somewhat oblique, and in another place compassed about with lynes, they putt it upon such as are newe borne, supposing the divels flie from that instrument. If any fearefull apparition bee seene at any time by night, they set up the crosse, and say that the place is cleansed by that remedy; and being demanded whence they learned this, and *the speeches which they understande not*, they answere that those rites and customes came by tradition from the elders to the younger." Gomara says, that in Yucatan a cross of copper, or of wood, was placed over the graves of the dead. "Allì se hallaron cruzes de laton y palo sobre muertos. De donde arguyen algunos, que muchos Españoles se fueron á esta tierra, quando la destrucion de España hecha por los Moros, en tiempo del Rey Don Rodrigo. Mas no lo creo, pues no las ay en las islas." —*La Istoria de las Indias*, fo. xxvii. "They found there crosses of copper and of wood over the dead. Whence some conclude that many Spaniards fled to that country at the period of the destruction of Spain by the Moors, in the time of the King Don Roderic: but I do not credit this, because there are no crosses in the islands." Gomara mentions here the discovery of crosses in Yucatan, as

The blue outlines in the margins of this history signify a year, and point out the number of years, and the length of the lives of the kings of Mexico. For the more perfect and clear understanding of the paintings and their mode of reckoning, and the names of the years, it must be observed that they reckoned by the points contained in each square, counting from the first point as far as thirteen points. Although different figures occupy the squares and enclosures, nevertheless the number of the points is the chief thing to be attended to; for as to the names which they assigned and allotted to their years, beginning from the first point and reckoning as far as thirteen points, they are not of much importance as considered in connection with each square and enclosure. For the better understanding of what has been said, we here separately insert the signs and proof of the names, together with their interpretations, for the information of the reader. Wherever in the order and succession of the squares and enclosures reckoned as years, a square occurs with a branch and stem resembling a flower accompanying it, it signifies an unfortunate and calamitous year; which the Mexicans believed and feared, affirming that their ancestors from time immemorial had admonished them, that such years as succeeded each other after every interval of fifty-two years, would be dangerous, unlucky, and calamitous, on account of the universal deluge having taken place in such a year, and likewise darkness caused by an eclipse of the sun, and earthquakes generally every where *. They accordingly performed many sacrifices and cere-

a fact of which there could be no doubt, and which had engaged the attention of well-informed Spaniards; but Herrera, who pronounces so severe a censure on the Indian monarchy of Torquemada, and declares Sahagun to be a writer of no authority, and is further determined that no crosses should be found in America, disbelieves Gomara on the grounds of Yucatan not possessing mines; although, unfortunately for his own credit as an historian, M. Dupaix discovered a copper medal in the city of Ciudad Real, which is on the frontiers of Tabasco, and the peninsula of Yucatan; a representation of which will be found in the eighth plate of the third part of his *Monuments of New Spain*, No. 12. In another part of America, the Spaniards were disappointed by finding that a golden cross, in search of which they had proceeded nine hundred miles to the north of Mexico, as far as Quivira, was merely a jewel of copper. Gomara thus relates the motives and the result of the expedition: "Desde allì fue Don Garçilopez de Cardenas con su compañia de cavallos a la mar, y Francisco Vazquez con los demas, a Tiguex, que està ribera de un gran rio. Allì tuvieron nueva de Axa y Quivira. Donde decian que estava un rey, dicho por nombre Tatarrax, barbudo, cano, y rico, que ceñia un bracamarte, que rezava en horas, que adorava uña cruz de oro, y una ymagen de muger señora del cièlo." "Don Garçilopez de Cardenas went from thence with his troop of horse to the sea, and Francisco Vazquez with those who remained behind, to Tiguex, which is on the banks of a great river: there they received intelligence of Axa and Quivira, where they said there was a king of the name of Tatarrax, bearded, gray-headed, and rich, who was girded with a bracamarte, who prayed at regular hours, who adored a cross of gold, and the image of a woman who was queen of heaven."—After recounting the many hardships which they suffered in the journey, he proceeds to add: "Huvo hartas lagrimas, flaqueza, y votos. Llegaron en fin a Quivira, y hallaron al Tatarrax, que buscavan, hombre ya cano, desnudo, y con una joya de cobre al cuello, que era toda su riqueza. Vista por los Españoles la burla de tan famosa riqueza, se volvieron a Tiguex, sin ver cruz ni rastro de Christiandad, e de allì a Mexico en fin de Março del año de quarenta y dos." "Tears, fainting, and vows were abundant. They arrived at last at Quivira, and found Tatarrax, whom they sought, a naked, gray-headed old man, with a copper jewel hanging at his neck, which was his only wealth. The Spaniards, perceiving the joke of these so much boasted riches, returned to Tiguex without seeing cross or trace of Christianity, and from thence to Mexico, towards the end of March of the year forty-two." In further corroboration of the accounts given by Peter Martyr and Gomara of crosses discovered in America, the testimony of Garcia may be adduced, who, having been himself many years in Peru, is not likely to have been deceived respecting the one in Cuzco: "En Yucatan se hallaron muchas cruces, i en el Cuzco una mui notable."—*Origen de los Indios*, pag. 243.

* Christians might have feared the return of every period of fifty-two years, as being nearly the anniversary of the age which Christ had attained when he was crucified, and of the great eclipse which sacred history records, and which (since profane history is silent respecting it,) it is very remarkable how the Mexicans should have become acquainted with. Boturini says that this eclipse was noted down in the historical paintings of the Tultecas, as having happened in the sign of Seven Rabbits: "En el (año) de Siete Conejos nos acuerda el grande eclypse, que aconteció en la muerte de Christo, nuestro Señor."—*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, page 6. The sign of Seven Rabbits may allude to the year, and the sign of Nahui Ollin, (or Four Earthquakes,) may have been the day in which this famous eclipse occurred.

monies to their gods on such years, devoting themselves to the celebration of religious rites, and abstained from the commission of any sin until the proper day and hour of such a year had arrived; on which day all generally extinguished their lights and fires till the day had passed by, which being over, they lit new fire, which was brought from a mountain and kindled by a priest *.



* Torquemada, after describing in the thirty-third chapter of the tenth book of his *Indian Monarchy* the curious manner in which the priest kindled the fire with the two little pieces of wood, called Tletlaxoni, in the wound itself in the breast of the prisoner, concludes by remarking, "Asi como en el pueblo de Israel celebraban el año del Jubileo, que era el de cinquenta, en el qual se redimian las possessiones y heredades, y se libertaban los cautivos, y la tenian por la major de sus fiestas, como lo dice el Tostado; asi estos Indios tenian esta por la major, porque en ella pensaban que redimian vida para mas tiempo, aunque se engañaban, pues dios es el que lo da, y lo quita; y no sabemos, como dice Christo, el que el Padre celestial tiene determinado, por estar reservado a su solo poder; pero como ciegos estos hombres creian estas locuras, con todas las demas que en estos libros van escritas, y otras sin cuenta que callo." "As the Israelites celebrated the year of Jubilee, which was the fiftieth, in which they redeemed possessions and inheritances, and freed captives, and which they considered the greatest of their festivals, as Tostado observes; so the Indians reckoned this (the festival of Teoxihuitl, or the year of God,) as their greatest: for they thought when it arrived, that their lives were redeemed for a longer space of time; although they deceived themselves, since it is God who bestows and takes away life; and we are ignorant, as Christ declares, of what may have been determined by the Heavenly Father, since he has reserved that to himself; but these men, being blind, believed in these absurdities, with all the rest which are mentioned in these books, with innumerable others, respecting which I am silent." It would appear from some expressions of Boturini, that a redemption of certain descriptions of property took place in the year of Two Canes, or of the Mexican Jubilee; whilst other kinds, such as garments and vessels of earthenware, were wholly destroyed. The Mexicans expected also the end of the world at the expiration of each of these short cycles, and were, in fact, in continual expectation of that event; resembling in this anticipation some of the early Christians and disciples, who misinterpreting the texts of Scripture, and the words of Christ, believed that that event was momentarily at hand. The expression of "in these latter days," occurring in Scripture, deceived some of the more ancient fathers, who did not believe that the course of the world had still to continue, at least for a period of time, as long as from the age of Noah to the birth of Christ, who having informed his disciples that his second coming would be like that of a thief in the night, induced thereby some of them to suppose that John, the favourite disciple, would tarry till he came; perhaps they might have even thought that the day of judgment would speedily follow the crucifixion. It may be observed, in passing, that in the fifty-second year after the death of Christ, a pretended Messiah, to whom the credulity of his countrymen, in consequence of some successes which he obtained over the Romans, had given the title of "Bar Chocoba," (the Son of the Star,) arose, who proved afterwards no blessing to the House of Israel. In later times Mahomet appeared in that character, and appealed to his astonishing victories as a proof of his divine mission; but the Jews rejecting him, are condemned in the Koran for their disbelief. It is to be regretted that the early Spanish historians should have professed great reserve in treating of some superstitious notions and traditions of the Mexicans.

Gomara, speaking of a king named Topilcin, whom they believed to have been changed into Venus, or the morning star, evidently suppresses much curious information which he could have given, as he himself admits; "Al luzero que tienen por la mejor estrella, matavan un esclavo del rei el dia que primero se les demostrava, y descubren lo en Otono, y veenle dozientos y sesenta dias. Atribuyen le los hados, y assi agueran por unos signos que pintan para cada dia de aquellos dozientos y sesenta. Creen que Topilcin su rei primero se convertio en aquella estrella. Otras cosas y poesias razonan sobre este planeta. Mas porque para la istoria bastan las dichas, no las cuento." "They sacrificed to Venus, which they considered the most excellent of the stars, a royal slave on the day in which this star first appeared to them, when they perceived it in the autumn. It continued visible for two hundred and sixty days. They believed that it was influential over destinies, and accordingly they practised divination by signs, which they painted and allotted to these two hundred and sixty days. They imagine that Topilcin, their first king, was changed into this star. They indulge in other speculations and fancies about this planet; but since history may be content with what is already written, I do not mention them." It would even appear from the accounts given by Peter Martyr and Gomara, (for both these authors record the *viva voce* evidence given by friar Thomas Ortizius before the council of the Indies), that that friar, speaking in the name of Pedro de Cordova and of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and recommending the slavery of the Indians, insinuates that he omits some charges which might have

Ce Tuchtli, Ome*, Acatl, Yey Tecpatl, Nahui Cali, Macuili Tuchtli, Chiquincen † Acatl, Chicome Tecpatl, Chicnahui Cali, Matlactli Tuchtli, X oce Acatl, X omome Tecpatl, X omey Cali, X onahui Tuchtli; One Rabbit, Two Canes, Three Flints, Four Houses, Five Rabbits, Six Canes, Seven Flints, Eight Houses, Nine Rabbits, Ten Canes, Eleven Flints, Twelve Houses, Thirteen Rabbits.

The names which they assign to the years, which are signified by each square, are written above them in red ink, and the interpretation of these names are written below each square. Where an X is marked in red ink, which means ten, they reckon *matlactli*.

PLATE I‡.

1. Acacitli. 2. Quapa. 3. Ocelopa. 4. Aquexotl. 5. Tecineuh. 6. Tenuch. 7. Xomimitl. 8. Xocoyol. 9. Xiuhcaq. 10. Atototl. 11. Colhuacan. 12. Tenayucan. 13. Tenochtitlan.

PLATE II.

1. Acamapich. 2. By this shield and arrows are signified weapons of war. 3. Quauhnahuac. 4. Acamapich. 5. Mizquic. 6. Cuitlhuac. 7. Xochimilco.

The four cities represented and named in this plate, are those which ACAMAPICH conquered by force of arms during the time that he was king of Mexico.

The four heads painted and inserted in the above plate denote those who were taken prisoners in the wars with the four cities, whom they beheaded.

been brought against them; but what charge but one seems wanting to the long catalogue of accusation?—that of Judaism. And even if the Indians had been discovered to be all Jews, they could not have been more hardly dealt with by the Spaniards: for Gomara says, "Fray Garcia de Loaysa dio grandissimo credito a fray Thomas Hortiz y a los otros frayles de su orden. Por lo qual el Emperador con acuerdo del consejo de Indias, declaro que fuessen esclavos estando en Madrid el año de veniticinco." This condemnation applied to the Indians of the continent of America generally; for the Caribean islanders had been condemned to slavery twenty years before. It would not be just towards the two religious orders, or at the least to the Dominicans, not to add that they afterwards disapproved of the slavery of the Indians, and condemned it from the pulpits. Las Casas's persuasion that the Indians were descended from the Jews, is elsewhere mentioned; but as the words "Loquela tua manifestum te facit" were discovered with some other reasons tending towards the same conclusion by Torquemada in some private papers containing the will of Las Casas, at the same time that great weight must be attached to so solemnly recorded an opinion, it cannot be said that that learned prelate was guilty *of any indiscretion* in promulgating it: but the contrary is proved, by the proviso which he made respecting the publication of his History,—that it should not be printed till fifty years after his death; and then only if it appeared good to the superior of his order, and for the benefit of religion; but that in the intermediate time no layman or young ecclesiastic was to be permitted to read it. This work has never been published; and Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete says, that when it was referred some years ago to the Academy of History at Madrid, to take their decision respecting its publication, they did not think it convenient.

* *Come* occurs in the Spanish text; a dash of the pen having been mistaken for the letter C.

† Torquemada designates the number six, Chiquacen; and Chicuey, eight, being here omitted, and Chicnahui, nine, substituted for it, the remaining names properly belong to the numbers immediately preceding each of those to which they are assigned.

‡ These references are to the plates in the first volume, where the persons and cities numbered are represented by their proper symbols.

In 1370 Acamapichtli succeeded to the said kingdom and government; and in the course of his reign he gained and conquered by force of arms the cities contained and named in the paintings, which were Quauhnahuac, Mizquic, Cuitlahuac and Xochimilco, which became tributary to him, acknowledging themselves as vassals. Acamapichtli during his entire reign was disposed to keep many wives, the daughters of all the principal Mexican lords, by whom he had many sons, who were the founders of the future greatness of many families of Caciques, and chieftains of martial reputation; by whose means the capital of Mexico received great augmentation and increase of power, as is successively shown in the course of this History by the paintings, with their explanations.

The two figures, with the title and name of Acamapichtli accompanying them, are in reality the same; for the first figure points out the beginning of his reign, and his accession to the said dignity; and the second denotes the year after he had succeeded to the said dignity, when he undertook the conquest and subjugation of the said four cities*. The said reign lasted twenty-one years; at the expiration of which period the said Acamapichtli died, and departed this present life, whose decease occurred in the year 1396.

PLATE III.

1. Toltitlan. 2. Quauhtitlan. 3. Chalco. 4. Huicilyhuitl. 5. This representation of a shield and arrows signifies the conquest of the cities painted and named in the margin of the plate. 6. Tulancinco. 7. Xaltocan. 8. Otumpa. 9. The capital city of Tezcuco. 10. Acolma. The number of years xxi.

In 1396 Huicilyhuitl, the son of Acamapich, succeeded to the said government, who in the course of his reign conquered and gained by force of arms eight cities, which are those contained in the preceding paintings, the names of which said cities are therein specified, which became tributary to the state of Mexico, acknowledging themselves as vassals. The said Huicilyhuitl was of a warlike disposition, and inclined to keep many wives, by whom he had many sons, who increased the resources of the Mexican State. The reign and life of the said Huicilyhuitl lasted twenty-one years; at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life, according to the computation of the figures contained within the blue compartments.

PLATE IV.

1. Tequixquiac. 2. Chimalpupuca. 3. This painting of a shield and arrows signifies wars. 4. Chalco. 5. Chimalpupuca dead. 6. These heads signify five Mexicans who were put to death

* The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuatl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a monarchy, this office was retained, and the person who occupied it filled a post like that of Grand Vizier in the East. Torquemada says, that by the Mexican laws it was equally treasonable to conspire against the life of the King or of the Cihuacohuatl. The symbol over the head of the first figure of Acamapichtli exactly corresponds with the signification of this Mexican appellation.

by the Chalchese. 7. A Canoe. 7. A Canoe. 7. A Canoe. 7. A Canoe. 8. This figure personifies the people of the city of Chalco, who rebelled against the Mexicans, and injured them by breaking four of their canoes, which is symbolically signified by the stone grasped in its hands; and five persons are further represented, whom they killed in the said rebellion. 9. X years.

In 1417, by the decease and death of HUICILYHUITL, CHIMALPUPUCA succeeded to the said government. The said CHIMALPUPUCA was the son of the said HUICILYHUITL; and in the course of his said reign, he conquered by force of arms the city of Tequixquiac, and Chalco, which is a large city; which acknowledging themselves as vassals, paid tribute to the state of Mexico, as is demonstrated in the preceding paintings: the said cities in this manner remaining subject to him, in the course of a few years the said city of Chalco, being powerful, rebelled against the Mexicans, from which rebellion there resulted loss to the Mexicans, five persons being killed, and four canoes destroyed, as is signified in the preceding paintings, with their explanations. The course of the life and reign of the said CHIMALPUPUCA lasted ten years; at the end of which period he died, according to the computation of the blue compartments painted in the margin. CHIMALPUPUCA also had in his life many wives and sons, for that was considered a point of state.

PLATE V.

1. Azcapuzala. 2. Coyuacan. 3. Teocalhueyan. 4. YZCOACI. 5. This shield and arrows signify the instruments of war by which the cities contained and named under their proper symbols in these plates were conquered. 6. Quaguacan. 7. Tlacopan. 8. Atlacinhuayan. 9. Mixcoac. 10. Quauximal. 11. Quauhtitlan. 12. Tecpan. 13. Acolhuacan. The number of years XIII.

PLATE VI.

1. Mizquic. 2. Cuitlahuac. 3. Xodjimilco. 4. Chalco. 5. QUAUHTLATOA dies in Tlatilulco. 6. Tlatilulco. 7. Huizizilapa. 8. Quauhnahuac. 9. Cuezalan. 10. Zaqualpa. 11. Yztepec. 12. Xiuhtepec. 13. Yoalan. 14. Tepequacinla.

In 1427, by the decease and death of the said CHIMALPUPUCA, YZCOACI, the son of ACAMAPIH, who had been king of Mexico, succeeded to the government, who during his said reign gained and conquered by force of arms twenty-four cities, which are those represented in the preceding plates; which cities he subjected in a single invasion under the dominion of Mexico. As the said YZCOACI was brave and valiant in arms, and in many respects a man of sound judgment and resolution, he subjugated the said cities, which became tributary to him, acknowledging themselves his vassals. The said YZCOACI had many wives, by whom he had seven sons and daughters. He continued in possession of the said government thirteen years, at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

PLATE VII.

1. Atonal, Coayxtlahuacan. 2. Mamalhuaztepec. 3. Tenanco. 4. Huehuemoteccuma. 5. Weapons of War. 6. Teteuhtepec. 7. Chiconquiauhco. 8. Xiuhtepec. 9. Totolapa. 10. Chalco. 11. Quauhnahuac. 12. Atlatlauhca. 13. Huaxtepec.

PLATE VIII.

1. Yauhtepec. 2. Tepuztlan. 3. Tepatzinco. 4. Yacapichtlan. 5. Yoaltepec. 6. Tlachco. 7. Tlalcozauhtitla. 8. Tepecuacinla. 9. Quiyauhteopan. 10. Chontalcoatlan. 11. Hueypuchtla. 12. Atotonilco. 13. Axocopan. 14. Tulan. 15. Xilotepec. 16. Yzcuincuitlapilco. 17. Atotomilco. 18. Tlapacoyom. 19. Chapolycxitla. 20. Tlatlauhquitepec. 21. Cuetlaxtlan. 22. Quauhtochco.

In 1440, by the decease and death of Yzcoaci, Huehuemoteccuma, the son of Huicilyhuitl, who was king of Mexico, succeeded to the said government; and during his reign he conquered and gained by force of arms thirty-three cities, as they are represented in the preceding plates, and painted in a circle round the figure of the said Huehuemoteccuma; and having subjected them to the state of Mexico, they paid him tribute, acknowledging themselves his vassals. Huehuemoteccuma was a very grave and generous prince, who applied himself to the practice of virtue. He was endowed with excellent abilities and judgment, and an enemy to corrupt morals; he introduced, of his own free will, order and laws into the state, and his subjects placed their entire confidence in him. He imposed severe punishments, which he commanded to be executed without any mitigation, on those who violated the laws; he was not however cruel, but on the contrary, kind, anxious for the public good, and the father of his people. He was not intemperately addicted to women; he had two sons. He was exceedingly temperate in drinking; so that never in the course of his life was he seen in a state of intoxication, whilst the native Indians are in general extremely inclined to drunkenness; on the contrary, he commanded that those who so transgressed should be punished; and from his generosity, and the good example which he displayed in his life, he was feared and respected by his subjects during the whole course of his reign, which lasted twenty-nine years, at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

PLATE IX.

1. Tlatilula. 2. Moquihuix, the lord of Tlatilula. 3. Atlapula. 4. Xalatlan. 5. Axayacaci. 6. Weapons of war. 7. Tlacotepec. 8. Metepec. 9. Capuluac. 10. Ocoyacac. 11. Quauhpanoayan. 12. Xochiachan. 13. Teotenanco. 14. Caliymaya. 15. Cinacantepec. The number of years xii.

PLATE X.

1. Tulucan. 2. Xiquipilco. 3. Tenanzinco. 4. Tepeyaca. 5. Tlaximaloyan. 6. Oztoma. 7. Xocotitlan. 8. Ocuilan. 9. Oztoticpac. 10. Matlatlan. 11. Cuezcomatlyyacac. 12. Tecalco. 13. Cuetlaxtlam. 14. Puxcauhtlam. 15. Ahuilizapan. 16. Tlaolan. 17. Mixtlan. 18. Cueçaloztoc. 19. Tetzapotitlan. 20. Miquiyetlan. 21. Tamuoc. 22. Tanpatel. 23. Tuchpan. 24. Tenexticpac. 25. Quauhtlan.

In 1469, by the decease and death of HUEHUEMOTECCUMA, AXAYACACI succeeded to the government, who was the son of TECOCOMOCTLI, and the grandson of YZCOATZI, who had been king of Mexico; and whilst the said AXAYACACI was king, he conquered and gained by force of arms thirty-seven cities, according to their successive names and representations, in which number is included the city of Tlatilula, which he reduced under his dominion by force of arms; an event of great importance. The lord of Tlatilula at that time was MOQUIHUIX, a powerful personage, possessed of great abilities, who being naturally of a haughty disposition, afforded to the king of Mexico a pretext and occasion for wars and dissensions, although they had formerly been friends; whence ensued great battles and engagements between them, in which the said MOQUIHUIX of Tlatilula died, precipitating himself from the top of a high temple: for seeing himself worsted in a combat, and returning from a defeat, he went into a temple to save himself from being taken prisoner, when a priest who was in the temple upbraiding him, and reproaching him for so doing aloud, he precipitated himself to the ground in the manner which has been mentioned; on which occasion the Mexicans proved victorious, and the city of Tlatilula from that time until the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, was subject to the king of Mexico, paying him tribute, and acknowledging vassalage.

AXAYACATZI was very valiant and brave in war, and was intemperately addicted to women; whence the number of his wives and sons was considerable. He was proud and impetuous, which caused him to be extremely feared by all his subjects. He maintained and approved as good, the laws and ordinances which his ancestor HUEHUEMOTECCUMA had enacted, as has been declared in his history, and his reign lasted twelve years, at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

PLATE XI.

1. Tonaliymoqueçayom. 2. Toxico. 3. Ecatepec. 4. Çilom. 5. Tecaxic. 6. Tuluca. 7. TIÇOÇICATZI. 8. This shield and arrows signify the instruments with which the cities contained in the margin of this plate were conquered. 9. Yamanitlam. 10. Tlapan. 11. Atezcahuacan. 12. Maçatlam. 13. Xochiyetla. 14. Tamapacha. 15. Ecatlyguapecha. 16. Miquetlam.

In 1482, by the decease and death of AXAYACACI, TIÇOÇICATZI, the son of the said AXAYACACI, succeeded to the said government, who in the course of his reign conquered and gained by force of arms fourteen cities, accordingly as they are successively painted and named.

The said Tiçoçicatzi was also extremely brave and warlike; and before he succeeded to the said government, he achieved in war, in his own person, signal deeds of valour, whence he obtained the dignity of Tlacatecatl, which was esteemed a title of great honour and state, and was the point from which, when the throne became vacant, a successor was immediately elevated to the regal dignity, which career of titles and honours his predecessors, his brothers hereafter named, and father and grandfather, pursuing, became at length kings of Mexico.

The said Tiçoçicatzi had likewise, as a mark of authority and state attaching to the said dignity, many wives, and sons born of them. He was a man of a grave character, and severe in exercising command, and in causing himself to be feared and respected by his subjects; he was also disposed and inclined to good and virtuous actions, and zealous for the interests of the state. He caused to be observed and approved as good, the laws and statutes which his predecessors had augmented and kept from the time of Huehuemoteccuma, and was vigilant in punishing and chastising the crimes and misdemeanors of his subjects, whereby the state of Mexico was well governed and administered during his life-time. The course of his reign lasted five years, at the end of which he died, and departed this present life.

PLATE XII.

1. Tziccoac. 2. Tlappan. 3. Molanco. 4. Amaxtlan. 5. Çapotlan. 6. Xaltepec. 7. Chiapan. 8. Tototepec. 9. Ahuiçoçin. 10. Weapons of war. 11. Xochtlan. 12. Xolochiuhyom. 13. Cozcaquauhtenanco. 14. Coçohuipilecan. 15. Coyuca. 16. Acatepec. 17. Huexolotlan. 18. Acapulco. 19. Xiuhhuacan. 20. Apancalecan. 21. Tecpatepec. 22. Tepechiapa. 23. Xicochimalco. 24. Xiuhtecçacatlan.

PLATE XIII.

1. Tecuantepec. 2. Coyolapan. 3. Yztactlealocan. 4. Teocuitlatla *. 5. Huehuetlan. 6. Quauhxayacatitla *. 7. Yzhuatlan. 8. Comitlan. 9. Nantzintlan. 10. Huipilan. 11. Cahualan. 12. Yztatlan. 13. Huiztlan. 14. Xolotlan. 15. Quauhnacaztlan. 16. Maçatlan. 17. Ayauhtochcintlatla. 18. Quauhtlan. 19. Cueçalcintlapila. 20. Mapachtepec. 21. Quauhpilola. 22. Tlacotepec. 23. Mizquitlan.

In 1486, by the decease and death of Tiçoçicatzi, Ahuiçoçin the brother of his predecessor Tiçoçicatzi succeeded to the said government; who in the course of his reign conquered and gained by force of arms forty-five cities, accordingly as they are successively painted and named. The said Ahuiçoçin resembled in valour and martial prowess his brother and predecessor Tiçoçicatzi, whence he obtained the title of Tlacatecatl, which signifies great captain, which said title was the next step to the throne.

* Many of the Mexican names of places terminated in *an*, and not as they are generally written in *a*; the final letter *n* being frequently expressed by a cross above the letter *a* in ancient MSS., and this has not always been here attended to.

The said AHUIÇOÇIN was also naturally of a good disposition, and inclined to the practice of every virtue: the state was accordingly during his whole life and reign well governed and administered. He observed, and caused to be observed, the laws and statutes which his ancestors had maintained and kept from the time of HUEHUEMOTECCUMA; and since the Mexican monarchy had received great accessions, and possessed the larger part of New Spain subject to it, acknowledging vassalage; the said state, from the many and costly tributes which they paid to it, arrived at great splendour: and like a powerful and generous prince, he indulged his subjects with magnificent entertainments, and was of a sweet and benignant disposition; whence his vassals and chiefs loved him extremely, and entertained feelings of great reverence towards him. He likewise had many wives and sons, as a thing annexed to the said dignity, and a point of great state. He was of a gay temper, whence his subjects continually diverted him during his life-time with all kinds of festivals, and vocal and instrumental music by day as well as by night; so that in his palace the voices of singers and musicians, and the sounds of many musical instruments, never ceased. The course of his life* lasted eighteen years; at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

PLATE XIV.

1. Achiotlan. 2. Çoçolan. 3. Nochiztlan. 4. Tecutepec. 5. Çulan. 6. Tlaniztlan. 7. Huilotepec. 8. MOTEÇÇUMA. 9. Weapons of war. 10. Ycpatepec. 11. Yztactlalocan. 12. Chihihualtatacala. 13. Tecaxic. 14. Tlachinoltic. 15. Xoconochco. 16. Çinacantlan. 17. Huiztlan. 18. Piaztlan. 19. The decease and death of MOTEÇÇUMA. Pacification and conquest of New Spain. Number of years XVIII.

PLATE XV.

1. Molanco. 2. Caquantepec. 3. Pipiyoltepec. 4. Hueyapan. 5. Tecpatlan. 6. Amatlan. 7. Caltepec. 8. Pantepec. 9. Teoacinco. 10. Tecoçauhtla. 11. Teochiapan. 12. Çacatepec. 13. Tlachquiyauhco. 14. Malinaltepec. 15. Quimichtepec. 16. Yzcuintepec. 17. Çençontepec. 18. Quetzaltepec. 19. Cuezcomayxtlahuacan. 20. Huexolotlan.

PLATE XVI.

1. Xalapan. 2. Xaltianquizco. 3. Yoloxpuecuila. 4. Atepec. 5. Mictlan. 6. Yztitlan. 7. Tliltepec. 8. Comaltepec.

* "Life" is obviously a mistake for "reign." But the text of the original has in this, as in every other passage, been literally adhered to in the translation.

PLATE XVII.

1. Çitlaltepec. 2. Quauhtochco. 3. Mixcoatl-Tlacatectli, a Governor*. 4. Tzonpanco. 5. Xaltocan. 6. Tlacatectli, a Governor. 7. Tlacochtectli, a Governor. 8. Huaca. 9. Yzteyocan. 10. Acalhuacan. 11. Coatitlan. 12. Huixachtitlan. 13. Tlacatectli, a Governor. 14. Tlacochtectli, a Governor. 15. Çoçolan. 16. Poctepec. 17. Coatlayauhcan 18. Acolnahuac. 19. Puputlan. 20. Yztacalco. 21. Chalcoatenco.

PLATE XVIII.

1. Tlacochtectli, a Governor. 2. Tlacatecatl, a Governor. 3. Oztoma. 4. Tlacatectli, a Governor. 5. Tlacochtectli, a Governor. 6. Atzacan. 7. Tlacochtectli, a Governor. 8. Atlan. 9. Omequhtezcacoacatl, a Governor. 10. Tlilancalqui, a Governor. 11. Xoconochco. 12. Tecapotitlan.

In 1502, on the death of Ahuiçoçin, Moteççuma succeeded to the said government; who at his accession found the state of Mexico already advanced to great majesty and authority; and having been himself promoted to the said dignity on account of his great gravity and severity of character, he augmented exceedingly the state and dominions of Mexico, in a much greater degree than any of his predecessors.

Moteççuma was the son of Axayacaçin, who was king of Mexico; and before he succeeded to the said government, he acquired a reputation for valour and military enterprise, whence he obtained the title of Tlacatectli, and so succeeded to the said government, as has been already declared; and becoming possessed of the said sovereign rule, he increased as much as possible the Mexican empire, ruling over all the cities of New Spain, which gave and paid him great and costly tributes. He was extremely feared by all his subjects, and likewise by his chiefs and nobles, so that none when they transacted business with him, ventured, on account of the great fear and reverence in which they held him, to look him in the face, but kept their eyes cast down to the earth, and their heads bent and inclined to the ground, with many other extreme forms of respect, observances and ceremonies, with which they did him homage, on account of the great majesty which he displayed before them, of which a description is here omitted, to avoid prolixity.

After Moteççuma had succeeded to the said government, he conquered forty-four cities, (accordingly as they are represented and named in the paintings that follow,) and subjected them beneath his rule

* It does not appear that the cities represented in the other plates had special governors deputed from Mexico to govern them as viceroys. The extent of the Mexican empire was twelve hundred miles, from one extremity to the other; and it is likely that the government of the frontier provinces would only have been confided to persons in whom the sovereign could place the greatest dependence; and therefore that the office of viceroy in these places would be one of higher dignity and confidence.

and empire; which, as an acknowledgment of vassalage, paid him during the whole course of his life great and rich tributes (as may be seen in the paintings with their explanations which follow)

Motecçcuma was by nature wise, an astrologer* and philosopher, and skilled and generally versed in all the arts, both in those of a military, as well as others of a civil nature, and from his extreme

* Scripture frequently mentions the wise men and astrologers whom the kings of Babylon consulted in doubtful emergencies, and sent for to interpret dreams of ominous import: and it is particularly recorded of Joseph and Daniel, who were Jews, that their interpretation of dreams surpassed those of the wise men of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. It is singular that dreams and visions, the usual way in which the Jews received divine inspirations, should have formed no small portion of the superstitions of the Mexicans; amongst whom diviners and the art of divination were, according to Torquemada, held in great esteem. The custom of a monarch surrounding himself with astrologers to deliberate upon the arduous affairs of his kingdom, is so entirely oriental, and conformable to the prejudices of the nations bordering on Palestine, whose manners it should be recollected the Jews never failed to imitate,—that we must feel some surprise at finding that Montezuma and Nezahualpilli, the king of Tezcuco should have placed such faith in astrology and divination, and some difficulty in conjecturing whence they derived it. The passage in the Interpretation of the Collection of Mendoza to which this note refers, expressly states that Montezuma was skilled in astrology, to which proficiency the complimentary speech addressed to him by Nezahualpilli on his accession to the throne, (in which, according to Torquemada, he congratulated the Mexican nation on the election of a king, whose deep knowledge of heavenly things ensured to his subjects his comprehension of those of an earthly nature,) would seem to allude; that Nezahualpilli was himself attached to astrological inquiries, is recorded in the following very curious passage of the sixty-fourth chapter of the second book of the *Indian Monarchy*, "Dicen que fue grande astrologo, y que se preciaba mucho de entender los movimientos de los astros celestes; y con esta inclinacion que á estas cosas tenia, hacia inquisicion por todas las partes de sus reinos, de todos los que sabian algo de esto, y los traia á su corte, y communicaba con ellos todo lo que sabia; y de noche se subia á las açoteas de su palacio, y desde allì consideraba las estrellas, y arguia con todos lo que de ellas dificultaban. Al menos, yo sé decir, aver visto un lugar en sus casas, encima de las açoteas, de quatro paredes, no mas altas que una vara, ni mas ancho el lugar que lo que puede occupar un hombre acostado, y en cada esquina tenia un hoyo ó agujero, donde se ponia una hasta en las quales colgaban un cielo. Y preguntando yo, que de qué servia aquel quadro? me respondió un nieto suio, que me iba mostrando la casa, que era del Señor Nezahualpilli, para quando de noche iba con sus astrologos á considerar los cielos y sus estrellas; de donde inferi ser verdad esto que de el se dice; y pienso que el estar levantadas las paredes una vara de el suelo, y tener puesto cielo de algodon ó seda, pendiente de las varas, debia de ser para mejor tantear el curso celeste; como el otro filosofo, que metido en una cuba estuvo treinta y dos años mirando con puntualidad el curso de una estrella." "They say that he was a great astrologer, and prided himself much on his knowledge of the motions of the celestial bodies; and being attached to this study, that he caused inquiries to be made throughout the entire of his dominions, for all such persons as were at all conversant with it, whom he brought to his court, and imparted to them whatever he knew; and ascending by night on the terraced roof of his palace, he thence considered the stars, and disputed with them all on difficult questions connected with them. I at least can affirm that I have seen a place on the outside of the roof of the palace, inclosed within four walls only a yard in height, and just of sufficient breadth for a man to lie down in; in each angle of which was a hole or perforation, in which was placed a lance, upon which hung a sphere; and on my inquiring the use of this square space, a grandson of his, who was showing me the palace, replied that it was for King Nezahualpilli, when he went by night attended by his astrologers to contemplate the heavens and the stars; whence I inferred that what is recorded of him is true; and I think that the reason of the walls being elevated one yard above the terrace, and a sphere of cotton or silk being hung from the poles, was for the sake of measuring more exactly the celestial motions; like the philosopher who, seated in the hollow of a cask, spent thirty-two years in watching with precision the course of a single star." It can hardly be doubted that the Mexicans were acquainted with many scientifical instruments of strange invention as compared with our own: whether the telescope may not have been of the number is uncertain; but the thirteenth plate of M. Dupaix' *Monuments*, which represents a man holding something of a similar nature to his eye, affords reason for supposing that they knew how to improve the powers of vision. Astronomy has in all ages been a favourite study with mankind: the Greeks cultivated it from their love of philosophy; the Jews were star-gazers because the Chaldeans were astrologers; and the early Christians, whom Saint Paul inspired with a distaste for the arts and sciences of Greece, might still have retained some predilection for it, from associating it with the discovery of the new star by the wise men of the East, who were reputed to have been famous astronomers. The proficiency which the Mexicans had attained in this science cannot with certainty be known. Like the Jews and primitive Christians, they entertained a superstitious dread of eclipses; and from some of their paintings it may be inferred that they believed in a firmament, or στερεωμα, which divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament.

gravity and state, the monarchy under his sway began to verge towards empire: his subjects accordingly were impressed with feelings of great awe and veneration towards him on account of his power; since, compared with him, none of his predecessors had attained to a fourth part of his state and majesty.

He was zealous in causing the laws and statutes of his predecessors, from the time of HUEHUEMOTECCUMA to his own time, to be strictly obeyed and fulfilled; and being endowed with so much wisdom, he by the excellence of his own understanding, enacted and framed other laws and ordinances, such as it appeared to him were wanting to the completion of the former, without repealing any; all which he did for the advantage and good government of his state and subjects.

He was inclined to keep many wives, the daughters of princes his vassals and allies, by whom he had many sons: his reason for keeping so many wives was chiefly to show his great majesty and authority, for they considered it a matter of state; of whom, those who were the daughters of principal lords and grandees he espoused as his lawful wives, according to their rites and ceremonies, who resided within his palaces and the houses which he usually inhabited; and the sons whom he had by them were more highly considered on account of their legitimacy, than those whom he had by the other women.

The order which was observed with respect to these women would be a long history to detail; and since the present History is brief, it is here omitted. The quantity, value, and number of the tributes which his subjects paid to him, will be seen and understood presently, according to the signification of the paintings representing their several kinds and qualities. He was very exact in the tribute which they paid him, that it should be collected in full, according to the amount of taxation which he imposed; and he kept for this purpose his calpixques and revenue-officers, stationed in all the cities of his vassals, as a sort of governors, to rule over, direct and administer their affairs. Being so much feared, none dared to transgress or exceed his will and pleasure, which was accordingly entirely fulfilled and obeyed; for he was inexorable in punishing and chastising rebels.

In the sixteenth year of the reign of MOTEÇÇUMA, the Mexicans received advice of certain Spaniards, the discoverers of New Spain, that the object of the arrival and expedition of the Spaniards was to gain and conquer the country, which event would happen at the expiration of twelve months. The Mexicans accordingly reckoned the time, and found it to be true; for at the end of twelve months the expedition and arrival of the Spaniards in the port of New Spain occurred; in which came Don FERDINAND CORTES, Marquis of the Valley, at the end of the said twelve months; which event took place in the seventeenth year of the reign of the said MOTEÇÇUMA, and in the eighteenth year of the said reign MOTEÇÇUMA terminated his career, in which year he died, and departed this present life.

MOTEÇÇUMA when he succeeded to the said government was about thirty-five years of age, a little more or less, so that at the time of his death his age was fifty-three.

In the year immediately following the death of MOTEÇÇUMA, the conquest and pacification of the capital of Mexico, and the other cities in its vicinity, by the MARQUIS OF THE VALLEY and his companions took place; and thus New Spain was gained and reduced to submission.

THE SECOND PART.

THE cities contained, represented, and named, in this and the foregoing plate, were governed by caciques and lords of Mexico, placed therein by the king of Mexico, as well for the protection and good government of the citizens, as that they should take the entire charge of collecting, and causing to be collected, the revenues and tributes belonging to the crown of Mexico, and likewise for the security of the citizens, that they should not rebel.

The nature and the quality of the tribute which the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, which is now called Santiago, paid to the state of Mexico, is represented and declared in the following plate; the brief abstract of which said tribute here follows *.

They were obliged, in discharge of tribute, always to keep in repair the mezquita named Huiznahuac.

Likewise to furnish forty large baskets, each containing half a fanega †, of chocolate ground with the flour of maize, which they called cacahuapinol: each basket was required to have sixteen hundred nuts of chocolate.

Also forty other baskets of chianpinoli ‡.

Also eight hundred loads of large mantles.

Also eighty pieces of arms of rich feathers, of the devices and colours represented.

All of which, with the exception of the said arms and shields, they paid in tribute every eighty days; but the said arms and shields they paid only once in the entire year.

The said tribute began in the time of QUAUHTLATOA and MOQUIHUIX §, who were lords of Tlatilulco.

The kings of Mexico who first compelled the inhabitants of Tlatilulco to pay tribute in acknowledgement of vassalage, were YZCOAÇI and AXAYACAÇI.

* This tribute roll was published by Cardinal Lorenzana in Mexico in the year 1770, together with an edition of the Letters of Cortes, from some ancient Mexican paintings which once belonged to Boturini. The symbols of the tributary cities are engraved in the most incorrect manner, and their explanation is full of errors.

† Clavigero observes in a note, that a *fanega* was a Spanish measure for dry goods, containing about a hundred Spanish pounds, or one hundred and thirty Roman pounds. It is possible that the present Spanish fanega may differ from that in use in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

‡ Torquemada says that *chian* was a seed, of a cooling quality and an agreeable flavour: "es cierta semilla de calidad fria, aunque sabrosa."

§ The proper name *Moquihuix* has probably some reference to the symbol worn as a memorial on the nose by the Mexicans, which may have been instituted by Huemoque their ancient leader.

PLATE XIX.

1. The Mezquita named Huiznahuac. 2. xx Chests of ground chocolate. 3. xx Chests of ground chocolate. 4. xx Chests of pinol. 5. xx Chests of pinol. 6. 400 loads of large mantles. 7. 400 loads of large mantles. 8. xl pieces of armour of this device. 9. xl pieces of armour of this device. 10. 11. 12. 13. These four figures, resembling flowers, signify eighty days, each flower standing for twenty days, at which stated intervals the inhabitants of Tlatilulco paid taxes to the kings of Mexico, of the articles represented and declared in this plate. 14. xl shields of this device. 15. xl shields of this device. 16. Tenuctitlan. 17. Yzcoaçi. 18. Axayacaçi. 19. Quauhtlatoa. 20. Moquihuix. 21. Tlatilulco.

The cities which are represented in the two following plates, summed up here, are eighteen cities, according to their several names, over which a governor was appointed by the kings of Mexico, who was called a Petlacalcatl, although each city had a calpixque stationed in it, who was a kind of steward, whose duty it was to collect the rents and tributes which the said lords paid to the state of Mexico; and all the said stewards submitted their accounts to the said Petlacalcatl, as their governor. The different articles of tribute which the said cities paid are the following.

2400 loads of large mantles of twisted cloth.

800 loads of small mantles, of rich wearing apparel, of the colours which are represented.

400 loads of maxtlac, which served as trowsers.

400 loads of huipiles and naguas, all which they paid as tribute every six months.

They further presented 5 pieces of armour of rich feathers, and as many more shields, of the colours and devices which are represented.

They likewise gave 60 pieces of armour of common feathers, and the same number of shields, of the colours and devices which are represented.

They sent moreover a chest* of beans, and another chest of chian, with another chest of maize, and another of quautli, which is seed of bledos; which tribute, comprehending the said arms, and shields, and chests of beans, and of other seeds, the said cities paid and presented once in the year.

PLATE XX.

1. A governor named a Petlacalcatl. 2. Xaxahpan. 3. Yopico. 4. Tepetlacalco. 5. Tecoloapan. 6. Tepechpan. 7. Tequemecuan. 8. Huiçilopuchco. 9. Colhuacinco. 10. Cocotlan. 11. Tepepulan. 12. Olac. 13. Acapan. 14. Four hundred loads of maxtles, worked in this manner, which served as trowsers. 15. Four hundred loads of huipiles and naguas worked in this manner. 16. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 17. Four hundred loads of large mantles.

* These chests were named by the Spaniards, *troxes*. Torquemada says that they were extremely large, nearly of the height of two men, and plastered in the inside with mortar, and that they were woven out of osiers.

18. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 19. Four hundred loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 20. Four hundred loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 21. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 22. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 23. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 24. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device, which was presented once in the year. 25. A shield of this device, of rich feathers. 26. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device, which was presented once in the year. 27. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 28. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device, which was presented once in the year. 29. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 30. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device, which was presented once in the year. 31. A shield of rich feathers of this device.

PLATE XXI.

1. Cuitlahuac. 2. Tezcacoac. 3. Mizquic. 4. Auchpanco. 5. Tzapotitlan. 6. Xico. 7. Toyac. 8. Tecalco. 9. Tlaçoxiuhco. 10. Nextitlan. 11. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device, which was presented twice in the year. 12. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 13. xx pieces of armour of this device, which were presented once in the year, composed of rich feathers. 14. xx shields of feathers of this device. 15. xx pieces of armour of this device, which were presented once in the year. 16. xx shields of feathers. 17. xx pieces of armour of common feathers with this blue device, which were presented once in the year. 18. xx shields of feathers of this device. 19. Chests of beans and of chian, one full of the former and the other of the latter. 20. A chest of maize and another of quauhtli, which is seed of bledos.

The cities which are represented and named in the two following plates, summed up here, are twenty-six cities; in which the kings of Mexico, from the period of their first conquest, kept calpixques stationed in each of them; and a governor resided in the principal city, who ruled over all for the maintenance of peace and justice, and in order to cause the due payment of tribute and to prevent rebellion. The tributes which all these cities hereafter named, paid collectively, are the following.

2000 loads of large mantles.

Likewise 1200 loads of rich canahuac, which are small vests which lords and caciques wore, of the colours which are represented.

Likewise 400 loads of maxtlatl, which are a kind of trowsers.

Likewise 400 loads of quipiles and naguas. All which they paid and presented twice in the year.

They further gave as tribute three pieces of armour ornamented with common feathers, and the same number of shields of the colours and devices which are represented; all which they paid at the expiration of the year.

As also twenty pieces of armour ornamented with common feathers, and as many shields of the devices and colours which are successively represented, which they paid once in the year.

Likewise four large chests of timber, one full of beans, another of chian, another of maize, and another of quautli, which is seed of bledos. Each chest contained four or five thousand fanegas, which they paid in tribute once in each year.

PLATE XXII.

1. Acolhuacan Acolmecatl, Calpixqui. 2. Huicilan. 3. Totolçinco. 4. Tlachyahualco. 5. Tepechupa. 6. Aztaquemeca. 7. Teacalco. 8. Tonanytla. 9. Çenpoalan. 10. Tepetlaoztoc. 11. Ahuatepec. 12. Ticatepec. 13. Contlam. 14. Yxquemecan. 15. Matixco. 16. Temazcalapa. 17. Loads of small mantles of this colour and work. 18. Loads of small mantles of this colour. 19. Loads of small mantles of this work. 20. Loads of white mantles. 21. Loads of white mantles. 22. Loads of quipiles and naguas of this work. 23. Loads of maxtlac, which are a kind of trowsers. 24. Loads of large mantles. 25. Loads of large mantles. 26. Loads of large mantles. 27. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 28. A shield of rich feathers. 29. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 30. A shield of rich feathers. 31. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 32. A shield of rich feathers. 33. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 34. A shield of feathers.

PLATE XXIII.

1. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 2. Twenty shields of common feathers. 3. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 4. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 5. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 6. Twenty shields of common feathers. 7. Twenty pieces of armour of common blue feathers of this device. 8. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 9. A chest of beans and chian. 10. Two chests, one of maize and the other of quauhtli. 11. Tiçayuca. 12. Tepetlapa. 13. Caliahualco. 14. Tecoçuca. 15. Tlaquilpa. 16. Quauhgmecan. 17. Epaçuyuca. 18. Ameyalco. 19. Ecatepec. 20. Quauhyocan.

The cities which are represented and named in the two following plates here enumerated are sixteen cities, which paid as tribute to the kings of Mexico the articles which are painted and declared in the said two plates: the kings of Mexico kept calpixques stationed in each of them, and a governor placed over all the calpixques, who was a principal person of Mexico (the calpixques being likewise Mexicans) for their good government and the better administration of their affairs, which was arranged and provided in this manner by the said kings, as well for to guard against rebellion, as for the administration of justice and the hearing of civil causes. The said tributes which the said lords paid, accordingly as they are signified by the said paintings, summed up here, are as follows.

First, they paid 1200 loads of large mantles of twisted cloth.

Likewise 200 loads of small white mantles, wearing apparel.

Likewise 1200 loads of small mantles richly worked, wearing apparel for lords and caciques.

Likewise 400 loads of maxtlatl, which are a kind of trowsers worn amongst them.

Likewise 400 loads of quipiles and naguas, wearing apparel for women, all which they presented twice in each year; each tribute being paid every six months.

They further gave eight pieces of armour, and four shields, ornamented with rich feathers of different colours according to their representations, which they paid as tribute once in the year.

As also four large chests of timber full of maize, beans, chian, and quautli, which is seed of bledos; each chest contained 5000 fanegas, which they gave as tribute once in each year.

Likewise 8000 reams * of paper of the country, which they paid twice a year, which amounted each year to 16,000 sheets of paper.

And likewise 2000 Xicaras at each payment of tribute, which they made twice in the year.

PLATE XXIV.

1. Quauhnahuac. 2. Teocalcinco. 3. Chimalco. 4. Huicilapa. 5. Actlyzpac. 6. Xochitepec. 7. Miacatl. 8. Molotla. 9. Coatlan. 10. Xiuhtepec. 11. Xoxontla. 12. Amacoztitla. 13. Yztla. 14. Ocpayucan. 15. Yztepec. 16. Atlicholoayan. 17. Loads of small mantles of this colour. 18. Loads of small mantles of this colour. 19. Loads of small mantles of this colour. 20. Loads of small white mantles. 21. Loads of small white mantles. 22. Loads of maxtle or trowsers. 23. Loads of quipiles and naguas. 24. Loads of large mantles. 25. Loads of large mantles. 26. Loads of large mantles. 27. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 28. A shield of rich feathers. 29. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 30. A shield of rich feathers. 31. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 32. A shield of rich feathers. 33. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 34. A shield of rich feathers.

PLATE XXV.

1. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 2. A shield of rich feathers. 3. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 4. A shield of rich feathers. 5. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 6. A shield of rich feathers. 7. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 8. A shield of rich feathers. 9. Two chests, one of maize, the other of quauhtli, which is seed of bledos. 10. Two chests, one of beans, the other of chian. 11. Eight thousand sheets of paper of the country. 12. Four hundred Xicaras worked in this manner. 13. Four hundred Xicaras. 14. Four hundred Xicaras. 15. Four hundred Xicaras. 16. Four hundred Xicaras.

The cities which are represented and named in the two following plates, and here enumerated, are twenty-six cities, which paid tribute to the kings of Mexico of the things represented and declared in the said two plates; in which, as in the case of the preceding cities, a governor and Mexican Calpixques resided, placed there by the hand of the said kings of Mexico.

* The ream and the sheet are here considered as the same quantity of paper; perhaps from the Mexican ream consisting of a single sheet of paper, which folded up into many squares or pages.

The tributes which they paid are those which follow, taken from the said paintings, and here summed up.

First, they paid 400 loads of maxtlatl, which are trowsers.

Also 400 loads of naguas and huipiles, wearing apparel for women.

Also 2400 loads of large mantles of twisted cloth.

Also 800 small rich mantles, wearing apparel for lords and chiefs of Mexico, of the colours which are represented.

Also 2000 varnished xicaras, of the colours which are represented.

Also 8000 reams of paper of the country; all which they presented at each payment of tribute, which was every six months.

They further likewise gave 40 pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich and dyed feathers, and others of a more common sort, of different colours, according to their representations.

As also four large chests of timber like those already mentioned, full of maize, beans, chian, and quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXVI.

1. Huaxtepec. 2. Xochimilcacinco. 3. Quauhtlan. 4. Ahuehuepan. 5. Anenequilco. 6. Olintepec. 7. Quahuitleyxco. 8. Çompanco. 9. Huicilan. 10. Tlaltiçapan. 11. Coacalco. 12. Yzamatitlan. 13. Tepoztla. 14. Yauhtepec. 15. Yacapichtla. 16. Tlayacapa. 17. Xaloztoc. 18. Tecpaçinco. 19. Ayoxochapa. 20. Tlajacac. 21. Tehuizco. 22. Loads of maxtlatl. 23. Loads of huipiles and naguas. 24. Loads of large mantles. 25. Loads of large mantles. 26. Loads of large mantles. 27. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 28. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 29. Loads of large mantles. 30. Loads of large mantles. 31. Loads of large mantles. 32. xx pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 33. xx shields of common feathers. 34. xx pieces of armour of common feathers. 35. xx shields of common feathers. 36. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 37. A shield of rich feathers. 38. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 39. A shield of rich feathers.

PLATE XXVII.

1. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 2. A shield of rich feathers. 3. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 4. A shield of rich feathers. 5. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 6. A shield of rich feathers. 7. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 8. A shield of rich feathers. 9. Two chests of maize and of seeds of bledos. 10. Two chests of beans and chian. 11. Xicaras. 12. Xicaras. 13. Xicaras. 14. Xicaras. 15. Xicaras. 16. Eight thousand reams of paper of the country. 17. Nepopoalco. 18. Atlatlauca. 19. Totolapa. 20. Amilçinco. 21. Atlhuelic.

The cities which are represented and named in the plate which follows, and here enumerated, are seven cities, which were tributary to the kings of Mexico, in the same manner as those already mentioned in the preceding section; and the articles of tribute which they paid are the following:

First, 400 loads of small mantles richly worked, besides 800 loads of such as have been designated *mantillas*, of the colours which are represented.

Likewise 4000 petates, which are mats, and 4000 chairbacks, with their seats, composed of enea and of other grasses, which they paid every six months.

Further, Two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the devices and colours which are represented.

Likewise, Sixty pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with common feathers.

Also, Four large chests of timber of the size and measure of those already mentioned, full of maize, beans, chian and quautli, which they paid as tribute once in the year.

PLATE XXVIII.

1. Quauhtitlan. 2. Tehuiloyoca. 3. Alhuexoyocan. 4. Xalapan. 5. Tepoxaco. 6. Cuezcomahuacan. 7. Xiloçinco. 8. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 9. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 10. Loads of small white mantles. 11. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 12. A shield of rich feathers. 13. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 14. A shield of rich feathers. 15. xx pieces of armour of common feathers. 16. xx pieces of armour of common feathers. 17. xx pieces of armour of common feathers. 18. xx shields of common feathers. 19. xx shields of common feathers. 20. xx shields of common feathers. 21. Two chests of maize and quautli. 22. Two chests of beans and chian. 23. Four thousand chairbacks of enea. 24. Four thousand mats. 25. Each of these ears of corn signifies 400 mats.

The cities represented and named in the following plate, and here enumerated, are ten cities, which were tributary to the kings of Mexico in the same manner as those already mentioned in the preceding sections; and the articles which they paid are the following:

First, 800 loads of small rich mantles, worked as represented and specified.

Likewise, 400 loads of small white mantles with black and white fringes.

Likewise, 800 loads of small white mantles.

Likewise, 400 loads of naguas and quipiles.

Likewise, 400 large jars of thick honey of the aloe; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented Two pieces of armour, ornamented with rich feathers, and the same number of shields of rich feathers, of the devices which are represented and declared.

As also, 40 pieces of armour, ornamented with common feathers, and as many shields, of the devices which are represented.

And likewise, Four large chests of timber of the size of those already mentioned in the preceding section; one of maize, another of beans, another of chian, and another of quautli, which is seed of bledos: all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXIX.

1. Axopan. 2. Atenco. 3. Tetepanco. 4. Xochichivca. 5. Temohuāzan. 6. Tezcatepec. 7. Mizquiyahuala. 8. Yzmiguilpa. 9. Tlaahuililpa. 11. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 12. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 13. Loads of small white mantles. 14. Loads of small white mantles. 15. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 16. Loads of huipiles and naguas. 17. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 18. A shield of rich feathers. 19. xx pieces of armour of common scarlet feathers. 20. xx shields of common feathers. 21. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 22. A shield of rich feathers. 23. xx pieces of armour of common blue feathers. 24. xx shields of common feathers. 25. Two chests of maize and quautli. 26. Two chests of beans and chian. 27. Four hundred pitchers of thick honey of the aloe.

The number of cities contained, represented, and named in the following plate, which were tributary to the kings of Mexico, in the same manner as those already mentioned in the preceding sections, the number of these cities here summed up, is seven; and the articles of tribute which they paid are the following:

First, 400 loads of small mantles richly worked, which were wearing apparel for lords and caciques.

Also, 400 loads of small white mantles with black and white fringes.

Also, 800 loads of large mantles of twisted cloth.

Also, 400 loads of lime: all which they paid every six months.

They further presented Two pieces of armour ornamented with rich feathers, and two shields, according to the devices which are represented and declared.

Likewise, Sixty pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with common feathers, according to the devices which are represented and declared.

Likewise, Four large chests of timber of the size of those already mentioned; one full of maize, another of beans, another of chian, and another of quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXX.

1. Atotonilco. 2. Guapalcalco. 3. Queçalmaca. 4. Acocolco. 5. Tehuehuec. 6. Otlazpa. 7. Xalac. 8. Loads of small rich mantles worked in this manner. 9. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 10. Loads of large mantles. 11. Loads of large mantles. 12. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 13. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 14. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 15. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 16. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 17. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 18. Twenty pieces of armour of feathers of this device. 19. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 20. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 21. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 22. Two chests of maize and chian. 23. Two chests of beans and of quautli. 24. Four hundred loads of lime.

The number of cities of the following plate is nine, according to their names and representations.

First, they paid 400 loads of small mantles richly worked, wearing apparel for lords and caciques of Mexico.

Likewise 400 loads of small white mantles with black and white fringes.

Likewise 800 loads of small white mantles of eneguen.

Likewise 400 jars of thick honey of the aloe; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the colours and devices which are represented and declared.

Also four large chests of timber of the size of those already mentioned; one full of maize, another of beans, another of chian, and another of quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXI.

1. Huepuchtla. 2. Xalac. 3. Tequixquiac. 4. Tetlapanaloya. 5. Xicalhuacan. 6. Xomezocan. 7. Acayocan. 8. Tezcatepetonco. 9. Atocpan. 10. Loads of small rich mantles worked in this manner. 11. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 12. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 13. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 14. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 15. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 16. Twenty pieces of armour of common yellow feathers of this device. 17. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 18. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 19. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 20. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 21. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 22. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 23. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 24. Two chests, one of maize and the other of quautli, which is seed of bledos. 25. Two chests, one of beans and the other of chian. 26. Four hundred large jars of thick honey of the aloe.

The number of the cities represented and named in the following plate.

They paid 800 loads of small rich mantles, wearing apparel for the lords of Mexico, according to their names and representations as contained in the said plate.

Likewise 1600 loads of small white mantles of eneguen; all which they paid to the kings of Mexico every six months.

Further also, four pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the colours and devices which are represented and declared.

Likewise four large chests of timber such as those already mentioned, full of maize and beans, chian and quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXII.

1. Atotonilco. 2. Caxòchitla. 3. Quachqueçaloya. 4. Hueyapan. 5. Itzihuiuquilūcan. 6. Tulançingo. 7. Four hundred loads of small rich mantles worked in this manner. 8. Loads of small

rich mantles worked in this manner. 9. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 10. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 11. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 12. Loads of small mantles of eneguen. 13. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 14. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 15. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 16. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 17. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 18. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 19. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 20. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 21. Two chests, one of maize and the other of chian. 22. Two chests, one of beans and the other of quautli, which is seed of bledos.

The number of cities represented and named in the following plate is seven.

First, they paid 400 loads of very rich naguas and quipiles, which are wearing apparel for women.

Likewise 400 loads of rich mantles, wearing apparel for lords.

Likewise 400 loads of worked naguas.

Likewise 800 loads of rich mantles.

Likewise 400 loads of mantles striped with scarlet in the middle; all which they paid every six months.

They also presented a live eagle, or two or three, or more, accordingly as they could procure them.

And further, two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the devices and colours which are represented.

As also four large chests of timber, full of maize, beans, chian, and quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXIII.

1. Xilotepec. 2. Tlachco. 3. Tzanayalquilpa. 4. Michmaloyan. 5. Tepetitlan. 6. Acaxochitla. 7. Tecoçauhtla. 8. Loads of very rich naguas and quipiles. 9. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 10. Loads of naguas worked in this manner. 11. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 12. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 13. A live eagle, which they presented at every payment of tribute, as sometimes three, sometimes four, and occasionally a greater or lesser number. 14. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 15. Loads of small rich mantles worked in this manner. 16. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 17. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 18. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 19. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 20. Two chests of maize and chian. 21. Two chests of beans and quautli.

The number of cities which are represented and named in the following plate is thirteen.

First, they paid 800 loads of small rich mantles worked in the manner represented.

Also 800 loads of small mantles of eneguen, which they presented every six months.

Likewise a piece of armour, and a shield, ornamented with rich feathers.

Likewise 40 pieces of armour, and an equal number of shields, ornamented with common feathers, which pieces of armour they paid once in the year.

Likewise four large chests of timber, of the size of the preceding, full of maize, beans, chian, and quautli, which they also paid once in the year.

And also 1200 loads of wood, which they gave once in eighty days.
As likewise 1200 large beams of timber, which they paid once in eighty days.
And further, 1400 planks, which they paid once in eighty days.

PLATE XXXIV.

1. Quahuacan. 2. Tecpan. 3. Chapolmoloya. 4. Tlalatlaoco. 5. Acaxochic. 6. Ameyalco. 7. Ocotepec. 8. Yuohuizquilocan. 9. Coatepec. 10. Loads of small mantles. 11. Loads of small mantles. 12. Loads of small mantles. 13. Loads of small mantles. 14. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 15. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 16. xx pieces of common armour of this device. 17. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 18. xx shields of common feathers of this device. 19. xx shields of common feathers of this device. 20. Two chests, one of maize and the other of chian. 21. Two chests, one of beans and the other of quautli. 22. Four hundred large beams. 23. Four hundred large beams. 24. Four hundred large beams. 25. Four hundred large planks of wood. 26. Large planks of wood. 27. Four hundred large planks of wood. 28. Four hundred boards of wood. 29. Four hundred boards of wood. 30. Four hundred boards of wood. 31. Four hundred loads of wood. 32. Four hundred loads of wood. 33. Four hundred loads of wood. 34. Quauhpanoaya. 35. Tallacha. 36. Chichicquautla. 37. Huitzçilapa.

The number of cities represented and named in the following plate is twelve.

First, they paid 400 loads of small mantles of white cotton, with fringes of yellow, scarlet, and olive.

Likewise 400 loads of small mantles of eneguen, worked and striped with scarlet, white, and black.

Likewise 1200 loads of small white mantles of eneguen, which they gave as tribute every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the devices and colours which are represented.

Also twenty pieces of armour, and an equal number of shields, ornamented with common feathers, of the devices and colours which are represented.

As also six large chests of timber, like those already mentioned, full of beans, maize, chian, and quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXV.

1. Tuluca. 2. Calixtlahuacan. 3. Xicaltepec. 4. Tepetlhuacan. 5. Mitepec. 6. Capulteopan. 7. Metepec. 8. Cacalomaca. 9. Caliymayan. 10. Teotenanco. 11. Tepemaxalco. 12. Çoquitzinco. 13. Four hundred loads of small cotton mantles worked in this manner. 14. Loads of small mantles of eneguen worked in this manner. 15. Loads of small white mantles of eneguen. 16. Loads of small white mantles of eneguen. 17. Loads of small white mantles of eneguen. 18. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 19. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device.

20. Twenty pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 21. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 22. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 23. Twenty shields of common feathers of this device. 24. Two chests, one of maize and the other of chian. 25. Two chests of maize, beans, and quautli. 26. Two chests, one of maize and the other of chian. 27. Two chests, one of beans and the other of chian.

The number of cities represented and named in the following plate is six.

First, they paid 800 loads of small rich mantles of eneguen, worked as represented.

Likewise 400 loads of small rich cotton mantles, worked as represented.

Likewise 2000 loaves of very white salt, refined in the shape of the mould, for the consumption only of the lords of Mexico; all which they paid every six months.

Further, a piece of armour, and a shield, ornamented with rich feathers, of the colour and device which are represented.

As also twenty pieces of armour, and an equal number of shields, ornamented with common feathers, of the colour and device which are represented.

Likewise four large chests of timber, of the size of the preceding; one full of maize, and the others of beans, chian, and quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXVI.

1. Ocuilan. 2. Loads of small rich mantles of eneguen, worked in this manner. 3. Loads of small mantles. 4. Loads of small rich mantles of eneguen. 5. Loads of small white mantles of eneguen. 6. Tenantzinco. 7. Tequaloyan. 8. Tonathiuco. 9. Coatepec. 10. Çincozca. 11. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 12. A shield of rich feathers. 13. xx pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 14. xx shields of common feathers. 15. Two chests, one of maize and the other of quautli. 16. Two chests, one of beans and the other of chian. 17. Four hundred loaves of salt of this shape. 18. Four hundred loaves of salt of this shape. 19. Four hundred loaves of salt of this shape. 20. Four hundred loaves of salt of this shape. 21. Four hundred loaves of salt of this shape. These loaves of salt were very white and fine, and were only for the consumption of the lords of Mexico.

The number of cities represented and named in the following plate is three.

First, they paid 1200 loads of large mantles of soft eneguen.

Likewise 400 loads of small mantles of worked eneguen; all which they gave every six months.

They further paid once in the year eight large chests of timber, of the size of those already mentioned; two full of maize, two of beans, two of chian, and two of quautli.

PLATE XXXVII.

1. Malinalco. 2. Loads of large mantles of soft eneguen. 3. Loads of mantles of soft eneguen. 4. Loads of mantles of soft eneguen which they call yzcçotilmatli. 5. Çonpahnuacān. 6. Two chests, one of maize and the other of quautli. 7. Two chests, one of beans and the other of chian. 8. Xocotytlan. 9. Loads of small mantles of eneguen worked in this manner. 10. Two chests, one of maize and the other of quautli. 11. Two chests, one of beans and the other of chian.

The number of cities named and contained in the following plate is ten, situated in a warm climate.

First, they paid 400 loads of small rich cotton mantles, worked as represented.

Likewise 400 loads of naguas and quipiles.

Likewise 1200 loads of small mantles of soft eneguen, which they paid every six months.

They further gave 200 small pitchers of bees' honey.

Also 1200 Xicaras varnished of a yellow colour.

Also 400 small baskets of white copal for incense.

Also 8000 lumps of unrefined copal wrapped up in leaves of the palm-tree; all which they paid once in the period of eighty days.

They further presented two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers of the colour and devices which are represented.

As also two large chests of timber of the size of those already mentioned, the one full of maize and the other of chian; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXVIII.

1. Tlachco. 2. Acamilyxtlahuaca. 3. Chontalcoatlan. 4. Tectipa. 5. Nochtepec. 6. Teotliztacan. 7. Tlamacazapa. 8. Tepexahnualco. 9. Tzicapuzalco. 10. Tetenanco. 11. Loads of small rich cotton mantles worked in this manner. 12. Loads of naguas and quipiles. 13. Loads of mantles of soft eneguen, large vests. 14. Loads of mantles of soft eneguen, large vests. 15. Loads of mantles of soft eneguen, large vests. 16. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 17. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 18. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 19. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 20. Two chests, one of maize and the other of chian. 21. xx. 22. xx. 23. xx. 24. xx. 25. xx. 26. xx. 27. xx. 28. xx. 29. xx. 30. xx; each single pitcher is reckoned at twenty pitchers of bees' honey, according to the numerical sign over each pitcher. 31. Four hundred small baskets of white refined copal. 32. Four hundred Xicaras. 33. Four hundred Xicaras. 34. Four hundred Xicaras. 35. Eight thousand lumps of unrefined copal wrapped up in leaves of the palm-tree.

The cities situated in a warm climate, which are represented and named in the following plate, are fourteen in number.

First, they paid 400 loads of quilted mantles.
Likewise 400 loads of mantles striped with black and white.
Likewise 400 loads of rich mantles.
Likewise 400 loads of naguas and quipiles.
Likewise 400 loads of small white mantles.
Likewise 1600 loads of large mantles; all which they gave every six months.
They further paid 100 axes of copper.
Also 1200 xicaras of yellow varnish.
Also 200 small pitchers of bees' honey.
Also 400 small baskets of white copal for incense; all which they gave once in eighty days.
Also 8000 lumps of unrefined copal, which was likewise used for incense, and was paid once in eighty days.
They further presented two pieces of armour with their shields, ornamented with rich feathers, with the devices which are represented.
As also 20 pieces of armour, together with their shields, ornamented with common feathers.
Likewise five strings of rich stones called chalchihuitl.
And likewise four large chests of timber of the size of those before mentioned, full of maize, beans, chian, and quautli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XXXIX.

1. Tepecuacuilco. 2. Chilapan. 3. Ohuapa. 4. Huitzoco. 5. Tlachmalacac. 6. Yoalan. 7. Cocolan. 8. Atenanco. 9. Chilacachapa. 10. Teloloapan. 11. Loads of quilted mantles worked in this manner. 12. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 13. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 14. Loads of naguas and quipiles. 15. Loads of small white mantles. 16. Loads of large mantles. 17. Loads of large mantles. 18. Loads of large mantles. 19. Loads of large mantles. 20. One hundred axes of copper. 21. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 22. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 23. xx pieces of armour of common feathers of this device. 24. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 25. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 26. xx shields of common feathers. 27. 28. 29. Xicaras. 30. Two chests, one of maize and the other of chian. 31. Two chests, one of beans and the other of quautli. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. Five strings of beads of rich stones which they call chalchihuitl. 37. Small baskets of white copal. 38. Eight thousand lumps of unrefined copal. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. Two hundred pitchers of bees' honey. 49. Oztoma. 50. Ychcateopa. 51. Alahuiztla. 52. Cueçalan.

The number of cities of warm provinces which are represented and named in the plate following.
First, they paid 1600 loads of large mantles striped with orange.
Likewise 2400 loads of large mantles of twisted cloth.
Likewise 80 loads of red chocolate.

Likewise 400 bundles of cotton.

As also 800 sea shells of the deepest red, resembling porcelain shells; all which they paid every six months.

PLATE XL.

1. Çihnatlan. 2. Colima. 3. Pomotlan. 4. Nochcoc. 5. Yztapan. 6. Petlatlan. 7. Xihuacan. 8. Apancalecān. 9. Coçohuipileca. 10. Coyucac. 11. Çacatulan. 12. Xolochiuhyan. 13. Loads of large mantles worked in this manner. 14. Loads of large mantles worked in this manner. 15. Loads of large mantles worked in this manner. 16. Loads of large mantles worked in this manner. 17. Large white mantles. 18. Loads of large white mantles. 19. Loads of large white mantles. 20. Loads of large white mantles. 21. Loads of large white mantles. 22. Loads of large white mantles. 23. lxxx loads of red chocolate. 24. Four hundred bundles of cotton. 25. Four hundred sea shells, resembling scarlet porcelain shells. 26. Four hundred sea shells resembling scarlet porcelain shells.

The number of cities of warm provinces, which are represented and named in the plate following.

First, they paid 400 loads of naguas and quipiles.

Likewise 800 loads of large mantles.

Likewise 800 Xicaras, which they name tecomates, out of which they drink chocolate; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour, with their shields ornamented with rich feathers, of the device and colours which are represented.

Likewise twenty Xicaras of gold in dust; each xicara contained two double handfuls.

Also ten plates of gold, of the breadth of four fingers, and three quarters of a yard long, and as thick as parchment; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLI.

1. Tlapa. 2. Xocotla. 3. Ychcateopa. 4. Amaxac. 5. Ahuacatla. 6. Acocozpa. 7. Yoalan. 8. Ocoapan. 9. Huitzannola. 10. Acuitlapa. 11. Malinaltepec. 12. Totomixtlahuacān. 13. Tetenanco. 14. Chipetlan. 15. Loads of naguas and quipiles. 16. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 17. Loads of large mantles. 17. Loads of large mantles. 18. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 18. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 19. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 19. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 20. Ten plates of gold of the breadth of four fingers, as thick as parchment, and measuring three quarters of a yard in length. 21. Twenty Xicaras of gold dust, each xicara contained two double handfuls. 22. Eight hundred Xicaras, which they name tecomates, cups out of which they drink chocolate.

The inhabitants of the city which is named and specified in the following plate, the name of which is Tlacoçauhtitlan, a city of a warm province, paid the following tribute; that is to say, the city of Tlacoçauhtitlan, together with the other seven cities contained in the first section.

400 loads of large mantles.

100 small pitchers of bees' honey.

20 pans of tecocahuitl, which is a yellow varnish with which they anoint themselves; all which they paid every six months.

Also, a piece of armour with a shield ornamented with rich feathers, which they presented once in the year.

PLATE XLII.

1. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 2. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 3. Loads of large mantles. 4. Twenty pans of tecocahuitl, which is a yellow varnish with which they anoint themselves. 5. One hundred small pitchers of bees' honey. 6. Tlacoçautitla. 7. Tolimani. 8. Quauhtecomacinco. 9. Ychcatlan. 10. Tepoztitla. 11. Ahuacicinco. 12. Mitzinco. 13. Çacatla.

The cities represented and named in the second section of the following plate paid the following tribute.

400 loads of large mantles.

Likewise 40 large bells of copper.

Likewise 80 copper axes.

Likewise 100 small pitchers of bees' honey; which they paid every six months.

As also a piece of armour with a shield of rich feathers.

And likewise a little vessel of small turquoise stones; all which they presented once in the year.

The cities of warm provinces which are represented and named in the second section are six in number.

14. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 15. A shield of this device. 16. Loads of large mantles. 17. A little vessel of small turquoise stones. 18. One hundred small pitchers of bees' honey. 19. xl large bells of brass or copper. 20. lxxx axes of copper. 21. Quiyauhteopan. 22. Olinalan. 23. Quauhtecolmatl. 24. Qualac. 25. Ychcatl. 26. Xala.

The cities which are represented and named in the third section of the following plate are six in number; cities situated in warm provinces, which paid the following tribute.

400 loads of large mantles.

Likewise 100 small pitchers of bees' honey; which they paid every six months.

They further presented a piece of armour, with a shield ornamented with rich feathers of the device and colours which are represented.

Likewise 40 small tiles of gold, of the size of an oyster, and of the thickness of the finger.

Likewise 10 middling-sized masks of rich blue stones, like turquoises; all which they paid once in the year.

27. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 28. A shield of this device. 29. One hundred jars of bees' honey. 30. Loads of large mantles. 31. 32. Tiles of gold, of the size of an oyster, and as thick as the finger. 33. Ten masks of rich blue stones. 34. A large bag of the said blue stones. 35. Yoaltepec. 36. Ehnacalco. 37. Tzilacaapan. 38. Platanala. 39. Yxicaya. 40. Ychcaatoyac.

The number of cities represented and named in the following plate.

First, they presented 800 loads of large mantles, which they paid every six months.

They further gave two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the colours which are represented.

As also four large chests of timber, of the size of those before-mentioned, full of maize, beans, chian, and quautli.

Likewise four other large chests of timber, of the same size, full of the same contents.

Likewise four more chests of timber, full of maize; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLIII.

1. Chalco. 2. Tepuztlan. 3. Tecmilco. 4. Xocoyoltepec. 5. Malinaltepec. 6. Quauxumulco. 7. Loads of large mantles. 8. Loads of large mantles. 9. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 10. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 11. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 12. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 13. Four chests of maize, beans, chian, and quautli. 14. Four chests of maize, beans, chian, and quautli. 15. Two chests of maize. 16. Two chests of maize.

The number of cities of hot provinces which are represented and named in the following plate. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

There were in each of these cities Mexican calpixques; and the same order, rule, and government were preserved in them as in the other cities and provinces which have been already mentioned. For the sake of brevity, therefore, the names of the cities, and the tributes which they paid, will henceforward only be enumerated. With respect to their government by calpixques, it will be understood that the cities hereafter named preserved the same order and government.

Those contained in the following plate are twenty-two.

First, they paid 4000 loads of lime.

Likewise 4000 loads of thick cane stalks, which they name otlatle.

Likewise 800 deer skins.

Likewise 8000 loads of acayetl*, which are perfumes which the Indians use in the mouth.

Likewise 200 cacaxtles, which are equipments which the Indians make use of for carrying burthens on their backs, like packsaddles.

All which they paid once in every period of eighty days.

As also four large chests of timber, of the size and measure of those before mentioned, two full of maize, and the other two of beans; which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLIV.

1. Tepeacac. 2. Quechulac. 3. Tecamachalco. 4. Acatzinco. 5. Tecalco. 6. Ycçochinanco. 7. Quauhtinchan. 8. Chictlan. 9. Quatlatlauh. 10. Tepexic. 11. Ytzucan. 12. Quauhquecholan. 13. Teonochtitla. 14. Teopantlan. 15. Huehuetla. 16. Atezcahuacān. 17. Oztotlapechco. 18. Chiltepintla. 19. Nacochtlan. 20. Epatlan. 21. Coatzinco. 22. Tetenanco. 23. Tlaxcaltecatl. 24. Chululteca†. 25. Huexotzincatl. 26. A staff or rod which they used as

* Torquemada says that Acayetl were canes filled with perfumes to smoke: "unos cañutos embutidos de cosas de olor para tomar humo."

† From a comparison of the symbols of the cities of Chululteca (otherwise called Chollula or Churula) and Atlicholoayan, which latter symbol occurs in the twenty-fourth plate of the Collection of Mendoza, under the number 16, it would appear that a deer's foot was in some manner connected with the signification of both these proper names; and if, further, the apparent connection between the names of the city of Chollula and the star Sitlal Choloha, or Venus, and the signification of the former and that of the sign Ce Mazatl, or One Stag, (under which the interpreter of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* has written "cielo," as he likewise has written "cielo" under the sign Ce Acatl, or One Cane, which was dedicated to Quecalcoatle, and for that reason attributed to Heaven; as was also, we may suppose, Ce Mazatl, because both signs belonged to Quecalcoatle,) be considered, it might seem proper to assign some other derivation to the name of Chollula, and to reject as unfounded the analogy elsewhere noticed between that name (frequently written Churula) and Jerusalem. This is not, however, at all necessary; for the Tultecas, in adapting the foreign name of Jerusalem to the Mexican dialect, which was soon to become their mother tongue, would gladly have availed themselves of a word in that language, which, resembling it in sound, bore also a signification which they might convert into an allusion to their Messiah; since a double analogy would thus present itself: and whilst the sound of Churula recalled Jerusalem to their recollection, its signification would refer to that passage in the Song of Solomon which the Jews always interpreted of him; "The voice of my beloved! Behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills. My beloved is like a roe or a young hart." A deer or a fawn is certainly as apt a symbol of innocence as a lamb; and the phrase of "exalting the horn" would be more suitable to the former than to the latter. It deserves likewise to be remarked, that the Indians of Florida offered up annually to their deity the image of a stag, or the stuffed skin of one, which they elevated in the air upon a high pole. From the name of Tonatzuli, which they gave to certain birds which they kept to sing the praises of the sun, it may be inferred that the appellation of that luminary in the language of Florida resembled the Mexican term, Tonatiuh; that these Indians sacrificed to this or to some other principal deity, their first-born male infants, (differing in this custom from the less civilised Northern tribes, who carefully nourished their male children, in the hopes that at a future time they would be serviceable in war, (is a fact which authors of veracity have not scrupled to assert; which if true, even of some small Indian tribe, extreme fanaticism and credulity can only account for. In reference to the above-mentioned symbol of the city of Cholula (the deer's foot), it may be observed, that the same symbol occurs in one of the original Mexican paintings preserved in the Bodleian library, surmounting a globe, which is fastened to a crown worn by some Aztec deity, who poises in one hand a lance, and holds in the other a shield, whose figure is associated with the sign of thirteen eagles. The plate likewise, in the Collection of Mendoza, in which this symbol is contained, may correct a mistake of Clavigero; as it demonstrates by the heads of three chiefs of Tlaxcalla, Chulula, and Huexotzinco, that those states, and the cities dependent upon them, were tributary to Montezuma, although the tribute which they paid was of little value. The symbols of the other Mexican cities are interesting, since they are all accompanied with their proper names; and the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, which Boturini pronounces in the following sentence to be an almost hopeless task, ("solo este trabajo de interpretar *los nombres* de las figuras apura toda la atencion de un historiador,") can now cause neither embarrassment nor confusion.

a sword, with knives inlaid along the sides. 27. Four thousand loads of lime. 28. Eight hundred deer skins. 29. Four thousand loads of thick cane stalks, which they name otlatle. 30. Eight thousand loads of canes of which they made arrows. 31. Two chests of maize. 32. A chest of beans. 33. Eight thousand loads of acayetl, which are perfumes which they use in the mouth. 34. Two hundred cacaxtles.

The cities of hot and temperate provinces which are represented and named in the following plate are eleven in number; and the tributes which they paid are the following.

First, 400 loads of quilted mantles richly worked.

Likewise 400 loads of mantles striped with scarlet and white.

Likewise 400 loads of mantles striped with black and white.

Likewise 400 loads of maxtlatl, which served as trowsers.

Likewise 400 loads of quipiles and naguas; all which they paid to the kings of Mexico every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour, and the same number of shields, ornamented with rich feathers of the colours and devices which are represented.

Also two strings of beads of chalchihuitl, rich stones.

Likewise 800 handfuls of long green rich feathers, which they call quecali.

Likewise a piece of work of rich feathers named tlalpiloni, which served as a royal ensign, of the shape which is represented.

Likewise 40 bags of grain, which they call grain of cochineal.

And 20 xicaras of gold in dust, of the finest quality; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLV.

1. Coayxtlahuacān. 2. Texopan. 3. Tamacolapān. 4. Yanantitlan. 5. Tepuzculula. 6. Nochiztlan. 7. Xaltepec. 8. Tamaçolan. 9. Mictlan. 10. Coaxomulco. 11. Cuicatlan. 12. Loads of rich quilted mantles worked in this manner. 13. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 14. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 15. Loads of maxtlac. 16. Loads of naguas and quipiles. 17. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 18. A shield of feathers of this device. 19. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 20. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 21. 22. Two strings of beads of chalchihuitl, rich stones. 23. 24. Eight hundred handfuls of long green rich feathers, which they call quetzale. 25. 26. Forty bags of grain, which they name cochineal. 27. Twenty xicaras of fine gold dust. 28. A tlalpiloni of rich feathers of this shape, which served as a royal ensign.

The number of cities of hot and temperate provinces which are represented and named in the following plate is eleven; and the tribute which they paid is as follows.

First, they gave 400 loads of quilted mantles richly worked.

Likewise 800 loads of large mantles; which they paid every six months to the kings of Mexico.

They further presented four large chests of timber of the size of the preceding, two full of maize, one of beans, and the other of chian.

Also twenty tiles of fine gold, of the size of a middling salver, and of the thickness of the thumb.

Likewise twenty bags of grain of cochineal; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLVI.

1. Coplapan. 2. Etlan. 3. Quauxilotitlan. 4. Guaxaca. 5. Camotlan. 6. Teocuitlatlan. 7. Quatzontepec. 8. Octlan. 9. Teticpa. 10. Tlalcuechahuaya. 11. Macuilxochic. 12. Loads of rich quilted mantles worked in this manner. 13. Loads of large mantles. 14. Loads of large mantles. 15. Two chests of maize. 16. Two chests of beans and chian. 17. Twenty tiles of fine gold, as large as a middling-sized salver, and as thick as the thumb. 18. Twenty bags of grain of cochineal.

The number of cities of hot provinces which are represented in the following plate is three. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they paid 400 loads of large mantles, which they gave every six months.

They further presented a piece of armour, and a shield, ornamented with rich feathers, of the colours which are represented.

Likewise twenty xicaras full of fine gold dust.

Likewise five bags of grain of cochineal.

Likewise 400 handfuls of rich green feathers, which they call quetzalli; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLVII.

1. Loads of large mantles. 2. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 3. Tlachquiauco. 4. Twenty xicaras of fine gold in dust. 5. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 6. Achioatlan. 7. Çapotlan. 8. Five bags of grain of cochineal. 9. Four hundred handfuls of quetzali, rich feathers.

The cities of hot and temperate provinces which are represented and named in the following plate are twenty-two in number; and the articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they gave 1600 loads of rich mantles, wearing apparel for lords and caciques.

Likewise 800 loads of mantles striped with scarlet and white.

Likewise 400 loads of naguas and quipiles; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented a piece of armour, and a shield, ornamented with rich feathers, with the device of a bird, and of the colours which are represented.

Likewise a shield of gold.

Likewise a device for armour resembling a wing, of rich yellow feathers.

Likewise a band of gold for the head, of the breadth of the hand, and as thick as parchment.
Likewise two strings of beads, and a collar of gold.
Likewise a diadem of gold, of the shape which is represented.
Likewise three large pieces of chalchiuitl, rich stones.
Likewise three strings of entirely round beads of chalchiuitl, rich stones.
Likewise four strings of beads of chalchiuitl, rich stones.
Likewise twenty lip-jewels of clear amber, ornamented with gold.
Likewise twenty other lip-jewels of crystal with blue enamel, and ornamented with gold.
Likewise eighty handfuls of rich green feathers, which they call quecali.
Likewise four pieces of green feathers, like handfuls, ornamented with rich yellow feathers.
Likewise 8000 small handfuls of rich feathers of the colour of the turquoise.
Likewise 8000 small handfuls of rich scarlet feathers.
Likewise 8000 small handfuls of rich green feathers.
Likewise 100 jars or pitchers of fine liquid amber.
Likewise 200 loads of chocolate.
Likewise 16000 round lumps, resembling balls, of oli, which is the gum of a tree; which balls being struck on the ground, rebound very high; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE XLVIII.

1. Tochtepec. 2. Xayaco. 3. Otlatitlan. 4. Cocamaloapa. 5. Mixtlan. 6. Michapan. 7. Ayotzintepec. 8. Michatlan. 9. Teotlitlan. 10. Xicaltepec. 11. Oxitlan. 12. Tzinacanoztoc. 13. Tototepec. 14. Chinantlan. 15. Ayoçintepec. 16. Cuezcomatitla. 17. Puctlan. 18. Teteutlan. 19. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 20. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 21. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 22. Loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 23. Loads worked in this manner. 24. A piece of armour of rich feathers with this device of a bird. 25. A shield of rich feathers. 26. A golden shield of this shape. 27. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 28. Loads of naguas and quipiles. 29. A device from the down of rich feathers. 30. A diadem of gold of this shape. 31. A golden band for the head, of the breadth of the hand, and as thick as parchment. 32. A string of golden beads. 33. A string of golden beads. 34. 35. 36. 37. Four strings of chalchihuitl. 38. 39. 40. Three pieces of chalchihuitl, rich stones. 41. 42. 43. Three strings of chalchihuitl, rich stones. 44. Twenty jewels for the lips, of clear amber, with their ends set in gold. 45. Twenty jewels for the lips, of crystal of a blue shade, set in gold. 46. Eighty handfuls of rich feathers. 47. 48. Sixteen thousand balls of olli. 49. Tlacotlal. 50. 51. 52. 53. Four pieces of rich feathers resembling handfuls in their composition, of this shape. 54. One hundred pots or jars of liquid amber. 55. Two hundred loads of chocolate. 56. Toztlan. 57. Eight thousand small handfuls of blue feathers. 58. Eight thousand small handfuls of rich scarlet feathers. 59. Eight thousand small handfuls of rich green feathers. 60. Yautlan. 61. Yxmatlatlan.

The cities of hot provinces, which are represented and named in the following plate, are seven in number. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they gave two long strings of chalchihuitl, rich stones.

Likewise 1400 handfuls of rich blue, scarlet, green, and turquoise coloured feathers, which are represented in six handfuls.

Likewise 80 whole skins of birds of rich plumage, of the colour of the turquoise, with violet breasts, of the colours which are represented.

Likewise 80 more whole skins of birds.

Likewise 800 handfuls of rich yellow feathers.

Likewise 800 handfuls of long green feathers which they call queçali.

Likewise two lip-jewels of transparent amber ornamented with gold.

Likewise 200 loads of chocolate.

Likewise 40 tiger skins.

Likewise 800 rich tecomates out of which they drink chocolate.

And likewise two large pieces of clear amber, of the size of a brick; all which they paid every six months.

PLATE XLIX.

1. Xoconochco. 2. Ayotlan. 3. Coyoacan. 4. Mapachtepec. 5. Maçatlan. 6. Huiztlan. 7. Acapetlatlan. 8. Huehuetlan. 9. Ochpaniztli*. 10. 11. Two strings of chalchihuitl. 12. Tlacaxipehualiztl*. 13. Handfuls of rich blue feathers. 14. Handfuls of rich green feathers. 15. Handfuls of rich scarlet feathers. 16. Handfuls of rich blue feathers of the colour of turquoise. 17. Handfuls of rich scarlet feathers. 18. Handfuls of rich green feathers. 19. Eighty skins of birds of this colour. 20. Handfuls of rich yellow feathers. 21. Handfuls of rich green feathers. 22. A lip-jewel of transparent amber, set in gold. 23. Eighty skins of birds of this colour. 24. Handfuls of rich yellow feathers. 25. Handfuls of rich green feathers. 26. A lip-jewel of transparent amber, set in gold. 27. One hundred loads of chocolate. 28. Twenty tiger skins. 29. One hundred loads of chocolate. 30. Twenty skins. 31. Four hundred tecomates of this shape, out of which they drink chocolate. 32. Four hundred tecomates of this shape. 33. 34. Two pieces of clear amber, each of the size of a brick.

The cities of hot and temperate provinces, which are represented and named in the following plate, are seven in number. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they gave 400 loads of large mantles; which they paid every six months

Likewise 20 loads of chocolate.

Also 1600 bundles of cotton; all which they paid once in the year.

* The symbols of two Mexican months seem to have been inserted here accidentally amongst those of the tributary cities.

PLATE L.

1. Quauhtochco. 2. Teucoltzapotla. 3. Tototlan. 4. Tuchconco. 5. Ahuilizapan. 6. Quauthetelco. 7. Ytzteyocan. 8. Loads of large mantles. 9. Twenty loads of chocolate. 10. 11. 12. 13. One thousand six hundred bundles of cotton.

The cities of hot provinces contained, represented, and named in the following plate, are six in number. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, 400 loads of quipiles and naguas, which are wearing apparel for women.

Likewise 400 loads of quilted mantles.

Likewise 400 loads of small mantles, with white and black fringes.

Likewise 400 loads of mantles, each mantle of six yards, with one half striped with black and white.

Likewise 400 loads of large white mantles, each mantle of six yards.

Likewise 160 loads of rich and curiously worked mantles, wearing apparel for lords and caciques.

Likewise 1200 loads of striped mantles, containing more white than black; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented two rich pieces of armour, with their shields ornamented with rich feathers, according to their representations.

Also a string of chalchihuitl, rich stones.

Also 400 handfuls of long rich green feathers, which they call quecali.

Likewise 20 lip-jewels of crystal with blue enamel, set in gold.

Likewise 20 lip-jewels of transparent amber, ornamented with gold.

Likewise 200 loads of chocolate.

And further a queçaltlalpiloni of rich feathers, which served as a royal ensign; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE LI.

1. Cuetlaxtlan. 2. Mictlanquauhtla. 3. Tlapanicytlan. 4. Oxichan. 5. Acozpa. 6. Teociocan. 7. Loads of naguas and quipiles worked in this manner. 8. Loads of mantles worked in this manner, half scarlet. 9. Loads of small mantles worked in this manner. 10. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 11. Loads of large mantles. 12. Eighty loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 13. Eighty loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 14. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 15. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 16. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 17. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 18. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 19. A piece of armour of rich feathers. 20. A shield of rich feathers. 21. A string of chalchihuitl, which are stones. 22. Two hundred loads of chocolate. 23. Four hundred handfuls of green feathers. 24. Twenty lip-jewels of crystal of a blue shade, set in gold.

25. Twenty lip-jewels of transparent amber, set in gold. 26. A quecaltlalpiloni of rich feathers, which served as a royal ensign.

The cities contained, represented, and named in the following plate, are seven in number; and the articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they gave 400 loads of mantles, striped with brown and white.

Likewise 800 loads of large white mantles; which they paid every six months.

They further presented once in the year two pieces of armour with their shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the kind which is represented.

PLATE LII.

1. Tlapacoyan. 2. Xiloxochitlan. 3. Xochiquauhtitlan. 4. Tuchtlan. 5. Coapan. 6. Aztaopan. 7. Acaçacatla. 8. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 9. Loads of large white mantles. 10. Loads of large white mantles. 11. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 12. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 13. A shield of feathers of this device. 14. A shield of feathers of this device.

The number of cities represented and named in the following plate. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they gave 1600 loads of mantles, striped with brown and white.

Likewise 8000 loaves or lumps of liquid amber for incense, which they call xochiococtl; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour with their shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the kind which are represented; which they paid once in the year.

PLATE LIII.

1. Tlatlauhquitepec. 2. Atenco. 3. Teciutlan. 4. Ayutuchco. 5. Yayauquitlalpa. 6. Xonoctla. 7. Teotlalpan. 8. Ytztepec. 9. Yxcoyamec *. 10. Yaunahuac. 11. Caltepec. 12. Four

* This symbol represents a beast with an eye situated in the middle of its body, to which the first syllable *yx* of the proper name Yxcoyamec, (which often in compound words signifies *an eye*, as in Yxnextli, the name which the Mexicans gave to Eve on account of her perpetual sorrow for having plucked the forbidden fruit,) alludes. The idea of beasts with eyes in various parts of their body often occurs in the Old Testament; and Ezekiel describes, in the eighteenth verse of the first chapter of his prophecies, wheels full of eyes; and Zechariah mentions, in the ninth verse of the third chapter of his book, a stone with seven eyes. Eyes are also frequently represented in Mexican paintings in places and on objects where their occurrence is quite unusual. A beast with five eyes upon its back is painted in the tenth page of the lesser Vatican MS.; and a stone with the exact number of seven eyes seems to be represented in the Mexican painting which is preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna. It cannot be denied that a passage in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations, which has perplexed all commentators on Scripture, "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun," receives considerable elucidation from some of the figures contained in the Mexican paintings, since this extraordinary costume is one in which they are not unfrequently attired.

hundred loads of striped mantles. 13. Four hundred loads of mantles, striped with black and white. 14. Four hundred loads of striped mantles. 15. Four hundred loads of striped mantles. 16. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 17. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 18. A shield of feathers of this device. 19. A shield of feathers of this device. 20. Eight thousand loaves of xochiococotle, which is liquid amber.

The cities of hot provinces, which are represented and named in the following plate, are seven in number. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, 400 loads of mantles, latticed as it were with black and white.

Likewise 400 loads of rich mantles, worked with scarlet and white, wearing apparel for lords.

Likewise 400 loads of maxtlatl, which served as trowsers, otherwise named small-clothes.

Likewise 800 loads of large white mantles, each mantle of six yards.

Likewise 800 loads of striped mantles, each measuring twelve yards, orange-coloured and white.

Likewise 400 loads of large white mantles, each mantle of twelve yards.

Likewise 400 loads of mantles, striped with green, yellow, and scarlet.

Likewise 400 loads of naguas and quipiles.

Likewise 240 loads of rich worked mantles, of scarlet, white, and black, wearing apparel for lords; all which dresses they paid every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour with their shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the kind which is represented.

Also 800 loads of dry axi.

Likewise 20 bags of small white feathers, with which they ornamented mantles.

Likewise two strings of chalchihuitl, rich stones.

Likewise two strings of beads of rich stones, resembling turquoises.

Likewise two pieces like salvers, ornamented or set with rich turquoise stones; all which they paid once in the year.

PLATE LIV.

1. Tuchpa. 2. Tlatiçapa. 3. Çihnanteopa. 4. Papantla. 5. Oçelotepec. 6. Miahuaapa. 7. Mictlan. 8. Four hundred loads of mantles worked in this manner. 9. Four hundred loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 10. Four hundred loads of maxtlatl, which are a sort of trowsers. 11. Four hundred loads of large white mantles. 12. Four hundred loads of large white mantles. 13. Four hundred loads of mantles worked in this manner. 14. Four hundred loads of mantles worked in this manner. 15. Loads of mantles. 16. Loads of mantles worked in this manner. 17. Loads of quipiles and naguas. 18. 19. 20. Two hundred and forty loads of rich mantles. 21. 22. Eight hundred loads of dried axi. 23. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 24. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 25. Twenty bags of small feathers. 26. 27. Two strings of chalchihuitl, beads of rich stones. 28. A string of turquoise

stones. 29. 30. Two salvers of small turquoise stones. 31. A shield of rich feathers. 32. A shield of rich feathers of this device.

The cities represented in the following plate are two, and the articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, they gave 800 loads of rich mantles, worked in scarlet and white, with fringes of green, yellow, scarlet, and blue.

Likewise 400 loads of maxtlatl.

Likewise 400 loads more of maxtlatl.

Likewise 400 loads of large white mantles, each measuring six yards; all which they paid every six months.

They further presented each year 1200 bundles of cotton

PLATE LV.

1. Atlan. 2. Four hundred loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 3. Four hundred loads of maxtlatl, which are a kind of trowsers. 4. Four hundred loads of rich mantles worked in this manner. 5. Four hundred loads of maxtlatl, which are a kind of trowsers. 6. Four hundred loads of large white mantles. 7. Teçapatitlan. 8. 9. 10. One thousand two hundred bundles of cotton.

The tributes which the city of Oxitipan, which is represented and named in the following plate, paid to the kings of Mexico, are the following.

First, 2000 loads of large mantles, each mantle of three yards.

Likewise 800 loads of large mantles, striped with yellow, blue, scarlet and green, each mantle measuring six yards; all which apparel was presented every six months.

They further gave 400 loads of dry axi.

And likewise a live eagle, and occasionally two or three, accordingly as they could catch or procure them; all which they paid and presented once in the year.

PLATE LVI.

1. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 2. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 3. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 4. Four hundred loads of large mantles. 5. Oxitipan. 6. Four hundred loads of striped mantles of this colour. 7. Four hundred loads of striped mantles of this colour. 8. Loads of large mantles. 9. Four hundred loads of dry axi. 10. A live eagle, which they presented at every payment of tribute; and occasionally two or three, accordingly as they could procure them.

The cities which are represented and named in the following plate are five in number. The articles of tribute which they paid to the kings of Mexico are the following.

First, 400 loads of white mantles, with fringes of scarlet, blue, green, and yellow.

Likewise 400 loads of maxtlatl, which are a kind of trowsers.

Likewise 800 loads of large white mantles, each mantle of six yards.

Likewise 400 loads of naguas and quipiles, which are wearing apparel for women; all which apparel they paid every six months.

They further presented two pieces of armour, with their shields, ornamented with rich feathers, of the kind which is represented.

Also 800 bundles of cotton; all which they paid once in the year.

Also 400 loads of dry axi.

PLATE LVII.

1. Ctzicoac. 2. Molanco. 3. Cozcatecutlan. 4. Ychcatlan. 5. Xocoyocan. 6. Four hundred loads of mantles worked in this manner. 7. Four hundred loads of maxtlatl, which are a kind of trowsers. 8. Four hundred loads of large white mantles. 9. Four hundred loads of large white mantles. 10. Four hundred loads of naguas and quipiles. 11. A piece of armour of feathers of this device. 12. A shield of rich feathers. 13. A piece of armour of rich feathers of this device. 14. A shield of rich feathers of this device. 15. Four hundred loads of dry axi. 16. 17. Eight hundred bundles of cotton *.

* It may appear surprising that no mention should occur in this long tribute roll, of silver, pearls, emeralds, and rubies; all which are enumerated by Spanish historians in the list of the first presents which Montezuma sent to Cortes; of which two wheels, the one of gold and the other of silver, representing the sun and the moon, formed the most valuable part. The precious green stones, named Chalchiutles, so often noticed as an article of tribute, were not emeralds, or a stone of much intrinsic value; but Clavigero and various Spanish writers mention the large emerald which was discovered by a missionary in the province of Mixteca, which was called *the Heart of the People,* and on which was carved a bird in the centre of a ring formed out of a serpent; who, notwithstanding the immense price which he was offered for it, ground it in the presence of the Indians into powder. The green colour of the stone, its name, and the symbols engraved upon it, lead to the supposition that it was an ornament belonging to some image of Quecalcoatle, who was worshiped under the three names of Quecalcoatle, which signifies a serpent; Huitzilopuchtli, which means an aquatic bird; and Votan, which is *a heart* in the Tzendal or Çapotecan language. The following are the Mexican names of various precious stones, which the Tultecas were very skilful in cutting and polishing *with emery,* three or four kinds of which are described by Sahagun:—the Quetzaliztli was the emerald, the literal signification of which name is *the precious stone*; the Teuxiuitl was the turquoise; the Tlapalteuxihuitl is supposed to have been the ruby; and the Xiuhmatlaliztli, the sapphire; the Epiollotli was the pearl; amber was called according to the shades of its colour by three different names, Apoconalli, Tzalapoconalli, and Iztacapoconalli; the Eztetl was the blood-stone; the Teuilotl was the crystal; and the Teutetl was a dark stone resembling jet. Sahagun describes, in the first section of the twenty-ninth chapter of his tenth book, the manner in which the Tultecas discovered precious stones, whether they lay hid in the earth or within other stones, by watching at sun-rise certain exhalations which rose from the surface of the ground: "They possessed such knowledge respecting precious stones, that although they were within some other large stone and buried in the earth, they found them by their native ingenuity and philosophy. They discovered them in places where they were likely to exist in this manner: They got up early in the morning and proceeded up some rising piece of ground, turning their faces towards the rising sun; and as they walked along they looked carefully around them to perceive where and in what situation beneath the ground a precious stone was likely to be: they

examined more attentively moist and damp spots; and when the sun had completely risen, but more especially when it was beginning to rise, a fine and subtile vapour collected and rose in the air; and there they discovered the precious stone under the earth and within some other stone, by seeing the ascent of that vapour. They were the discoverers of the mine of precious stones which the Mexicans name Xiuitl, which are turquoises, which according to ancient tradition is in a large hill near the city of Teputzotlan, which bears the name of Xiuhtzoni." It may be interesting to compare this passage of Sahagun with what Diodorus Siculus says in his second book, of the growth of gems in Arabia, and of their modification into different colours and various degrees of transparency by the rays and heat of the sun; since the ancient philosophers seem, like the Tultecas, to have believed that the sun drew a vapour (εκφυσις) from precious stones.

THE THIRD PART.

THE description of what was customary with the native Mexicans at the birth of a male or female infant; the rite and ceremony of naming the children, and of afterwards dedicating and offering them at their temples, or to the military profession, according to the signification of the figures which follow on the other side of the leaf, which are accompanied with brief explanations in addition to the description given in this page of all the said figures, which is as follows.

As soon as the mother was delivered of the infant, they put it into a cradle, as is represented; and when it was four days old, the midwife took the infant in her arms naked, and carried it into the court of the mother's house, in which court were strewed reeds, or rushes, which they call Tule, upon which was placed a small vessel of water, in which the said midwife bathed the said infant; and after she had bathed it, three boys * being seated near the said rushes, eating roasted maize mixed with

* Baron de Humboldt, citing M. de Palin's work on the study of hieroglyphics, remarks, in reference to this passage in the *Interpretation of the Collection of Mendoza*, that the Mexican custom of naming children in the presence of three other children, who were parties to the ceremony, was somewhat analogous to the Jewish rite of baptizing proselytes before *three witnesses:*

" Cette cérémonie se fait devant trois enfans (que désignent des enfans en général) ils nomment le nouveau-né, et célébrent sa naissance en mangeant du mais. Dans l'inscription de Rosette, un décret ordonne la même chose, et par une pareille représentation; les trois célébrans y étant réunis aux trois fleurs pour former le caractère de la célébration du jour de naissance, que l'on représente aussi par le lever du soleil. Tous les détails de ce tableau ou de cette table de loi Mexicaine rapellent le baptême des proselytes du judaisme, en présence de trois temoins, et les *αμφιδρομια* des Grecs, où l'enfant le cinquième jour de sa naissance étoit voué aux dieux et obtenoit un nom, après des cérémonies expiatoires." The remaining rites, of baptising the children and of afterwards presenting them with an offering at the temple, seem to be a confusion of Christian ceremonies with Jewish customs and traditions; which however distant the period or intricate the manner in which it was effected,—and whether by Jews alone in hatred to Christianity, and in profanation of its sacraments and most hallowed reminiscences, and partly out of superstition, (as the Mahometans are said sometimes to adore the cross,) or by Jews and Christians both colonizing America,—the longer we meditate on the religious rites of the Mexicans and the Peruvians, the more we are inclined to believe did actually take place.

The custom of offering their children at the temple was peculiar to the Jews; and no other nation ever imitated them in this, except the Mexicans. Another custom analogous to this, or at least founded on an analogous belief,—viz. that their God who brought them out of Egypt had a right to their bodies for sacrifice on his altar, as well as for service in his temple,—was the redemption of the first-born, which consisted in every Jewish parent being obliged to give the priests or Levites a certain sum of money, in lieu of his eldest son for sacrifice; for according to the fifteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, "all that opened the matrix amongst beasts," being males, were to be sacrificed to the Lord; but the first-born of men were to be redeemed. The firstling of an ass was likewise to be redeemed with a lamb; or if unredeemed, to have its neck broken. This command of Moses should be considered in reference to the custom of sacrificing children which existed in Mexico and Peru: for if the Indians borrowed the custom of offering their children at the temple from the Jews, vague traditions of the time when the Lord, to punish Pharaoh whose heart he had hardened, smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, " from the first-born of Pharaoh

boiled beans, which kind of food they named *Yxcue*, which provision or paste they set before the said boys, in order that they might eat it. After the said bathing or washing, the said midwife desired

that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon [1];" and an indistinct recollection of the sacrifices which were ordained to commemorate that event, and of the devotion of the first-born of men as well as of animals, miserably confused with notions of propitiation and atonement, might have suggested to their fanaticism the idea of sacrificing their own children, who were no less innocent than those of the Egyptians.

In the Holy Land such sacrifices were very common amongst the Jews; and the name of *Tophet*, and of the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, which was close to the gates of Jerusalem, is still odious on account of the human sacrifices, especially those of children, which the Scripture records as having there taken place.

If we may be allowed to venture an opinion on an obscure matter of history, the extreme rigour with which the Jews after having been long fostered in Spain were treated by the Spanish government and the Inquisition, towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, was not less owing to a spirit of intolerance on their part, than to the discovery of great enormities perpetrated by the more ignorant and fanatical class of Jews resident in Spain at the celebration of the festival of the sacrifice of their paschal lamb. The severity of the edicts issued against them at that time is really surprising; and for many years afterwards a kind of undefined horror of Jews and Judaism prevailed in Spain, which Sir Edwin Sandys, an old English writer, probably attributing it to a wrong cause, thus notices: "There is in Spain a sort of people of the Marrany, as they term them, who are baptized Jews and Moors, and many of them in secret withal circumcised Christians. All which, although conforming themselves in some sort of outward show unto the Christian religion, yet are thought in heart to be utterly averse from it, and to retain an inward desire to return to that superstition from which their ancestors by rigour and terror were driven; and the Jews will say in Italy, that there come divers Spaniards to them to be circumcised there, and so away to Constantinople to plant in the East."

It may be interesting to learn from the Narrative of Mr. Walsh, chaplain to Lord Strangford, (the late British ambassador to the Porte,) what is the present situation at Constantinople of the descendants of those Jews who were expelled from Spain three centuries ago; who it is singular should be accused of the same crimes by the Turks as were formerly often unjustly laid to their charge by Christians. Mr. Walsh's account is somewhat long; but we shall here give it without any abbreviation:—"Our direct road was to cross the harbour, and pass through Constantinople, and out at the Selyvria gate; but as we took horses from Pera, we were compelled to go a round of several miles, and cross the Kyat-khana Sou, at the head of the harbour. Our way lay through the suburb in which the Jews reside; and perhaps you would wish to know, *en passant*, something of the remnant of that extraordinary people settled at Constantinople, who have lately distinguished themselves in the Greek insurrection by their inveterate hostility to the Greeks. You would naturally suppose, as I did, that these people came to Constantinople from some part of the East, and brought with them their Oriental language; but this is not the case. After the extinction of the Waldenses, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the rage of the Inquisition was turned against the Jews of Spain; and having inflicted on them various persecutions and sufferings, an edict was at length issued for expelling them altogether from that country; and they set out, to the amount of eight hundred thousand persons, from this land of Egypt,—not spoiling their enemies, but spoiled of all they possessed themselves. As the same prejudices existed against them in every Christian country at the time, they could find no asylum in the West; so they set their faces to the East, and returned to the place from whence they originally came. They were kindly received in different parts of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turks afforded them that protection which Christians had denied them. They settled at Salonichi, Smyrna, Rodosto, and other large towns, where they at this day form an important part of the population. At Salonichi they have no less than thirty synagogues. But the principal division of them came to Constantinople, and were assigned a large district, called Hassa Kuï, to inhabit, where they form a community of fifty

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[1] A very remarkable representation of the ten plagues which God sent on Egypt, in order to punish Pharaoh's hardness of heart, occurs in the eleventh and twelfth pages of the Borgian MS. Moses is there painted holding up in his left hand his rod which became a serpent, and with a furious gesture calling down plagues on the Egyptians. These plagues were frogs, locusts, lice, flies, &c., all which seem to be represented in the pages referred to; but the last and most dreadful were the thick darkness which overspread Egypt for three days, and the death of the first-born of all the Egyptians; the former of which is represented by the figure of an eclipse of the sun, and the latter by Mictlanteotle, (or the god of the dead,) descending in the form of a skeleton or a cadaverous body, from the rod of Moses. The curious symbol of one serpent swallowing up another, occurs likewise in the nineteenth page of the same MS. It is not extraordinary that the Mexicans, who were acquainted with one portion of Exodus, —that relating to the migration of the children of Israel from Egypt,—should also have not been ignorant of another.

the said boys to pronounce the name aloud*, bestowing a new name on the infant which had been thus bathed; and the name which they gave it was that which the midwife wished. When they first carried out the infant to bathe it,—if it was a boy they carried him holding his symbol in his hand, which symbol was the instrument which the father of the infant employed, either in the military pro-

* Naming children was so important a ceremony amongst the Jews, that if the infant died before it was eight days old, when the rite of circumcision was performed, a name was given to it at the place of burial; that, as the Rabbis say, it might have *a name* amongst Israel, and be remembered at the resurrection.

According likewise to Jewish usages, boys were to be present at the rite of circumcision, one of whom was to hold a torch with twelve lights, in remembrance of the twelve tribes of Israel.

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thousand persons. The Turks call the different people who reside under them by names indicative of the estimation in which they hold them; the Greeks, Yeshir, (or slaves,) as they were considered to have forfeited their life at the taking of Constantinople, and hold it ever since on sufferance;—the Armenians, Rayas, (or subjects,) as they were never a conquered people, but merged insensibly into the population of the empire: but the Jews they call Mousaphir, (or visitors,) because they sought an asylum amongst them. They treat them therefore as visitors, with kindness and hospitality. I give you this as the original and accurate distinction; though all the subjects of Turkey, who are not Turks, are loosely called Rayas. As a further motive for good-will they mutually approach to an assimilation, much more nearly than any of the rest, in their religious opinions and observances. Their strict theism, their practice of circumcision, their abhorrence of swine's flesh, their language read from right to left; are all coincidences which, to a certain degree, give them an identity of feeling which does not take place with the others.

"The Jews, therefore, are a favoured people, and held by the Turks in a degree of consideration which is very different from that which they receive in any Christian country at the present day. In many towns in Germany which I have visited, they are prohibited by law from passing a night within the walls; and the law is strictly enforced, unless evaded by the payment of an exorbitant tax: in others they are obliged to submit to degrading conditions and suspicious precautions, which are as frivolous as they are humiliating. They cannot travel from town to town, or exercise particular trades, without paying an extraordinary toll or tax, which is not exacted from other people. Even in England there is a strong line of demarcation still drawn, and they are still considered foreigners; and in London they cannot be members of corporations, cannot open a shop, cannot practise particular callings, without paying to the corporation exorbitant fines, which are demanded from nobody else. The prejudice which led to cruelty and persecution is softened with the growing liberality of the age; but it still exists under a milder form, and is a wall of separation between them and the Christian community. In Turkey it forms no such barrier: the Jews freely exercise the most lucrative callings; they are generally the brokers who transact business for merchants, and the sarafs, or bankers, with whom the Turks deposit their property. They enter, particularly the women, into the harams with merchandize, and so are agents of intrigue, and acquire extraordinary influence in Turkish houses.

"On a hill behind the quarter of Hassa Kuï, where they reside, they have a large cemetery, ornamented with marble tombs, some of them extremely well sculptured in high relief; and the houses of the opulent are furnished and fitted up in a style of Oriental magnificence. The lower orders, however, are marked by that peculiarity which distinguishes them in every other country; squalor and raggedness in their persons, filth and nastiness in their houses, their morals very lax, and ready to engage in any base business which the less vile would have a repugnance to. They are distinguished, like all classes in Turkey, by a particular dress: they wear a turban like a Turkish gentleman, but lower; and instead of being encircled with a rich shawl, it is generally bound with a mean cross-barred handkerchief; and their slippers, the colour of which is particularly prescribed to all Turkish subjects, are blue. The front of their houses is lead-colour. They are inflexibly attached to their own religion, though many of them have apparently conformed to Mahomedanism;—such as have done so, still practise, in their own way, the rites common to both people.

"The Turk circumcises his child at the age of five or six, and makes it a gay public ceremony. The Jewish proselyte always performs it on the eighth day, and in private. Their Rabbins also visit them secretly, and keep up all their former observances. Should a Jew be made a convert to Christianity, he becomes the immediate object of the most relentless persecution of his own people; so that his life is not safe.

"A very respectable man of that persuasion applied to me to be received into Christian communion, and in due time I baptized him in the chapel of the British embassy: but he earnestly requested that I should keep it a profound secret; and the day after the ceremony he left Constantinople for Poland. Indeed their repugnance to Christians, particularly to the Greeks, displays itself on all occasions. When the venerable Patriarch was hanged by the Turks, the Jews volunteered their services to cast his body into the sea: some fellows of the lowest description were brought from Hassa Kuï for the purpose, and they dragged his

fession, or in his trade, whether it was that of a goldsmith, jeweller, or any other; and the said ceremony having been gone through, the midwife delivered the infant to his mother. But if the infant was a girl, the symbol with which they carried her to be bathed was, a spinning wheel and distaff, with a small basket and a handful of brooms, which were the things which would afford her occupation when she arrived at a proper age.

corpse, by the cord by which he was hanged, through the streets with gratuitous insult. This circumstance, with others of a similar nature, so increased the former antipathy of the Greeks, that they revenged themselves on every Jew that fell in their way, at the commencement of the insurrection, with the most dreadful retaliation. The mutual prejudice is so strong, that it gives rise, as you may suppose, to a number of accusations; and they charge each other with the most atrocious practices. The Jews, you will recollect, in the early ages of Christianity denounced the Christians as eaters of their own children,—an accusation sanctioned by the impure and secret practices of some of the Gnostic sects. The Christians of Spain formerly stated that the Jews crucified adults on Good Friday, in mockery of our Saviour: and at Constantinople at the present day, they are charged with purloining children, and sacrificing them as paschal lambs at their passover.

"I was one day at Galata, a suburb of Pera, where a great commotion was just excited. The child of a Greek merchant had disappeared, and no one could give any account of it; it was a beautiful boy, and it was imagined it had been taken by a Turk for a slave. After some time, however, the body was found in the Bosphorus; its legs and arms were bound, and certain wounds in its side indicated that it had been put to death in some extraordinary manner, and for some extraordinary purpose: suspicion immediately fell upon the Jews; and as it was just after their paschal feast, suspicion, people said, was confirmed to a certainty. Nothing could be discovered to give a clue to the perpetrators; but the story was universally talked of, and generally believed all over Pera. The prejudice has also been greatly increased by a book written by a Jewish Rabbi converted to Christianity, which is a great curiosity. It is entitled, '*A Confutation of the Religion of the Jews,*' by Neophytus, a Greek monk, formerly a Jewish Rabbi. The original work was in the Moldavian language, and was printed in the year 1803; but it is said that the Jews, at that time, gave a large sum of money to the Hospodar, and the book was suppressed and destroyed. A copy, however, escaped, which was translated into modern Greek, and printed at Yasi in 1818, of which I had a copy at Constantinople. The first chapter is entitled, Μυστηριοι κεκρυμμενοι νυν δε ἀποκεκαλυμμενοι, '*The concealed Mysteries now made public.*' The subject is 'the blood which the Jews take from Christians, and the purpose to which they apply it.' After detailing a number of the most extraordinary particulars, he concludes in the following words: 'When I was thirteen years old my father revealed to me the mystery of the blood, and cursed me by all the elements of heaven and earth, if ever I should divulge the secret, even to my brethren; and when I was married, and should even have ten sons, I should not discover it to all, but only to one, who should be the most prudent and learned, and at the same time firm and unmoved in faith; but to a female I should never disclose it. May the earth, said he, never receive thee, if thou revealest these secrets!'

"So said my father; but I, since I have taken as my father the Lord Jesus Christ, will proclaim the truth in every place; and as the wise Sirac says, 'even unto death strive for the truth.' Much of these and similar representations are to be attributed to prejudice, and great deductions are to be made from them: but certainly the Jews of Constantinople are a fierce and fanatic race; persecution and suffering have not taught them moderation, and they pursue, even to death, any apostate from their own doctrines. They have a language and character peculiar to themselves; the first is Spanish, debased by Hebrew and foreign words into a *lingua franca;* and the second, in which it is written, is rabbinical, disguised by an alteration of some of the letters. I annex a passage of their creed, taken from one of their books, as a specimen of both." The specimen is contained in the Appendix to Mr. Walsh's '*Narrative,*' of which we shall here only insert a single verse, to show how entirely Spanish, with the exception of a few words, although written in Hebrew characters, the language of the Jews residing in Constantinople, and probably in many of the other cities of Turkey, continues at the present day to be: "*Yo creyo con emouna cumplida, que el Criador, bendicho su nombre, pertenece a el azer tefila; y no es otro.*" "I believe with a perfect faith, that to the Creator, blessed be his name, prayer ought to be made, and there is none beside him."

In Turkey it is evident that the Jews are held in much greater consideration than Christians, and in all other Mahometan countries; it is probably for the reasons which Mr. Walsh enumerates. In Hindostan, (as any one who reads the Abbé Dubois' well written work on Christian Missions in that part of the globe must feel convinced,) the Jews would be considered by the Brahmin as belonging to the most degraded race of Pariahs, and Christians as occupying a place next to them; because the Old Testament describes the blood of goats and of bulls as a grateful offering to Jehovah. Beyond the Ganges in Thibet, in many of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and in the populous kingdoms bordering on China, where the votaries of Budha are very numerous, a sect so opposed to their religious prejudices would scarcely be tolerated; and the laws of Moses would seem to the gymnosophists on the banks of the Burampooter, what those of Draco appear to the philosophers on those of the Thames.

They offered the umbilical cord of the male infant, together with the shield and arrows, the symbols with which they had carried him to be bathed, in that spot and place where war was likely to happen with their enemies, where they buried them in the earth; and they did the same with that of the female infant, which they in the same way buried beneath the Metate or stone on which they ground meal.

After the above-mentioned ceremonies, when the period of twenty days had expired, the parents of the infant went with the infant to the temple or Mezquita* which they called *Calmecac*, and in

* Mezquita and Alfaqui are words which in Arabic signify *a temple* and *a priest*. The Saracen dynasties which so long ruled over Spain made the Spaniards familiar with the meaning of them. In nothing did the civil policy of the Mexicans more closely resemble that of the Jews than in their dedicating their children at the temple, and afterwards sending them there to be instructed by the master, or, as we might say, *the superior Rabbi*, in the doctrines of their religion and their moral and ceremonial laws. Christ himself is said, when only eight years old, to have gone to the temple at Jerusalem, and disputed with the Rabbis, listening to them and asking them questions: whence it may be inferred (as they could not have known that he was the Son of God, since general publicity was not given to that circumstance till many years afterwards), that it was customary for the priests and Rabbis to teach children who came to the temple, by discoursing to them of matters of Jewish faith and doctrine. And that it was also a custom for children perpetually to serve in the temple we know from the history of Samuel, who waited on Eli the high priest; of whom it is said, in the eighteenth verse of the second chapter of the First Book of Samuel, "*But Samuel ministered before the Lord, being a child, girded with a linen ephod.*" Torquemada says, that the ceremony of dedicating their children to the military profession was likewise a religious one; and that their names were registered at the temple by the priests, that when they attained a fit age they might be compelled to go on military service. Amongst the Jews all wars, not excepting their civil wars, bore a religious character (for even in civil war right must exist on one side); and in the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy directions are given to the priests to accompany and *exhort the soldiers to battle*. The interpreter of the Collection of Mendoza says that priests likewise followed the Mexican armies, not only for the purpose of joining the combatants, but also to perform certain religious ceremonies, in which some analogy is discovered between the customs of the two nations. So frequently is Jehovah named in Scripture the *God of war*, and likened to a warrior going forth to battle, as in the following verse, "The Lord is a man of war, The Lord is his name,"—that it is evident that the Jews believed that such epithets of praise *did not profane the Majesty of Heaven*, and that it was magnifying God to ascribe to him courage and invincibility in conflicts with arms of flesh and a mortal foe. Since likewise the expression "The Lord went up," as applied to the marching of the Jewish armies, repeatedly occurs, and the presence of Jehovah in the camp of Israel is so often proclaimed,—it is not surprising that they should have considered their wars as sacred, and have called them the "*wars of the Lord*;" or that they should have attached religious ideas to the profession of arms. But whether the names of the soldiers were enrolled by the Levites, as they were by the priests amongst the Mexicans, is uncertain. A striking example is afforded in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Judges of the religious spirit which animated the Jews even in their wars with each other. This remarkable chapter contains the account of the extermination of nearly the whole tribe of Benjamin by the other tribes, and of the singular cause which led to that result; as well as of the solemn and religious preparation for a war that deluged Israel with blood, and seemed to lend a sanction to a precedent by which Romulus might have justified the violence which he offered to the Sabine women. The very commencement of it reminds us of the formal summons to Cusco which the Ingas sent to their subjects when about to undertake any of their religious wars: "Then all the children of Israel went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan even to Beersheba, with the land of Gilead, unto the Lord in Mizpeh. And the chief of all the people, even of all the tribes of Israel, presented themselves in the assembly of the people of God, *four hundred thousand footmen* that drew the sword." That the Ingas waged wars for the express purpose of compelling other nations to lay aside what they deemed to be idolatry, and to embrace the knowledge of the true God, we have the authority of Acosta and of other eminent historians for asserting. And the following passage from the eighteenth chapter of the sixth book of the *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, will show that they were at no loss for specious reasons with which to defend their injustice: "Cæterum cur, et quo prætextu, terras eas dominatui suo subegerint, breviter quoque percenseamus. *Ad populum autem profitebantur*, quod post diluvium, de quo Indis universis constabat, a solis Ingis genus humanum de novo propagatum et multiplicatum esset. Ejus enim generis septem heroas ex specu Pacaritambo erupisse, et quo diximus modo, novos populos ac gentes proseminasse. Unde fas sit, ac æquum, ut Ingis, ceu satoribus suis ac progenitoribus, omnes in universum populi parerent ac obsequerentur. *Sed et hoc gloriabantur, quod soli ex omnibus veram et puram Dei colendi ac honorandi notitiam haberent.* Unde etiam in Cusco, veluti terrâ quâdam sanctâ, ultra 400 delubra numerabantur, et finitima omnia passim sacrorum arcanis plena videbantur. Et sicut forti manu in occupandis et subigendis regnis

the presence of their Alfaquis presented the infant with its offering of mantles and maxtles, together with some provision; and after the infant had been brought up by its parents, as soon as it arrived

pergebant, ita in condendis quoque templis, ac divinis cultibus instituendis, nihilo segniores erant. Quos deos venerabantur ex his primarius Viracocha Pachayachachic, id est, mundi creator, erat. Ab hoc secundus sol colebatur, credebaturque tum solem, tum Guacas, virtutem et vigorem suum a creatore infusam suscipere, apud quem etiam pro hominibus mediatores et advocati intercedant." "But let us now proceed briefly to state the plea and pretext by which they (the Ingas) subdued those countries under their yoke. They professed to the people that after the deluge, with which event the Indians were universally acquainted, the human species was again propagated and multiplied by the Ingas alone; for that seven heroes of their race came forth from the cave of Pacaritambo and procreated, in the manner which has been mentioned, new nations and people; whence it was fit and just that all mankind should obey and submit to the Ingas as their ancestors and progenitors. They made this likewise a boast, that they *alone of all men* possessed the true and pure knowledge of the worship and honour due to God: and hence in Cusco, as in some holy land, the temples exceeded the number of four hundred, and the neighbouring territory was every where full of religious mysteries. In the same manner also as they were strenuous in seizing on, and conquering kingdoms, so they were not less sedulous in founding temples and in instituting religious rites. Of the gods whom they worshiped, the principal was Viracocha Pachayachachic, that is to say, the creator of the world. Next to him came the sun; and they believed that both the sun and the Guacas derived the virtue and vigour infused into them from the creator, *before whom they interceded as mediators and advocates for men.*" Gomara says that the Mexicans likewise made religion a pretext for their early wars: "Dieron guerra á sus vezinos, vencieron muchas batallas. Tuvieron esto, que á los que se les davan, ponian ciertos tributos ó parias; y á los que les resistian, robavan, y servian se dellos, y de sus hijos y mugeres, por esclavos. *Començaron por via de religion*, añadieron le luego las armas y fuerça, y despues codicia; y assi se quedaron señores de todo, y pusieron la silla de su ymperio en Mexico."—*La Conquista de Mexico*, fo. cxx. The Peruvians had the singular custom of putting the images of the gods of the conquered provinces into a large net or latticed frame, and of preserving them as a trophy in honour of Viracocha. And we may observe, in passing, that Ezekiel twice introduces God as threatening to spread his net over his enemies, in which light he regarded the disobedient Jews: "My net also will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare: and I will bring him to Babylon to the land of the Chaldeans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there. And I will scatter toward every wind all that are about him to help him, and all his bands; and I will draw out the sword after them." chap. xii. This prophecy related to the captivity of the Jews and of their king Zedekiah, whose eyes were put out before he was carried to Babylon. The expression likewise of "scattering towards every wind," which occurs in several places of Scripture, brings to our recollection that passage in the twenty-ninth chapter of Acosta's *History of America*, wherein, treating of the Mexican jubilee which was celebrated every fifty-second year in honour of Tetzcatlipoca, he says, that the Mexicans, in the midst of the sincerest manifestation of their penitence for their past sins, (the recollection of which was awakened by the sound of the trumpets which the priests blew towards the four quarters of the world,) humbly deprecated injuries from either darkness or the winds. In the seventeenth chapter of his prophecies, Ezekiel again makes use of almost the same language: "And I will spread my net upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his trespass that he hath trespassed against me. And all his fugitives with all his bands shall fall by the sword, and they that remain shall be scattered toward all winds; and ye shall know that I the Lord have spoken it." Job also employs a like metaphor: "Know now that God hath overthrown me, and hath compassed me with his net: Behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard; I cry aloud, but there is no judgment. He hath fenced up my way that I cannot pass, and he hath set *darkness* in my paths." That the Jews did, like the Peruvians, acknowledge *in a manner* the gods of other nations, although they disbelieved in their divinity, cannot be denied; since it is evident from the following remarkable verse in the twenty-second chapter of Exodus: "Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people." And it says in the twenty-seventh verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles; "*Out of the spoils won in battles* did they dedicate to maintain the house of the Lord:" which usage was precisely that of the Mexicans. It has been before remarked, that the Mexicans in many of their customs resembled the Peruvians, and that their religion was probably derived from a common source, *Viracocha being the same deity as Tetzcatlipoca and Huitzilopuchtli*, although worshiped under a different name. The proper name Viracocha, signifies the *foam* or *froth of the sea;* and Pachayachachic, the *creator of the universe*. And since the epithet of Tlavizcalpantecutli was bestowed on Tetzcatlipoca *on account of the creation of light*, and the Mexicans believed that he in the beginning *had made the division of the waters;*—so that of Viracocha might have been given to Pachayachachic by the Peruvians *for some analogous reason*. To say that this name has some resemblance in meaning to the Greek word Αφροδιτη is merely pointing out a similarity where there can be no possible allusion. The belief which the Mexicans and Peruvians entertained of their origin is likewise an argument in favour of their common descent. The former of these nations pretended that their ancestors had proceeded from seven caves; and the latter, that they were descended from seven heroes, who

at the proper age, they delivered him to the superior Alfaqui of the said Mezquita, that he might be there instructed, in order that he might afterwards become an Alfaqui: but if the parents of the

came out of the same cave. M. de Humboldt has observed, that if we knew exactly in what part of the globe the ancient kingdoms of *Tulan, Tlapallan, Huetlapallan, Amaquemacam, Aztlan,* and *Chicomoztoc* were situated, we might be able to form an opinion of who the ancestors of the Mexicans were, and from what country they passed over to America. An attentive examination of the meaning of these proper names, and the mutual comparison of one with another, may at least assist us in forming some conjecture. But it must first be observed, that the opinion of Herrera, (who is the authority to which a kind of general submission is yielded on all questions relating to America), viz. that that continent was only colonized from its western side,—is improbable in the extreme; for, omitting physical reasons and other causes for supposing that the contrary would rather have been the case; such as the great current of the sea which runs from the African towards the American shores; the relative magnitude of the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans; and the consequent nearer proximity of America to Europe; and the much greater naval enterprise which has in all ages distinguished Europeans, and the Asiatics bordering on the coasts of the Mediteranean Sea from other Asiatics: and likewise the curious fact mentioned by Sahagun, that the Mexicans recorded in numerous historical paintings an early colonization of America from the East; as also that Torquemada says that when Quecalcoatle set out on his return to his former kingdom of Tlapallan, he proceeded to the province of Coaçacoalco, (which was situated on the gulf of Mexico,) and there embarked in a boat or raft formed out of serpents' skins[1] (and such a boat seems to be represented in the forty-third page of the painting preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden)—Herrera cannot be considered a candid author, or one who declared all that he knew or believed respecting the ancient colonization of America; nor can it be expected that much weight should be attached to his theory;—that America was peopled from Asia by colonists passing over the Isthmus of California, and that the Mexicans came from thence; since modern geographical science contradicts the supposed facilities of such a passage. We shall therefore, (divesting ourselves of all ancient prejudices, which Lord Bacon rightly considers the idols to which human reason readily bows, and to be most detrimental to the advance of knowledge,) proceed to the consideration of the meaning of the above-mentioned proper names, and, comparing them with each other, endeavour to discover whether they may not all have a common reference, and lead us to that portion of the Old continent to which ancient traditions and the mythological recollections of Peru and Mexico equally point. Tulan signifies *the country of reeds,* Tlapallan *the red sea,* Huetlapallan *the old red sea,* Amaquemecam *the country of the veil of paper,* Aztlan *the country of the flamingo,* and Chicomoztoc *the seven caves.* In the absence of all positive knowledge of facts, to employ conjecture is not only admissible, but becomes absolutely necessary, if research after truth is not altogether to be abandoned. We may therefore be permitted to express an opinion, for reasons which shall be alledged, that Egypt is the country to which all these proper names refer; and that the colony which arrived in early ages in America from the East, were Jews from Alexandria; in which emporium of the commerce of the world they had been established from the period of its foundation by Alexander the Great, and enjoyed equal rites of citizenship with the other citizens, possessed a contentious synagogue; and, probably as a means of increasing their wealth, addicted themselves to those mercantile pursuits which caused its haven to be crowded with the ships of every country.

The Scripture testifies that in the reign of Solomon the Jews embarked extensively in mercantile speculations; and the frequent mention which it makes of the gold of Ophir and of silver, common in Jerusalem as the stones in the days of that king, might have induced their descendants, settled at Alexandria, to try whether they could not likewise discover the "*navigation to the Isles.*"[2] That the Jews would not have allowed their ignorance of the art of navigation to remain long an obstacle to the gain which they might acquire from it, it is unnecessary to attempt to prove; and that in later ages there were good cosmographers amongst them, the testimony of Doctor Robertson is sufficient to show: who says, that when Columbus laid before John the Second, king of Portugal, the plan of his proposed discovery of the New World, "The king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accus-

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[1] Boats were in very early ages formed out of skins, as the following passage in the old *Life of Saint Patrick,* elsewhere referred to, proves; who is said to have prescribed to Maccuil as an act of penance, that, embarking in a boat of a single skin, without rudder or oars and with his feet chained, in order that the waves might carry him to some chance island of the ocean, he should forsake his native soil: "Conliga pedes tuos conpede ferreo, et projice clavem ejus in mari, et mitte te in navem unius pellis, absque gubernaculo et absque remo, et quocumque te duxerit ventus, et mare, esto paratus, et terram in quamcunque deferat te divina providentia, inhabita, et exerce tibi divina mandata." The Mexicans feigned that Quecalcoatle embarked in a boat formed out of a serpent's skin, intending thus to give an air of novelty to fiction.

[2] They would probably have sailed to the West in search of them, because the Hebrew name for *the isles* bears the signification of the West also.

infant resolved that when he attained a fit age he should go and serve in the military profession, they immediately offered him to the master, making a promise of him, which master of the young men

tomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa ignorance had opposed and disappointed Columbus,—in Lisbon he had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable. The persons according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted or rejected had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to search for a passage to India by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended, as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification of condemning their own theory and of acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgment with respect to it. In the mean time they conspired to rob him of the honour and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to dispatch a vessel secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan had neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author;—contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous."—*History of America.* book 2. It is certainly singular that the proposal of Columbus should have been referred by the king of Portugal to a bishop and to two Jews, and that he should have experienced from them the treatment described. If the Jews had had any suspicion that their countrymen had already established themselves in America, or that the great and unknown region which Benjamin of Tudela had described as under the dominion of the Jews, lay in the direction of the intended navigation, other objections besides those hinted at by Doctor Robertson might have actuated their conduct. The above passage has, however, been only cited to show that the Jews have not been in all ages ignorant of cosmography; and it is not impossible, amidst the uncertainty which prevails respecting by whom, where, and when the mariners' compass was invented, that they might have introduced it from the East, where it had been long known and used, to the knowledge of Europeans, who, as it might be expected, would not have been at much pains to record the obligation. The reasons for supposing that the proper names of places abovementioned all refer to Egypt, are the following, which are chiefly derived from the local qualities of its soil,—Tulan, (the country of rushes,) is a name which would well suit a country extending along the banks of a great river covered with flags; Tlapallan and Huetlapallan, (the country of the red sea, or of the old red sea,) would be an appellation equally applicable to Egypt; Amequemecan, (the kingdom of the veil of paper,) might refer to the reeds producing the papyrus, since the land of Egypt is said in Scripture to be hidden in her reeds, on account of their great abundance, and the lowness of the soil. Aztlan, (the country of the flamingo,) is a name which recalls to our recollection the ibis, a bird of the flamingo species, which was very common in Egypt, and greatly revered by the Egyptians; Aztlan, likewise, is said to have been an island, and that part of Lower Egypt named the Delta, in which Alexandria is situated, is in fact an island formed by the arms of the Nile; and the pyramid, the memory of which the Mexicans preserved as existing in Aztlan, might have been nothing more than a tradition of the Egyptian pyramids. Chicomoztoc, (the country of the seven caves, or of the seven dragons' mouths, or of the seven gulfs,)—for *oztoc* may be interpreted *a cave, a dragon's mouth,* and *a gulf,*—might also have signified Lower Egypt, and the seven branches of the Nile, from which colonies, either at the same or different times embarking, might have proceeded to America. It deserves likewise to be observed that Quecalcoatle and Totec are said by the interpreter of the Vatican Codex to have collected together the innocent people of Tulan, and such other persons as were inclined to follow them, and to have journeyed on till they arrived at a high mountain, *which not being able to pass, they bored a hole through it, and so passed.* This passage is represented in the fourteenth page of the MS. referred to, where a number of persons are painted creeping from between two mountains vertically placed over each other, with the further peculiarity of being joined together at the summits, whilst their bases are separate and opposed to each other, which might indicate a passage between two mountains the summits of which were contiguous, but the bases nevertheless separate,—such as are those on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar. Votan also is said in the Memoir inserted by Doctor Cabrera in his short treatise on the Population of America, to have visited the old continent, and to have gone by the road which his brethren the Culebras had bored, which would seem to refer to the former journey of Quecalcoatle to America. The curious expression likewise of Votan's having determined on quitting America to visit Europe, " to travel until he arrived at the root of heaven, in order to discover his relations, the Culebras," which follows shortly afterwards in the above-mentioned Memoir, might possibly contain some allusion to Mount Atlas, which, situated in Libya, was sometimes personified under the figure of a man supporting the heavens on his shoulders, on account of its great height. The Mexicans had likewise a notion of high mountains reaching up to heaven, as the proper name Citlaltepec, (or the mountain of the stars) indicates. The houses of the thirteen Culebras, which Votan is said to have passed by, or to have left behind him on the journey, were, perhaps, the Madeira Islands, in which ancient Hebrew inscriptions are stated to have been found; although

and boys was named Teachcauh, or Telpuchtlato; which offering they accompanied with a present of provisions and other things for its celebration: and when the infant attained a fit age, they delivered him up to the said master*.

* The title of Master, which was given by the Mexicans to those who instructed their sons in the principles of their religion and in their moral duties, corresponds well with the Hebrew word Rabbi, which is translated *Master* in the English version of the New Testament; by which name Christ was called by his disciples, on account of his being a teacher.

Spizelius denies the fact. That in very early ages the tide of Jewish migration flowed from East to West, may be inferred from the great numbers of Jews who settled in Spain, and from the monument mentioned by Procopius in the second book of his *History of the Vandal War*, as having been discovered in the city of Tangiers, which bore the following inscription in the Phenician language:—

"Nos sumus qui prædonem Jesum filium nave fugientes in tutum recepti sumus." "We are those who, flying in a ship from the robber Jesus the Son, have arrived at a place of safety." It is impossible to understand this inscription as referring to the Canaanites in the days of Joshua, although Procopius and Calmet both so explain it; since they interpret "Jesum filium nave," as "Jesus or Joshua the son of Nun"; making *nave* or *naue* the Phenician of the proper name Nun[1]. Whoever the interpreter of the Phenician inscription was, he might easily have been mistaken as to the meaning of the word *naue;* since it might either have been an original Phenician name for a ship, which had become obsolete, or of which the translator was ignorant; or it might have been adopted into that language at some period or other from the Greek: or, finally, it might have been a Latin word inserted in the Phenician inscription; as the Jews of Constantinople at the present day introduce into their confession of faith in the Spanish language, occasionally an Arabic word, which they write like the rest in Hebrew letters. Since likewise it is allowed that the Greeks and Romans learned ship-building and the art of navigation from the Phenicians and the Carthaginians, there is some reason for supposing that the Phenician name for a ship would resemble the Greek term *ναυς*, and the Latin *navis*. The appellation of Culebras (or *serpents*) corresponding in signification with the Mexican name *Coatl* or *Cohuatl*, which Votan bestows on his brethren of both continents, might also have been a term either applied by the Jews to themselves, or given to them by Christians, or of patronymic derivation. Since "wise as a serpent" was a Hebrew proverb, the Jews might, in some critical posture of their affairs,—such as would have been the discovery by them of the West Indian Islands or of the continent of America, when the exercise of prudence and circumspection would have appeared very necessary to keep the secret from Christians,—have assumed this epithet as a kind of motto of caution; or having fled from the wrath of Christians and settled in the New World, they might, out of hatred to Christianity, have adopted a name which was first given to them by Christ, and which the early Christians, following his example, might likewise have applied to them as a term of reproach; indicating, by so doing, their intention of becoming, should it be ever in their power, that in deed to Christianity, which they before were only in name: and certainly, in considering the nature of many of the Mexican and Peruvian religious rites, an intended profanation of Christian mysteries seems almost manifest. The last argument for supposing that serpents or snakes may have been an appellation by which the Hebrew race were occasionally distinguished,—as the Macedonians were sometimes called Μυρμιδονες (or *ants*), from μυρμηξ; and the Athenians, or Ionic Greeks, Αυτοχθονες or *aborigines;* and those of Dorian descent inhabiting a portion of the Peloponesus, Σπαρτοι, or *sown men*, in allusion to their fabulous origin,—is, that Christ calls the Pharisees "a generation of vipers;" whether from their wickedness, their prudence, or their lineage, is not absolutely certain, although probability inclines to the first and second reasons. If lineage or territorial occupation was insinuated in this address, it might be in consequence of the similarity of the proper names Hevæi and Hebræi, (the first of which, according to Calmet, signifies in the Phenician language, *snakes,*) and from the Jews having possessed themselves by force of the land of the Hivites, or Hevæi. With respect to the latter name, the Rabbis say that the reason the Hivites were so called, was because they were accustomed to live in subterraneous caves, like snakes, being the early inhabitants of the land of Canaan; something therefore corresponding in sense to the Greek phrase *αυτοχθων* is admitted to be found in the proper name Hevæi. But conquest always gives the victors a right to assume the titles of the vanquished; and as Argos was called Pelasgian long after the real Pelasgians had ceased to exist; so if there was any thing honorary as indicating great antiquity in the term Hevæi, the Jews from their long residence in the land of Canaan would have had a right to assume it.

The strongest argument, however, and one which we perceive how unwilling the Spanish historians of the sixteenth century were to press to a conclusion, by which to prove that America was colonized from its European side, is the confession of Montezuma and his nobles, one and all, to Cortes,—that their ancestors had come from the same part of the globe as the Spaniards,

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[1] Joshua is named Jesus the son of Nave in the forty-sixth chapter of Ecclesiasticus.

PLATE LVIII.

1. The woman lately delivered. 2. These four roses signify four days, at the completion of which period the midwife carried forth the new-born infant to be bathed. 3. The cradle with the infant. 4. The midwife. 5. The symbols. 6. 7. 8. The three boys who named the new-born infant. 9. The rushes, with the small vessel of water. 10. The brooms, distaff, spinning-wheel, and basket. 11. The father of the infant. 12. The superior Alfaqui. 13. The infant in the cradle, whose parents

situated towards the rising sun: " Y todos, en especial el dicho Muteczuma, me respondieron, que ya me habian dicho que ellos no eran naturales de esta tierra; y que habia muchos tiempos que sus predecesores habian venido á ella; y que bien creian que *podrian estar errados en algo de aquello que tenian,* por haber tanto tiempo que salieron de su naturaleza; y que yo como mas nuevamente venido, sabria mejor las cosas que debian tener y creer que no ellos." Which Montezuma also acknowledges in the following passage of his speech to his subjects: " Tambien creo que de vuestros antecesores terneis memoria, como nosotros no somos naturales de esta tierra; é que vinieron á ella de otra muy lejos, y los trajo un señor que en ella los dejo, cuyos vasallos todos eran; el qual bolvió dende á mucho tiempo, y halló que nuestros abuelos estaban ya poblados, y assentados en esta tierra, y *casados con las mugeres de esta tierra,* y tenian mucha multiplicacion de hijos, por manera que no quisieron bolverse con el, ni menos lo quisieron recebir por señor de la tierra; y el se bolvió, y dejo dicho que tornaria, ó embiaria con tal poder que los pudiesse costreñir y atraher á su servicio, e bien sabeis que siempre lo hemos esperado, y segun las cosas que el capitan nos ha dicho de aquel rey y señor que le embió acá, y segun la parte de do él dice que viene, tengo por cierto, y assi lo debeis vosotros tener, que aqueste es el señor que esperabamos." These extracts are from the letters of Cortes to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; and the passages printed in italics, (where Montezuma affirms that he and his subjects *might have erred in matters of faith,* from having been aliens for such a length of time from the country of their ancestors, and that they had intermarried with the women of the land,) seem more particularly worthy of attention. The lord to whom he alludes as having conducted the Mexicans to their new settlements, " *whose vassals all were,*" was Quecalcoatle. But his second coming, after the lapse of a long period of time, to the American continent, is an enigmatical piece of history which it is not probable will speedily be explained. It is singular, however, that he should have left a prophecy that he would come again on the sign of One Cane; and that Cortes, who chanced to arrive in Mexico in the year of that sign, and who perceived how much to his own advantage he might turn the popular superstition and this current belief, should have pretended that he himself was their expected Messiah. The arrival of Cortes in Mexico in the year of One Cane, is represented in page 136 of the larger Vatican MS., from which painting it would appear that a slaughter of some of the Mexican priests, as well as a destruction of their idols, had taken place. And since the following account of Peter Martyr tends to the elucidation of what is there represented, and likewise corroborates, on the authority of others, what Cortes had stated on his own, to the Emperor, we shall here insert it: " Whatsoever images were in the halls, Cortes commanded them to be presently overthrown and broken, and to be thrown down the steps of the high stairs in pieces. One marble colosse he left standing, because it was too huge, and could not easily be taken away; wherewith Muteczuma being present, was much troubled, and all the nobility of the court, who complained, saying, O unhappy and miserable men that we are! *the gods being angry with us, will take away the fruits which we eat, and so we shall perish through famine:* and, as at other times it hath befallen us, *the gods being displeased, all kinds of diseases shall suddenly come upon us; and we shall not be freed from our enemies if we be assailed by war, nor be sufficiently secured from the tumult of the people,* who, if they understand this, will furiously arise in arms. Whereto Cortes maketh answer: Behold! saith he, what is more wicked and abominable? and what more foolish? Do you think those to be gods, which are formed and fashioned by the hands of your tributaries? *Is the service of your men more worthy than the men themselves?* Is that thing, O Muteczuma! which your workmen, and, peradventure, a filthy slave, fashioneth with his hands, more worthy than your Majesty? What blindness is this in you, or what mad cruelty, that ye slaughter so many human bodies every year for these insensible images' sake? What do these perceive, which neither see nor hear?—Him, Him I say, who created heaven and earth, Him ye are to worship. This is He, from whom all good things proceed; to whom these your sacrifices are most offensive. Besides, it is decreed and established, by a law from our king, whom ye confess to derive his descent from him who brought your ancestors unto these countries, that whosoever smiteth male or female with the sword, shall die the death.—When Cortes had declared these things by interpreters, Muteczuma, with a pale countenance and trembling heart, replied; Hearken, O Cortes! *The ceremonies of sacrifices left us by traditions from our ancestors, those we observe and have hitherto exercised:* but seeing you say we have so much erred, and that it is displeasing to our king, we are greatly

are offering it at the Mezquita. 14. The mother of the infant. 15. The master of the boys and of the young men.

The explanation of the plate which follows, and of the figures contained in it, which treats of the time, and manner, in which the native Indians instructed their children how they ought to live, according to the signification of the figures successively represented in the plate; which comprises the four sections which follow.

The first section shows how parents corrected their children of three years old, by giving them good advice*, and the quantity of food which they allowed them at each meal was half a roll.

delighted to hear it, so we may persuade the people thereunto. These rites and ceremonies, peradventure, our ancestors who were left here found them to be observed by the inhabitants of those times; so that we have followed the customs of our fathers-in-law and of our wives. Neither are you to wonder that we fell into these errors, if they be errors. Give us a law, and we will endeavour to embrace it with all our power.—Cortes, hearing this, repeated, that there was one God, three in persons and one in essence, who created the heaven and the earth, and the sun and the moon, with all the ornament of the stars which move about the earth for the use of men; and hence it cometh, that it is odious unto him to kill men, who formed the slave, and all others having the face of men, of the same matter whereof he made me, thee, and them. He was born amongst us of a woman who was a virgin, and suffered for the salvation of mankind, which by the learned men who are to come shall hereafter more largely be declared both to you, and the rest. The standard of that God and ensign of victory, is the image or representation of this cross; for it behoveth the general both to have the cross, and also the image of the virgin his mother carrying the infant in her bosom.—And as he was speaking thus, Cortes, of a lawyer being made a divine, showed the cross and the image of the virgin to be adored." The sentences printed in italics in the complaint of the Mexican nobles, in the speech of Cortes to Montezuma, and in that monarch's reply, deserve to be noticed, because there is something Jewish in the tone of sentiment and feeling displayed by the Mexicans; and a fit answer to Jews seems to be given by Cortes, where he says, "Is the service of your men more worthy than the men themselves?" or in other words, Were men made for rites, or rites for men? which question of Cortes seems to refer to Christ's answer to the Jews, "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath." The fears of tumults of the people, famine, pestilence, and warlike invasions, were exactly the same as those entertained by the Jews if they failed in the performance of any of their ritual observances, as the following denunciations contained in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy clearly show: "The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land whither thou goest to possess it. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew: and they shall pursue thee until thou perish." It is not a little singular also, (as establishing that to be a fact which few persons would feel inclined to suspect,) that the Mexicans and the Jews should have believed that similar divine judgments, (even when those judgments were of a very peculiar nature,) would follow the commission of similar crimes. The fifth chapter of Numbers records the extraordinary effects produced by a guilty woman, whose husband was jealous of her, drinking the bitter water in the trial of jealousy. And Torquemada says, that nearly the same kind of threat was held out by the Mexican priests, to induce the nuns to dread the vengeance of Huitzilopuchtli, if they violated their vows of chastity, although he makes no mention of the bitter water. Since, however, the same temporal punishments, such as stoning to death and crucifying, were resorted to both by the Jews and the Mexicans, it is not surprising that they should have threatened offenders with similar divine judgments.—It may be proper before concluding this note, to correct a wrong impression which the passage quoted above from Acosta's *History of the Indies* may possibly convey; since it might thence appear that that learned writer affirms that the Indians were universally acquainted with the deluge as understood to mean that of Noah; whereas he elsewhere says that he alludes to the later deluge of Deucalion, although the former calculated to have happened about four thousand years ago, appears extremely near, without recurring to any other, or even admitting such to be probable.

* The Mexicans, in instilling into the minds of their children in their earliest years the tenets of their false religion, seem to have proceeded upon the principle of "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." They displayed a perfect knowledge of human nature in so doing; since long habit divests the most absurd doctrines of all appearance of strangeness and novelty. Reason inquires about that which is new, but is reconciled to that which is old; and our passions enlist us on the side of the pleasing recollections of our early years,—the prejudices of childhood often retain possession of the heart of the sage. If it is important to the welfare of a people that the administration of their finances should be placed in wise hands, and that some account should be rendered to them of the expenditure of the taxes which they pay,—how much more

PLATE LIX.

FIRST SECTION.

1. Three years of age. 2. The father of the boy. 3. The boy. 4. The half of a roll*. 5. The mother of the girl. 6. The half of a roll. 7. The girl of three years of age.

important to them, as determining the future glory of their country and its prosperity, is the education of their children! And if a magnanimous king would permit an attached people to dictate to him the terms of a great national charter,—ought not the first article to be, that public instruction should be confided to no particular class of men, but to censors chosen from the people, and only accountable to them for the proper discharge of the duties devolving upon them?

If History has rightly been pronounced to be Philosophy teaching by examples,—how striking a lesson that of the Mexicans affords us of the evil consequences resulting from early education, when the principles and doctrines instilled into the mind are false and bad!

The Mexicans were by nature not more cruel than other men; their hearts were equally susceptible of attachment and of pity: they were ingenious in arts, and acute in intellect. But nurtured up in religious prejudices, they shed the last drop of their blood in defence of a faith in the rites of which they were cruel; in the ceremonies, mere machines; and in believing its tenets, below the level of brute instinct.

* In every thing relating to the treatment of their children, even in their mode of punishing them, the Mexicans resembled the Jews. As sterility was reckoned by the Jewish women a great misfortune, and they made vows at the temple to obtain children; so the Mexican women considered it a great reproach to be without them, and they offered up prayers to Huitzilopuchtli that he might vouchsafe to remove that cause of complaint. Torquemada has also observed, that in the festivals consequent on the birth of children, the Mexican customs were like those of the Jews. These festivals (omitting further mention of baptismal ceremonies and the rite of circumcision, both which it may be presumed on the authority of very eminent writers were in use amongst the Mexicans) took place on naming the infant, and afterwards on its being weaned or removed from the breast; and were celebrated by invitations of guests to an entertainment. From the account given in the first chapter of St. Luke, we know that many persons were present at the naming of John the Baptist. And Torquemada, in treating in the twenty-fourth chapter of the thirteenth book of his *Indian Monarchy*, of the antiquity of the custom amongst the Jews of keeping the day on which an infant was weaned as a festival,—in reference to the same custom prevailing amongst the Mexicans, says; "That this was an ancient custom is manifest and notorious; and the Holy Scripture affords us the strongest and clearest proof of this fact, since Moses says in Genesis, of the Patriarch Abraham, that when the day for his son Isaac being weaned arrived, he made a very great entertainment. From whence it is reasonable to infer, that, being a man of such distinction and power, the guests who were invited were likewise numerous: for if this had not been the case, the Holy Scripture would not have said that he made *a great* entertainment. The reason of this entertainment, according to the Jews, as stated by Lira, was: that as Sarah was barren and childless, and an old woman of ninety, Abraham's neighbours would not believe that his wife Sarah had given birth to that son; but that having taken it from some other woman, she had adopted it, and pretended that it was her own; and that to remove that doubt and convince them of the fact, he sent them a formal invitation; and not only placed before them refreshment, but likewise caused his wife, who had been lately delivered of a son, to suckle at her breast the children who chanced at that time to be sucking other mothers; and that God on this occasion gave her great abundance of milk." Torquemada further observes, in commendation of the Mexican women, that, like the wives of the Jewish patriarchs, they made it a point to nurse their own children, not trusting that task to others. The education of children commenced amongst the Mexicans, as with the Jews, at an exceedingly early age; and the first thing which they taught them, was to honour the gods: on which custom Torquemada remarking, says, "Tambien quiero que se vea, como el demonio ordenó en su vano pueblo Indiano; que lo primero que el padre dijese á sus hijos, fuese, que amasen y reverenciasen á sus dioses." "I likewise wish it to be noticed that the devil commanded amongst his vain Indian people; that the first thing a father bid his children do, should be, to love and honour their gods." Of the excellent nature, however, of the moral precepts which the Mexican parents inculcated on the minds of their children, the same author is a witness; where, adducing the authority of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in favour of the early education of children, and quoting the twenty-third verse of the seventh chapter, "Hast thou children? instruct them and bow down their neck from their youth;"—he says that the Indians strictly fulfilled that doctrine. "Aquesta doctrina tenemos maravillosamente probada en los Indios de esta Nueva España, los quales no

The second section represents the parents employed in the same way, in instructing their children when they attained four years of age, when they began to exercise them by bidding them to do a few slight things. The quantity of food which they gave them at each meal was a roll.

solo cuidaban de criar á sus hijos, con el sustento y manjar corporal, con que fortificaban los cuerpos, y crecian en edad y años, pero con admirable doctrina moral, para hacerlos racionales y politicos; y que viviesen la vida de hombres que tenian, como los que constaban de anima capaz de orden, y de raçon. Y por ser esta doctrina de estas gentes, de mucho acuerdo y consejo, no dejaré, aunque parezca prolijo, de referir sus platicas y amonestaciones, que como por ellas parecera, *ni la lei natural, ni la de gracia,* ni la policia humana pide mas en raçon de buenas costumbres, dejado á parte el verdadero conocimiento de dios." "This doctrine we find wonderfully approved amongst the Indians of this territory of New Spain, who not only took care to nourish their children with food and bodily aliments for the sake of strengthening their bodies, and that they might grow as they advanced in age and years, but also with admirable moral doctrines, in order to render them rational and proper members of a civil community; and that they might live the life of men which had been allotted to them, as befitted those who possessed minds capable of reason and order. Since the doctrines of these Indians are characterized with much prudence and counsel, I will not omit (although I may incur the charge of prolixity) to record their conversations and exhortations to their children; since from them it will be apparent that neither natural law, nor that of grace, nor human policy could demand more, as far as morality is concerned, laying aside the knowledge of the true God." Torquemada inserts many of these exhortations at considerable length in the thirteenth book of his *Indian Monarchy;* and it deserves to be remarked, that not only are the same moral maxims inculcated as were held in the greatest estimation by the Jews, but that the language and allusions employed are frequently quite scriptural. The Mexican mother who addresses a discourse to her daughter about to be married, telling her that the time has arrived when she must forsake her father, and her mother, and her father's house, and devote herself wholly to her husband, might seem to have borrowed this advice from the twenty-fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis: and in the great criminality which the Mexicans attached to lying, evil-speaking, slander, and drunkenness, vices, which, from generally recoiling on the individuals themselves who indulge in them, other nations have been contented to visit with trifling penal enactments, as well as from the extraordinary respect which they paid to oaths, on account of the direct appeal which they made to Huitzilopuchtli, and the fear of his vengeance, and the rigour with which they treated false witnesses, they more closely resembled the Jews than any nation we have ever heard or read of. Since some doubt may be entertained, as the Mexicans were unacquainted with the art of writing, how Torquemada was enabled to write down word for word the exhortations which the ancient Mexicans gave orally to their children; it may be proper to observe, that they were delivered in a set form, were in universal use, without variation in their style and language, and were learned by heart by those to whom they were addressed. That learned writer himself gives the following account of these exhortations in the thirty-sixth chapter of the thirteenth book of his *Indian Monarchy.* "Estas exortaciones las tradujo de lengua Mexicana en Castellana el venerable Padre Frai Andrés de Olmos, fraile menor de la orden de mi glorioso Padre San Francisco, tantas veces en esta Historia referido en los principios de la conversion de estas gentes; el qual trabajo en esta viña y nueva plantacion del Santo Evangelio con grandisimo cuidado, padeciendo en la fundacion de esta nueva iglesia grandes y crecidos trabajos; las quales platicas (en lengua Mexicana) tengo en mi poder: y oso afirmar, que ni el dicho Padre Frai Andrés de Olmos, ni el Señor Obispo de Chiapa, Don Frai Bartholomé de las Casas, que las huvo de èl, ni yo que las tengo, y he procurado entenderlas, y saber mui de raiz sus metaforas, no las hemos sabido romancear con la dulcura, y suavidad, que en su lengua estos naturales las usaban." "These exhortations were translated from the Mexican language into Spanish by the venerable Father Andrew de Olmos, a minor brother of the order of my glorious Father Saint Francis, who is so often mentioned by me in this History, when treating of the commencement of the conversion of these nations; who laboured in this vineyard and new plantation of the Holy Gospel with the greatest diligence, undergoing great and numerous hardships in laying the foundation of this new church; which exhortations (in the Mexican language) I have in my possession; and I can venture to affirm, that neither the said Father Andrew de Olmos, nor the Lord Bishop of Chiapa, Don Bartholomew de las Casas, who obtained them from him, nor I who now own them, and have bestowed pains upon understanding them, and thoroughly comprehending their metaphors, have known how to translate them with the same softness and sweetness as the natives uttered them in their own language." In the same manner as Jewish parents were accustomed to take their children to the synagogues or public places of worship, so we are informed by Torquemada, in the thirtieth chapter of the thirteenth book of the *Indian Monarchy,* that Mexican parents took theirs to the temple, on stated days at appointed hours. "Imponianlos á que sirviesen á los dioses, llevabanlos consigo á los templos en los dias y horas señaladas, para que se aficionasen á lo mismo para quando viviesen de por si, y fuesen padres de familias." "They impressed upon them the necessity of serving the gods, carrying their children with them to the temples on appointed days and hours, in order that they might acquire a liking for the same practice when they lived separate from them, and became fathers of families." The restraint likewise which Mexican parents exercised over their children,

SECOND SECTION.

8. The father of the boy. 9. The boy of four years of age. 10. A roll. 11. The mother of the girl. 12. A roll. 13. The girl of four years of age.

The third section shows how the parents employed and exercised their sons of five years of age in tasks of bodily strength; for example, in carrying loads of wood of slight weight, and in sending them with light bundles to the Tianquez or market-place: and the girls of this age received lessons how they ought to hold the distaff and the spinning-wheel. Their allowance of food was a roll.

THIRD SECTION.

14. The father of the boys. 15. Two boys of five years of age. 16. A roll. 17. A roll. 18. The mother of the girl. 19. A roll. 20. The girl of five years of age.

The fourth section shows how parents exercised and employed their sons of six years old in personal services, that they might be of some assistance to their parents: as also in the Tianquez or market-places, in picking up from the ground the grains of maize which lay scattered about, and the

especially their daughters, Torquemada judges to have been very agreeable to the precepts contained in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, and consequently to have perfectly accorded with Jewish customs: and the severity with which King Nezahualpilli treated his son and daughter, by causing them to be put to death, for disobedience to his orders, and the regulations of the palace, —notwithstanding the extreme affection which the same writer would persuade us that monarch bore to them, and his general benevolence of character, aiming in this instance only at the public good, by himself setting the example of the obedience due from subjects to the laws, and from children to their parents,—might also be defended by recurring to the Mosaic Law, which in some cases gave a father the power of life and death over his children; which notwithstanding, the Jews by their traditions and the quibble of saying "Corban," or "*It is a gift*," in reference to their own obedience to their parents, succeeded in rendering of none effect. But if by the laws of the Pentateuch any father might, on the plea of stubbornness and undutiful conduct, assume a power over his son's life,—when in the person of a father the rights of a sovereign also centered, how much more justifiable would the assumption of such a power appear; although of the Hebrew law itself, which empowered parents so to act, it might confidently be said, that because of the hardness of their hearts it was permitted them; for certainly, of all the nations who ever inhabited the globe, whose annals have recorded their own crimes, the Jews were by far the most hard-hearted and barbarous. The law referred to is the following, which is contained in the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy: "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the Elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place. And they shall say unto the Elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die: so shalt thou put evil away from among you; and all Israel shall hear, and fear." It is evident, let commentators interpret this law as they please, (for they frequently ascribe ambiguity to the Laws of Moses, as if that would not be a great imperfection in laws of human enactment, and hence assume a great latitude of interpretation,) that Jewish parents were authorized to appear before the Elders, both as the accusers and witnesses on their own behalf against their sons. But it is extraordinary that, possessing so much power by divine right at the beginning, either by exercising it too often, or by not exercising it at all, the law itself should, in later ages, have become obsolete; which would not, however, be a reason against its possible revival by the posterity of the Jews in another part of the globe at some succeeding period. It may further be remarked, that the above-mentioned Hebrew law affords some indications that the primitive Jews did occasionally punish drunkenness with death, in which they would have resembled the Mexicans.

beans and other trifling things which those who resorted to the market had dropped;—this was the occupation of the boys. The girls were set to spin, and employed in other useful tasks, that they might hereafter, through the said tasks and works, sedulously shun idleness, in order to avoid the bad habits which idleness is accustomed to cause. The allowance of food which was given to the boys at each meal, was a roll and a half.

FOURTH SECTION.

21. The father of the two boys. 22. Two boys of six years old. 23. A roll and a half. 24. The mother of the girl. 25. A roll and a half. 26. The girl of six years old.

The explanation of the figures contained in the following plate, which treats of the time and manner in which the native Mexicans instructed and corrected their sons; that they might learn to avoid all kinds of sloth, and to keep themselves constantly exercised in profitable things, according to the signification of the figures successively represented in the plate, which is divided into four sections, which four sections are explained in their proper order and are as follow.

The first section, wherein is shown how fathers employed their sons of seven years old in giving them nets to fish with; and mothers occupied their daughters in spinning, and in giving them good advice; in order that they might always be diligent, and employ their time in something to avoid all sloth. The allowance of food which they gave to their sons at each meal was a roll and a half.

PLATE LX.

FIRST SECTION.

1. The seven blue points signify seven years. 2. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 3. A roll and a half. 4. The boy of seven years old, whose father is instructing him how to fish with the net which he holds in his hands. 5. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 6. A roll and a half. 7. The girl of seven years of age, whom her mother is teaching how to spin.

The second section, wherein is declared how fathers chastised their sons of eight years of age, intimidating and threatening them with thorns of the aloe, that in case of negligence and disobedience to their parents, they should be punished with the said thorns; the boys accordingly weep for fear, as is represented and signified by the figures contained in this section. The quantity of food which they allowed them, consisted of a roll and a half.

SECOND SECTION.

8. These eight points signify eight years. 9. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 10. A roll and a half. 11. The boy of eight years of age, whose father threatens him

in case of ill-behaviour to inflict public punishment upon him with thorns. 12. Thorns of the aloe. 13. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 14. The girl of eight years of age, whose mother threatens her with thorns of the aloe in case of ill-behaviour. 15. Thorns of the aloe.

The third section, wherein is declared how fathers punished, with the said thorns of the aloe, their sons of nine years of age, when they were incorrigible and rebellious towards their parents, by running the said thorns into their shoulders and bodies. They corrected their daughters by pricking their hands with thorns, as is represented in the third section. The allowance of food which they gave them was a roll and a half.

THIRD SECTION.

17. These nine points signify nine years. 18. A roll and a half. 19. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 20. A boy of nine years old being found to be incorrigible, his father runs thorns of the aloe into his body. 21. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 22. A roll and a half. 23. The girl of nine years old, whose mother corrects her for her negligence, by pricking her hands with thorns.

The fourth section shows how fathers chastised their sons of ten years of age when they were refractory, by inflicting blows upon them with a stick*, and threatening them with other punishments, as is represented by the figure contained in this section. The quantity and allowance of food which they gave them was a roll and a half.

FOURTH SECTION.

24. These ten points signify ten years. 25. A roll and a half. 26. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 27. The boy of ten years of age, whose father is correcting him

* Beating with a stick was a very common punishment amongst the Jews. It is surprising how often the words *vapulet* and *non vapulet* occur in Maimonides's decisions on questions arising out of the Mosaic law. It is said in the explanation of a preceding section, that a Mexican parent sometimes chastised his son by making him lie down in a wet place and keeping him for a long time in that situation: this was also a Jewish punishment; as was shaving off the hair, which is mentioned in Scripture, where piercing the body with thorns seems likewise to be alluded to [1]. In a little work entitled *A View of the Jewish Religion*, to which we shall again refer, it is stated that Jewish parents sometimes corrected their rebellious children by holding their faces over some disagreeable smoking substance, which is a singular coincidence with the Mexican mode of punishing their children with the smoke of axi. From the following passage, taken from the ninetieth page of the same work, it will be seen that the Jews commenced the education of their children at almost as early a period as the Mexicans, and that they used paintings as a means of instruction: "At the fifth year they (the children) begin to learn letters and paintings, for most who are of sufficient estates maintain in their families a Rabbin or Master for the education of their children; and when the boy is first able to read, he is taught to translate the Pentateuch into his country tongue."

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[1] A crown of thorns was placed by the Jews upon the head of Christ.

with a stick. 28. The mother of the girl contained in this division of the plate. 29. A roll and a half. 30. The girl of ten years of age, whose mother is correcting her with a stick.

The explanation of what is represented in the first section of the following plate.—When a boy or a girl of eleven years of age disregarded verbal reproof, their parents obliged them to inhale smoke of axi through their nostrils, which was a cruel and severe punishment, that they might be sorry for their conduct, and not turn out worthless and abandoned, but on the contrary employ their time in profitable things. They gave boys of such an age bread, which consisted of rolls, only by allowance, that they might learn not to be gormandizers or gluttons.

PLATE LXI.

FIRST SECTION.

1. The eleven blue points signify eleven years. 2. A roll and a half. 3. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 4. The boy of eleven years of age, whose father is punishing him by obliging him to inhale through the nostrils the smoke of dried axi. 5. The smoke or vapour of axi. 6. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 7. The girl of eleven years of age whose mother is punishing her by making her breathe smoke of axi. 8. A roll and a half. 9. The smoke of axi.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section.—When a boy or girl of twelve years of age would not submit to the reproof or advice of their parents, the father took the boy and tied his hands and feet, and laid him naked on the ground in some damp and wet place, in which situation he kept him for a whole day, in order that by this punishment he might amend and fear his displeasure. And the mother obliged the girl of the said age to work by night before break of day, employing her in sweeping the house and the street, and continually occupying her in personal tasks. They gave them food likewise by allowance.

SECOND SECTION.

10. Twelve years. 11. A roll and a half. 12. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 13. The boy of twelve years of age stretched upon the wet ground, with his hands and feet tied, for a whole day. 14. This painting signifies the night. 15. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 16. A roll and a half. 17. The girl of twelve years of age, who is employed by night in sweeping.

The explanation of what is represented in the third section of the following plate.—Boys and girls of thirteen years of age were occupied by their parents: the boys in fetching wood from the mountains, and in bringing reed-grass and other litter in canoes for the use of the house; and the girls in grinding meal and making bread, and preparing other articles of food for their parents. They gave the boys for their allowance of food two rolls each at each meal.

THIRD SECTION.

18. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 19. Thirteen years. 20. Two rolls. 21. The boy of thirteen years of age, who brings a load of reed-grass. 21. A canoe with bundles of canes. 22. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 23. The girl of thirteen years of age, who makes cakes and prepares articles of food. 24. Two cakes. 25. A bowl. 26. The comali. 27. 28. A pot for boiling provisions in and two cakes.

The explanation of what is represented in the fourth section of the following plate.—Their parents employed and occupied a boy or girl of fourteen years of age, the boy in going in a canoe to fish in the lakes, and the girl in the task of weaving a piece of cloth. Their allowance of food was two rolls.

FOURTH SECTION.

29. Fourteen years. 30. Two rolls. 31. The father of the boys contained in this division of the plate. 32. The boy of fourteen years of age, who goes out fishing with his canoe. 33. The mother of the girls contained in this division of the plate. 34. Two rolls. 35. The girl of fourteen years of age, who is occupied in weaving. 36. The web and occupation of weaving.

The explanation of what is represented in the following plate.—The figures contained in the first section signify that the father who had sons nearly grown up, carried them to the two houses represented in the plate; either to the house of the master, who taught and instructed the young men; or to the Mezquita, accordingly as the lad was himself inclined; and committed him to the care of the superior Alfaqui, or to the master of the boys, to be educated,—which lads it was fit should have attained the age of fifteen.

PLATE LXII.

FIRST SECTION.

1. A youth of fifteen years of age, whose father delivers him up to the superior Alfaqui, that he might receive him as an Alfaqui. 2. The Tlamazqui, who is the superior Alfaqui. 3. The Mezquita named calmecac. 4. The father of these two youths. 5. A young man of sixteen, whose father delivers him up to the master, that he might teach and instruct him. 6. The Teachcauh or master. 7. The seminary where they educated and taught the young men, which was called cuincacali. 8. Fifteen years.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section of the following plate.—This painting signifies the laws and usages which they followed and observed in the marriages, which they lawfully

contracted*. The ceremony consisted in the female negotiator, who arranged the nuptials, carrying on her back, on the first night of the wedding, the betrothed woman, accompanied by four women with blazing torches of resinous fir, who attended to light her on the way: and having arrived at the house of the man to whom she was engaged, the parents of the betrothed man went out to

* Herrera gives the following description, in the seventeenth chapter of the second book of his third Decade, of the Mexican marriage ceremony, which, he says, was performed by the hands of a priest: "Casabanse por manos de sus sacerdotes, poniendose los novios juntos delante del sacerdote, que los tomaba por las manos, i preguntaba si querian casarse; i en diciendo que si, les ataban la punta de la manta del novio, i del velo que la novia llevaba sobre la cabeça, i atados iban á casa de la desposada, i andaban siete bueltas al rededor de un fogon, con que quedaba hecho el matrimonio. *Eran los Mexicanos mui zelosos de la virginidad de las esposas, afrentabanse de lo contrario, i honraban á la que hallaban tal,* i la daban grandes dadivas, i á sus padres, i hacian banquetes i fiestas. *Ponian por memoria quanto traia la novia, porque si se bolvian á descasar como lo usaban, se hiciese particion de los bienes,* llevandose el hombre las hijas, i la muger los hijos, *con facultad de bolverse á casar con otro, pero una vez descasados, no se avian de bolver á juntar so pena de muerte.*" "They were married by the hands of their priests, the betrothed couple standing side by side before the priest, who took them by the hand, and inquired whether they wished to be joined together in matrimony; when on their replying in the affirmative he tied the corner of the mantle of the man to the veil which the woman wore on her head; and they proceeded, tied in this manner, to the house of the bride, and walked seven times round a blazing hearth, which completed the nuptial ceremony."—This painting reminds us of the marriage-feast in Canaan of Galilee, when Christ, having commanded his disciples to draw more wine from the pitcher, (which appears to have been placed in the middle of the room, as is here represented, with a cup beside it out of which to help the guests,) and being informed that the pitcher was empty, he changed the water into wine. What the ancient Hebrew marriage ceremony consisted in is not precisely known, although tying together the apparel of the parties would not obscurely have signified that those whom God had joined, man was not to put asunder; an admonition which the Mosaic law relating to divorces rendered of none effect. That to carry torches was customary at Jewish weddings, is evident from the parable of the five wise and the five foolish Virgins. And from the following verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah, it might be inferred that the daughters of Jerusalem were occasionally carried in hammocks either on the shoulders of men or women: "Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders." Wine, it has already been observed, was drunk by the Jews at their marriage entertainments; although it may be guessed, from the evil consequences of drunkenness recorded in the Pentateuch, that Moses would have been little inclined to indulge the children of Israel in the free use of it. Mahomet, who (assisted by a Nestorian monk) borrowed largely from the Pentateuch when compiling the Koran, at the same time that he enjoined the practice of circumcision to the Mussulmen, forbad them wine. In Mexico, although the grape was not cultivated, wine was obtained from the maguey, or American aloe; and the interpreter of the Vatican Codex says, that the man who taught the Mexicans how to change the insipid juice which distilled from an incision cut in the shape of a basin in the trunk of the aloe into pulque or wine, was afterwards deified by them, and worshipped under the name of Patecatle, and probably under that of *Ometochtli*. It is singular that wine, which was generally forbidden to the Mexicans, should have been allowed them at marriage-feasts; and that drunkenness, which the laws punished with death in the case of the young and middle-aged, should have been permitted to the old. Like the Jews, they perhaps considered wine the milk of old age; and their legislators might have had respect to this adage. In Tezcuco the laws against drunkenness were even more rigidly enforced than in Mexico: and it is related of the celebrated Nezahualcoyotl, (Nezahualpilli's predecessor on the throne,) that being once closely pursued by his enemies and nearly taken prisoner by them, he took refuge in the house of a certain widow, by whom he was hospitably received; when discovering by mere chance that she had a plantation of aloes from which she distilled pulque, which she privately sold,—both the one and the other being expressly forbidden by law,—he caused her, notwithstanding his obligation to her, to be put to death, that not a tittle of the law might be broken. This extreme rigour in fulfilling to the letter a harsh penal law, reminds us of a like severity exercised by Moses on the man who gathered sticks upon the sabbath day, which he himself thus describes in the fifteenth chapter of Numbers: "And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath day. And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation. And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done to him. And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall be surely put to death: *all the congregation* shall stone him with stones without the camp. And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died; as the Lord commanded Moses." One striking analogy remains still to be pointed out between the Mexican and Jewish customs, in reference to the age at which marriage was contracted by one or both parties. Since "Increase

receive her in the court of the house, and conducted her to an apartment where the man to whom she was engaged expected her; and seating the betrothed couple on a mat on which were placed seats, near a hearth of fire, they took them and tied them to each other by their clothes, and offered incense of copal to their gods. Two old men and two women afterwards delivered a separate discourse to the newly married couple, and set food before them, which they presently ate; and after their repast was over, the two old men and women gave good advice to the married pair, telling them how they ought to conduct themselves and to live *, and by what means they might best preserve the state and obligations which they had taken upon them, in order that they might pass their lives in tranquillity.

SECOND SECTION.

9. The apartment. 10. The old man. 11. The hearth of fire. 12. The wife. 13. Copal. 14. The husband. 15. The old woman. 16. The old man. 17. Food. 18. A mat. 19. Food. 20. An old woman. 21. A pitcher of pulque. 22. A cup. 23. 24. These women light the bride on her way with torches, when on the first night of the wedding they accompany her to leave her at the house of the bridegroom. 25. The female negotiator, the bride. 26. 27. These women light the bride and bridegroom on the first night of their wedding.

The explanation of what is contained in the first section of the following plate.—Since each of the

and multiply" was held by the Jews to be a most sacred injunction, and the posterity of Abraham were to become as the stars, and the sand of the sea in number, marriages amongst them became at a certain age almost compulsory, except in the case of those who devoted themselves to the study of the law. This age Selden fixes at twenty. And from the following passage of the fourth chapter of Peter Martyr's fifth Decade, the Mexicans would appear closely to have imitated the example of the Jews: and the same may be said of the Peruvians. This passage is also interesting from the mention which it makes of the churches or temples, parishes, and particular images, like those of patron saints, which existed in Mexico in the time of Montezuma; and the description which it gives of the greater temple: "First, therefore, Muteczuma accompanying him (Cortes), he visiteth the churches, where, as with us in every tribe called a parish the churches are all assigned to their particular saint, so in every street with them their temples are dedicated to their peculiar idols. But your Holiness shall hear what things are reported of their greatest temple and chiefest idols. He saith, it is a famous and renowned square temple, on every side thereof there is an huge gate, whereupon those four admirable paved ways, which are instead of a bridge from the continent, directly answer. The largeness of that temple in situation is matchable with a town of five hundred houses; it is fortified with high stone walls, very well and cunningly made, and compassed about with many towers, built after the manner of a strong castle of many towers. He saith, four of them are greater than the rest, and much more spacious, because in them are halls and chambers appointed for the priests and prelates. To the chief dwellings the priests ascended by fifty marble steps. These are the houses of the priests, who, as I said, take charge of the sacrifices. There the sons of the chief men of the city are shut up at seven years old, and never put out their heads or come forth thence until they become marriageable *and are brought forth to be contracted in marriage:* all that time they never cut their hair." From the last sentence we may infer that their parents consecrated them at the temple as Nazarites to Huitzilopuchtli,—the martial and tutelary god of the Mexicans, who was represented under the figure of a man seated upon an azure globe, scattering forth arrows from his right hand,—to whom, or to Tetzcatlipoca, Herrera must allude in the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of the second book of his third Decade: "*Con todo eso confesaban los Mexicanos á un supremo Dios, Señor i Hacedor de todo, i este era el principal que veneraban, mirando al cielo, llamandole Criador del cielo i tierra, i admirable, i otros nombres de gran excelencia.*" "The Mexicans, notwithstanding, confessed a supreme God, the Lord, and framer of the universe; and he was the principal object whom they adored, looking up to heaven and calling him the Creator of heaven and earth, and the wonderful, with other epithets of great excellence."

* "Attend to the counsel of the aged" seems to have been a Hebrew proverb.

figures representing the novice Alfaquis are accompanied with explanations signifying in what their fathers and superiors employed them, it will be unnecessary to repeat these explanations, further than by saying that as soon as they commenced being Alfaquis, personal services for the Mezquitas were immediately allotted to them, in order that when they became superior Alfaquis they might at a future time know how to employ the novices in the same routine of tasks as they had themselves been engaged in.

PLATE LXIII.

FIRST SECTION.

1. A Tlamacazq*, or novice Alfaqui, whose task it is to sweep. 2. A novice Alfaqui, who brings branches from the mountain for the purpose of strewing the mezquita. 3. A novice Alfaqui, who returns loaded with thorns of the aloe for the mezquita, in order to offer a sacrifice with them of his own blood to the devil. 4. A novice Alfaqui, who brings a load of green canes for the mezquita, for the purpose of making fences and to scatter on the pavement.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section of the following plate; in which section likewise, under each of the figures, are declared the employments and occupation which were allotted to the young men, in order that they might afterwards know how, when they attained a proper age and station, to command other young men like themselves, that they might not turn out idle and abandoned persons, but always apply themselves to virtuous things.

SECOND SECTION.

5. A young man who carries a large log of timber for the purpose of keeping light burning in the mezquita. 6. A servant who carries wood for the abundant supply of light in the mezquita†. 7. A servant carrying the said wood. 8. A young man with a load of boughs for the purpose of strewing the mezquita.

* The signification of Tlamacazq is, properly, *a doer of penance;* but it seems to have been a general appellation by which the Mexican priests were distinguished, on account of the austerities which they practised. It has already been observed, that they were required, like the Levites, to perform frequent ablutions; to which custom the name *Tlamacazapan,* signifying *the priest in the water,* or *the priest's bath,* compounded of the words *tlamacazq* a priest, *atl* water, and *pan,* a particle of local reference, alludes. This name was that of a Mexican city, the symbol of which, representing a man up to his neck in water, occurs in the thirty-eighth Plate of the Collection of Mendoza, under the number 7. The Jews were likewise accustomed to strew the temple with branches of trees, and to keep the courts and pavement of it swept perfectly clean; and women seem sometimes to have occupied themselves in this manner out of a deep sense of devotion to Jehovah, and in performance of particular vows. Torquemada, confounding as it would appear the miraculous birth of Quecalcoatle, or of Huitzilopuchtli, and the pregnancy of Chimalman with some other history perhaps connected with the birth of *Totec,* says, that a devout woman of the city of Tulan, of the name of Coatlycue, from whom many nations were born, being employed according to custom in sweeping the shrines and holy places of the sacred mountain Coatepec, beheld a ball of feathers falling through the air, which catching in her hands and putting into her bosom she became pregnant; and that her own family, consisting of many sons and a daughter, (*her husband is not mentioned,*) resolved, suspecting that she had been guilty of adultery, to put her to death; but that, suddenly giving birth to Huitzilopuchtli, he vindicated the honour of his mother and defended her from the violence of her sons, whom, notwithstanding their near relationship, he to a man destroyed. This curious account is detailed at greater length in the twenty-first chapter of the sixth book of Torquemada's *Indian Monarchy.*

† The interpreter of the paintings contained in the larger Vatican MS. says, that light was obliged to be always kept burning in the Mexican temples, and instancing this and other traits of resemblance between the Mexicans and Jews, he shortly afterwards adds, " From

The explanation of what is represented in the third section of the following plate; in which section likewise, under each of the figures, are declared the punishments and chastisements which the superior

all these circumstances the fact is plain and probable, that this nation descends from the Jews; since all the ceremonies of this chapter are, as it were, according to the text of Leviticus,—such as that the people should not touch the holy things; and again, as in Exodus,—that light should be always in the temple[1], and incense, and the trumpets, and the sacred vestments." How strict was the injunction against the Jewish laity being allowed to touch the holy things, and what dreadful vengeance they might expect in case of disobedience to this command, may be inferred from the following account of David's bringing up the ark from Kirjath-jearim, which is contained in the thirteenth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles; wherein it is said that Uzza, notwithstanding the apparently religious necessity for the act, was struck dead by God for putting forth his hand *to prevent the ark from falling on the ground;* at which David feared, recollecting perhaps the time when he and the young men who were with him had eaten of the shew-bread, which it was only lawful for the priests to eat, as recorded in the sixth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the first book of Samuel: "And when they came unto the threshing-floor of Chidon, Uzza put forth his hand to hold the ark; for the oxen stumbled. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzza, and he smote him, because he put his hand to the ark: and there he died before God. And David was displeased, because the Lord had made a breach upon Uzza: wherefore that place is called Perez-uzza to this day. And David was afraid of God that day, saying, How shall I bring the ark of God home to me?" In reference to the proper name Perez-uzza, which signifies *the breach of Uzza*, it may be observed that the Hebrew names of places are generally, like the Mexican, significative. The use of the trumpets in the Mexican temples was for the priests to blow in honour of the Deity, and likewise to summon the people to religious worship; and to sound them in a shrill tone on certain festivals of penance and mortification, thereby to excite in the hearts of the people a keener recollection and sense of sorrow for their sins. It is a singular thing that Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, (the three sects which divide the Western portion of the globe,) should not only differ from each other in employing different modes of summoning the people to their religious duties, but that each, attaching in former ages superstitious notions to their own practice, should have entertained the utmost aversion and contempt for those of the other sects. Horns, bells, and the human voice, were the means which they severally resorted to; and even still, Mahometans can hardly conceive a greater profanation of a mosque, than that of ringing a bell in it. When the time for evening prayer arrives, the Imam, in countries inhabited by the believers in the Koran, ascends to the top of a minaret, and calls the people to their devotions by ejaculating in a loud and clear voice, "There is no God but God;" an appeal significative of their belief in the unity of the divine essence. Lord Byron has remarked, that there is something very solemn and impressive in this short address, disturbing the stillness of the evening, and arresting the attention of the mind, absorbed in a very different train of meditation. The early Christians entertained a very extraordinary reverence for bells; and a curious notion of their virtue and efficacy in driving away evil spirits, their general belief in which cannot be better proved than by the fact, that those who entered on the spiritual office succeeded from the inferior degree of *exorcists* to that of deacons and priests; and boys were even eligible to the former, since it mentions in an old *Life of Saint Patrick*, lately published by Sir William Betham, that when that saint first visited Ireland, he had some boys in his train, who were exorcists[2]. Excommunication was likewise anciently performed by bell, book, and candle; and bells, candles, altars, and holy vests, were always the concomitants of foreign conversions[3]. If, therefore, some weight has been attached to the argument that Christians and civilized Europeans could never have passed over to America, at a period anterior to the arrival of the Spaniards, because the Indians were unacquainted with the use of candles either of wax or tallow, and milk and cheese formed no portion of their diet,—some weight must also be allowed to an argument favouring the contrary conclusion, founded on the knowledge which the Mexicans and other Indian nations possessed of the use of bells and the art of making them, since bells which were cast by the ancient Mexicans have even lately been dug up in Mexico; and Peter Martyr makes express mention, in the tenth chapter of his Seventh Decade, of bells being employed by the Indians of Dabaiba, (who inhabited a country situated at some distance from the province of Darien,) in the religious service of their temples, and to call the people to prayers. "But it is not unfit to be heard after what manner they are called and summoned to their religious and sacred rites, or what instruments they use. One day the cursed thirst of gold provoking thereunto, the Spaniards having levied a strong power of armed men, went to pass through the banks of that river, Dabaiba. Here they light upon a king, whom they overthrew, and had from him about fourteen thousand pensa of gold, brought into divers forms very fairly wrought, among which they found three golden trumpets

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[1] From the following verse, with which Nehemiah closes his book of prophecies, it is evident that the Jewish priests or Levites considered it an important and meritorious task to provide a due supply of fuel for the temple: "And for the wood-offering at times appointed, and for the first fruits, remember me, O my God, for good."

[2] "Venit vero Patricius cum Gallis ad insolas Mac Euchor, et insolâ orientali quæ dicitur Insola Patricii; et secum fuit multitudo episcoporum sanctorum, et presbyterorum, et diaconorum, ac *exorcistarum*, hostiariorum, lectorumque, nec non filiorum quos ordinavit." *Liber Ardmachæ—Vita S. Patricii*, p. xix. "Exiit (Patricius) ad campum Lifi, et posuit ibi æcclesiam, et ordinavit Auxilium *puerum Patricii exorcistam*, et Eserninum et Mactadeum in cellolâ Cuilin." p. xxxv.—*Irish Antiquarian Researches: Appendix.*

[3] "Portavit Patricius per Sininn secum L clocos, L patinos, L calices, altaria, libros legis, evangelii libros, et reliquit illos in locis novis."—*Vita S. Patricii*, p. xvii.

Alfaquis inflicted on those who were subject to them, correcting them either because they were negligent and inattentive to their duties, or on account of some excesses which they had committed, in the manner represented in the plate.

and as many golden bells; one of the bells weighed six hundred pensa, the other were lesser. Being demanded for what service they used the trumpets and bells, they answered, as they say, that they were wont to use the harmony and concert of trumpets to stir them up to mirth upon their festival-days and times to sport, and that they used the noise and ringing of bells to call the people to the ceremonies of their religion. The clappers of the bells seemed to be made after our manner, but so white and clear that at the first sight, save that they were too long, our men would have thought that they had been made of pearls, or of the mother-of-pearl; in the end they understood they were made of the bones of fishes. They say the ears of the hearers are delighted with a sweet and pleasant sound, although the ringing of gold useth to be dull. The tongues or clappers moved touch the lips or brims of the bells as we see in ours."

The question naturally occurs,—what was the religion of these Indians?

Peter Martyr says in a preceding paragraph, "Being demanded to what God they pour forth their prayers, the Spaniards who were present report they answered, that they prayed to him who created the heavens, the sun, and the moon, and all invisible things, from whom all good things proceed: and they say that Dabaibe, the general God of those countries, was the mother of that creator." That they believed in the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments, is expressly stated in the following passage:—"It is very necessary and expedient for their priests to beware of all luxury and carnal pleasure. If any, contrary to his vow and purpose of chastity, shall be found to be polluted, he shall either be stoned to death or burned; for they suppose chastity pleaseth that God the creator. What time they fast and give themselves to prayer, having washed and rubbed their faces, when at other times they walked always painted, they now lifted their hands and eyes to heaven, and abstain not only from harlots and other venereous actions, but also from their own wives. They are such simple men, that they know not how to call the soul, nor understand the power thereof: whereupon they often talk among themselves with admiration of what that invisible and not intelligible essence might be, whereby the members of men and brute beasts should be moved. I know not what secret thing they say should live after the corporal life. That (I know not what) they believe, that after this peregrination, if it lived without spot, and reserved that mass committed unto it without injury done to any, it should go to a certain eternal felicity: contrary, if it shall suffer the same to be corrupted with any filthy lust, violent rapine, or raging fury, they say it shall find a thousand tortures in rough and unpleasant places under the centre: and speaking these things, lifting up their hands, they show the heavens, and after that, casting the right hand down, they point to the womb of the earth." The doubt might reasonably occur to our minds, whether these Indians might not have been Christians, though not acknowledged to be such by the Spaniards, if Peter Martyr did not inform us in another sentence, that, like Jephthah, they offered up human victims as burnt-offerings to Dabaiba. "There is an idol called Dabaibe as the river is; the chapel of this image is about forty leagues distant from Darien, whereunto the kings at certain times of the year send slaves to be sacrificed from very far-removed countries; and they also adore the place with exceeding great concourse of people. They kill the slaves before their god, and then burn them, supposing that flaming odour to be acceptable to their idol, as the light of a taper or the fume of frankincense is to our saints." Peter Martyr states in the eighth chapter of his Fourth Decade, that the Indians of Coluacana, a large territory of New Spain, who also sacrificed slaves, "*circumcised them twenty days before they offered them to their idols.*" Why, we may inquire, should they have thought that circumcision was more agreeable than uncircumcision to the Deity? With respect to the arguments already mentioned as having been used by some eminent writers, who contend that America could never have been colonized by Europeans because the Indians were destitute of the knowledge of some articles which are reckoned by the former amongst the chief necessaries of life,—such as candles for light, and milk and cheese for nourishment,—it may be observed, that these reasons are really destitute of foundation. Leaving out of the question the consideration of whether the Jews might not feel scrupulous about manufacturing candles from the fat of animals, the total want of all the larger domestic species of quadrupeds in Mexico would have been a sufficient reason for the Mexicans contenting themselves with torches; which, perhaps, much more nearly resembled the candles used in other parts of the globe than is generally supposed, as Peter Martyr says they were made of the pith of the pine. The Mexicans, for the same reason, could not have either milk or cheese; nor is it positively known whether the Peruvians, who might have obtained both from the lama, used them: but in Sibola, a large territory to the north of Mexico, where the buffalo was domesticated by the Indians, milk was their common diet: and Gomara, describing the manners of the Chicorani, says that they made cheese out of deer's milk:—"Ay muchos ciervos que crian en casa, y andan al pasto en el campo con pastores, y buelven la noche al corral; de su leche hazen queso." "They domesticate many deer, which shepherds drive to pasture in the plains, and which are shut up by night in pens; from their milk they make cheese."—*La Istoria de las Indias*, fol. xxii. Since light was such an essential thing in the Mexican temples, and the Jews attached so much importance to the candlestick in which it was burnt in their own temple, ascribing a mystery to each of its branches, it may be interesting to inquire whether the Mexicans resembled the Jews in having a candlestick as a sacred utensil in their temple. The author of *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of All Nations* informs us in the following passage, that they had: "On the two sides of the rail or ballister, at that part where the staircase ended, two marble statues supported, in an attitude that very well expressed their labour, two *very odd-fashioned* candlesticks. At some distance from hence was a stone of a green colour, five feet in height, sharp-bottomed. Here the unhappy wretch who was to

THIRD SECTION.

9. A superior Alfaqui, who is chastising a novice Alfaqui for being neglectful of his duty. 10. A novice Alfaqui. 11. A superior Alfaqui. 12. A novice Alfaqui. 13. A superior Alfaqui, who is chastising a novice Alfaqui by piercing him with thorns of the aloe as incorrigible. 14. This house signifies, that if the novice Alfaqui went to his own house to sleep for three successive days, they inflicted on him the punishment which is declared and represented.

The explanation of what is represented in the fourth section of the following plate ; in which section likewise, under each of the figures, is declared how soldiers of valour trained to the military profession young men who had attained a fit age, accordingly as their fathers had intrusted them to their care, and the youths were led by their own inclinations. Their fathers in this manner placed them with persons who were skilled in the arts and occupations to which their own inclinations disposed them.

FOURTH SECTION.

15. The Teguigua, who is a man of valour in war. 16. The young man. 17. The father of the young man, who confides his son to the soldier of valour, that he may train him to the military profession and carry him along with him to the wars. 18. The young man, the pupil of the soldier of valour, who goes with him to the wars, carrying his baggage on his back, together with his own arms. 19. The Teguigua, a soldier of valour, who goes ready armed to the wars.

The explanation of what is represented in the first section of the following plate ; in which section,

be sacrificed was laid on his back, when they ripped up his stomach and tore out his heart. Above this stone, and opposite to the staircase, was a large strong chapel, the roof of which was of a rare and precious wood, under which their idol Vitzlipuztli was seated on a very high altar *with curtains round it*." The character of this deity is thus described in a preceding section :—" It is plain, from what has been just now related of Vitzlipuztli's power, that the Mexicans acknowledged a supreme being under that name, notwithstanding what the Spaniards affirmed of their having no word to express the Deity; so that they were obliged to make use of the word *dios* to denote that being whom we call God. Be that as it will, the Mexicans worshipped Vitzlipuztli as the sovereign lord of all things, and creator of heaven and earth, and added the epithet *ineffable* to that supreme deity. But notwithstanding the great idea they had formed to themselves of this first cause, they yet could not persuade themselves that it was possible for it to govern the world without the immediate assistance of a numberless multitude of genii. The author of the *Conquest of Mexico* tells us, " that they were so silly as to believe that there were not any gods at that time in the other parts of heaven, till such time as mankind grew more and more miserable in proportion as they grew more numerous. They looked upon their gods as so many propitious genii, who were ever multiplying as mortals stood in need of their assistance." It would be an omission not to observe, before taking leave of the present subject, that the Indians, besides torches, used the fat of tortoises for light; and if they were not acquainted with wax lights when the Spaniards first visited them, it is more probable that they had forgotten, than that they never possessed, the invention. At the same time it must be recollected that the Spaniards intentionally consigned the arts, history, religion, and ancient monuments of America to oblivion, and that they denied the Mexicans and Peruvians the knowledge of many arts which had arrived at even a flourishing state of perfection amongst them. Many writers have contended that the single fact of iron not having been known or used by the Indians, affords proof sufficient that no intercourse could have taken place in early ages between the old and the new continents; but these writers assume that to be a fact, which is by no means proved. M. Dupaix observes, that this metal of all others is most likely to decomposition; and that he would not venture to affirm, because he could discover no iron instruments of the ancient Mexicans, that they did not employ them in their works of architecture : and Garcia declares, that in Paraguay, iron money, resembling in shape the shell of a tortoise, was used; which animal is represented on some of the oldest Greek coins—those of Thebes.

under each of the figures, are declared the employments and occupations of the superior Alfaquis; some went by night to the mountain to offer sacrifice to their gods, others played on musical instruments, others counted the hours by the stars of the sky, and others exercised themselves in other services of their mezquitas *.

PLATE LXIV.

FIRST SECTION.

1. A novice Alfaqui. 2. A superior Alfaqui, who goes with a blazing light by night to a mountain to perform penance, and carries in his hand a bag of copal for incense to offer a sacrifice to the devil, and on his back henbane in a vase for the same sacrifice, as likewise boughs for the purpose of strewing the place of sacrifice; and behind him is a novice Alfaqui, with other things. 3. This painting with eyes† signifies the night. 4. A superior Alfaqui, who is playing on the teponaztli, which is a musical instrument, which is his occupation during the night. 5. This painting with eyes signifies the night. 6. A superior Alfaqui, who watches by night the stars and the sky, in order to see what the hour is, which is the task and duty allotted to him.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section of the following plate; in which section, under each of the figures, is declared its signification, explanatory of the punishments which they inflicted on the young men, as represented by the figures, which were executed according to the laws and ordinances of the kings of Mexico.

* It is almost superfluous to remark, that the tribe of Levi amongst the Jews constituted the sacerdotal order, and that the priests, in contradistinction to the other Levites, were the immediate descendants of Aaron, who discharged the higher functions of the priesthood. Their occupations were very various: some ministered at the altar and presided at sacrifices; some were musicians; and some, perhaps, counted the hours of the night by the stars, since *the first watch*, and *the second watch*, are expressions which occur in the New Testament; and the night appears to have been divided by the Jews into four watches of three hours each, beginning at sunset and ending at sunrise. David ordained that the priests and Levites should serve in courses or in rotation in certain appointed numbers; and the Mexican priests are said not to have fasted all together, but to have fasted in rotation, until the entire number of the priests had fasted; in which may be traced some shadow of the forms prescribed by the Jewish ritual. Amongst the Mexicans, likewise, the high priesthood, or the office of Topilçin, (that is to say of the great high-priest who presided over public sacrifices,) was hereditary in a certain family, as we learn from the eighteenth chapter of Numbers that the Jewish high priesthood was hereditary in that of Aaron: "And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou, and thy sons, and thy father's house with thee, shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood." And hence it followed that the seed of Aaron, by prescription, sacrificed and made atonement for the sins of the people and of the Levites. The priests of Huitzilopuchtli, like the Levites, succeeded also to their office by belonging to a certain tribe, as Herrera remarks in the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of the second book of his Third Decade: "Los sacerdotes de Vitzlipuztli sucedian por linages de ciertos barrios diputados para esto." "The priests of Viztlipuztli were entitled to succeed to their office by being born of families resident in certain suburbs of the city specially marked out for the purpose." Herrera thus describes the duties and the dignity of the office of Topilçin: "Esta dignidad de ser sacrificador era suprema, i tenida en mucho, i que se heredaba como majorazgo, i el que abria el pecho al sacrificado, era reverenciado como supremo sacerdote; el nombre de su dignidad era Papa, i Topilçin; su ropa era una cortina colorada como dalmatica *con flocaduras por orla*, &c." (*Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. III. lib. ii. cap. 16.) "The dignity of officiating as sacrificer was supreme, and held in great estimation, and hereditary in the manner of a feudal title; and he who opened the breast of the victim was reverenced as the high priest, and his title was Papa, and Topilçin; his dress was a scarlet vest resembling a robe with open sleeves, to which were fastened fringes as a border."

† Eyes in Mexican paintings are painted exactly in this manner.

SECOND SECTION.

7. A young man who proceeds on a military expedition, carrying a load of provisions and weapons of war. 8. The Telpuchtlato. 9. A woman. 10. A young man. 11. The Telpuchtlato. The officers deputed to watch over the conduct of the young men, are here signified, who, when any young man had criminal connexion with any woman, chastised the young man by inflicting blows upon him with half-burnt and fiery logs of wood, and separated the parties from further intercourse, as is represented by the figures contained in this division of the plate.

The explanation of what is represented in the third section of the following plate; in which section, under each of the figures, is declared its signification, which it is therefore unnecessary here to repeat.

THIRD SECTION.

12. A superior Alfaqui, whose duty it is to sweep the mezquita, or to cause it to be swept. 13. A superior Alfaqui. 14. A woman. 15. A novice Alfaqui. 16. A superior Alfaqui. These figures of Alfaquis signify, that if any novice Alfaqui was neglectful of his duties, and had criminal intercourse with any woman, the superior Alfaquis chastised him by running thorns of pine, made into stakes, into his whole body.

The explanation of what is represented in the fourth section; in which, under each of the figures, are declared the particular kinds of punishments which the officers named Telpuchtlato inflicted on the young men who turned out abandoned and vicious, as prescribed by their laws; and whatsoever else is contained and noticed in this section.

FOURTH SECTION.

17. The Telpuchtlato. 18. A young man. 19. The Teachcauh, an officer. These figures signify that if a young man turned out abandoned, the two officers chastised him by shaving off his hair *, and by singeing his head with fire. 20. A young man who is occupied in his canoe in bringing green sods for the service of the mezquita. 21. The Mezquita.

The explanation of the first section of the following plate; in which section, under each of the figures, are declared the various occupations of the Alfaquis, and therefore the repetition of that which is there explained is here omitted.

* Shaving the head was a Hebrew as well as a Mexican punishment.

PLATE LXV.

FIRST SECTION.

1. A novice Alfaqui, a young man who is occupied in his canoe in fetching stones for the repair of the mezquita. 2. The Mezquita. 3. A novice Alfaqui, who goes with a superior Alfaqui to the wars, carrying his baggage. 4. A superior Alfaqui, who enters the field to animate and inspire the troops with courage, and to perform other ceremonies in the camp.

The explanation of the second section; in which section, under each of the figures, is declared how, according to their devices and insignia, (which were according to their achievements in war,) the soldiers advanced, step by step, to higher command; and the promotion and steps by which they attained the title of soldiers of valour, are signified by the number of persons whom they had made prisoners in war, as is successively represented by their arms, insignia, and apparel. The first step.

SECOND SECTION.

5. An officer who follows the Tecutli as a lictor. 6. The Tecutli, who was as it were a constable and justice under the kings of Mexico. This young man is occupied in repairing the gate of the mezquita. 7. The Mezquita, named Çihnateocali *. 8. The road, or street, with its gate of wood. 9. A young man who if he took any prisoners was presented with a square mantle bearing a device of flowers, as a sign of valour. 10. A prisoner.

The explanation of the third section; which relates to the second step of rank which Mexicans of valour attained, as signified by the devices and the insignia which the kings of Mexico bestowed upon them as arms, and by the colour of the dresses which they gave to them, to reward them for having taken a certain number of prisoners, as the figures declare, with their titles and explanations.

* Çihnateocalli was the proper name of a Mexican temple, in which may be recognised, as forming a part of the compound name, the word Çihna, which corresponds exactly in sound with Sina, the appellation of the mountain from which God delivered the laws and tables of stone to Moses, the initial letter *c* having a line under it, and therefore being pronounced in Spanish like *s* or *z*. This name is different from that of *Cihuateocalli*, the signification of which would be *the temple of the woman;* since its accompanying symbol is not a female head, but two rows as if of arrow-headed characters engraved upon a single table of stone. Similar rows of characters occur in the sixty-fifth and seventy-third pages of the larger Vatican MS., and in the third page of the first part of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis:* but in each of these paintings a line seems to divide the square in which they are enclosed, into two equal parts. The expression, arrow-headed characters and table of stone is applied here rather improperly to the above-mentioned symbols, in order to point out the possibility of the enclosed square representing a table of stone, and of the lines which it contains alluding to alphabetical or hieroglyphical writing. All that can with certainty be inferred, is, that this symbol, as applied to one of their temples, and to two of the mythological personages of their calendar, was sacred amongst the Mexicans; and that placed by the side of a particular temple, the name of which was Çinah, it constituted the phonetic hieroglyphic, like the thorn painted near the mezquita Huiznahuac, in the first plate of the second part of the Collection of Mendoza. It is a certain fact, that many Hebrew words are scattered through the American idioms. A respectable writer says, that the inhabitants of Florida made use, in their religious songs, of the exclamation Hosanna, and their priests were named Jouanas. It cannot however be denied, that words in different languages often bear a resemblance to each other, as purely accidental as that which exists between El and Allah, Jehovah and Jove, and Japhet and Japetus.

THIRD SECTION.

11. This brave man has been presented with the device of arms which he wears, and with a square orange-coloured mantle with a scarlet fringe besides, as a sign of valour on account of his having taken two of the enemy prisoners. 12. A prisoner. 13. These insignia of a richly worked mantle, which this brave man wears, are as a sign that he has taken three prisoners in war. 14. A prisoner. 15. The device of arms which this brave man wears, and this square mantle with two stripes of black and yellow and a fringe, signify that he has taken four of the enemy prisoners in war. 16. A prisoner.

The explanation of the fourth section, which treats of the third step which Mexicans of valour attained, as is represented by the devices which the kings of Mexico bestowed upon them as arms, as a reward for their deserts and the number of prisoners whom they had captured in war; and accordingly they were promoted step by step, advancing always in rank, and taking precedence of those above mentioned, by higher titles and superior military command.

FOURTH SECTION.

17. This brave man bears his proper device of arms, and is distinguished by the title of Otonti, from his valour, and on account of his having taken five or six of the enemy prisoners in war; who is the same as the other who is represented above, who began by taking a single prisoner from the enemy, and so successively proceeded step by step to the attainment of his present dignity. 18. A prisoner. 19. This brave man, whose title is that of Quachic, and device of arms such as he wears, bears proof that he has captured five prisoners in war, besides having taken many other prisoners from the enemy in other wars. 20. A prisoner. 21. This brave man, whose title is Tlacatecatl, and device the robe which he wears, with his braided hair, and the insignia of a rich plume, declares by his presence that he has obtained the title of a valiant and distinguished person, by merit surpassing that of the others who are represented behind him.

The explanation of the first section of the following plate; in which section, under each of the figures, are declared their respective significations; for the superior Alfaquis likewise engaged in the profession of arms, and according to their proficiency in war, and the acts of valour which they had performed and the captives which they had taken, the kings of Mexico conferred in the same manner also upon them, dignities, honours, badges, and devices of valour, as is demonstrated by the arms with which they are represented in the plate.

PLATE LXVI.

FIRST SECTION.

1. An Alfaqui who has captured a single enemy in war. 2. The same Alfaqui as the one above mentioned, who has been presented with the device of arms which he wears, on account of his having taken two prisoners in war. 3. A prisoner. The same Alfaqui as the one above mentioned, who has been presented, as a reward for his valour on account of his having taken three prisoners in war, with the device and arms which he wears. A prisoner.

The explanation of the second section, in which section, under each of the figures in the empty spaces between them, are declared their respective significations; wherein are represented the same Alfaquis as those contained in the first section preceding this; who on account of the acts of valour by which they have signalized themselves in wars with the enemy, and the prisoners which they have taken, have merited higher titles, which the kings of Mexico have conferred upon them, together with the arms and the badges which they wear, as a sign of the rank and station to which they have been promoted by their deserts.

SECOND SECTION.

4. The same Alfaqui as those above mentioned, who, as a sign of valour, on account of his having captured four of the enemy, has been presented with the device of arms which he wears. A prisoner. 5. The same Alfaqui as those already represented, who has received the device of arms and the other insignia which he wears, as a sign of valour, on account of his having taken five of the enemy prisoners in war. A prisoner. 6. The same Alfaqui as those already represented, on whom the king of Mexico has bestowed the devices and the arms which he wears, as a sign of his bravery and courage in having taken six of the enemy prisoners in war.

The explanation of the figures which are contained in the third section, in which section, under each of the figures, are declared the titles which they gained and acquired in the exercise of arms, by which they rose to higher rank, the kings of Mexico creating them captains and generals of their forces; whilst those of the one company served as officers of dispatch to execute the orders of the kings of Mexico, whether they related to the affairs of their own kingdom or to those of the other vassal states, who promptly obeyed, without in any manner deviating from the commands which they had received.

THIRD SECTION.

7. Quauhnochtli, an officer of dispatch. 8. Tlilancalqui*, an officer of dispatch. 9. Atenpanecatl, an officer of dispatch. 10. Ezguaguacatl, an officer of dispatch. The four personages contained

* The signification of Tlilancalqui is *the house of darkness,* which brings to mind the "casa lobrega," or *temple of darkness, which Votan is said to have built in the short space of a breath;* which seems to allude to what Christ says of destroying and

in this division of the plate served as officers and executors of the will and pleasure of the kings of Mexico. 11. Tlacochcalcatl. 12. Tezcacoacatl. 13. Ticocyahuacatl. 14. Tocinltecatl. The four personages contained in this division of the plate are men of distinguished courage in war, and captains of the Mexican forces, and persons who filled the post of generals of the Mexican armies.

The explanation of the figures which are contained in the first section of the following plate, which represents a Cacique, (the governor of a city,) round whose neck, on account of his rebellion against the state of Mexico, the officers of dispatch above mentioned have placed a halter, by which he has been condemned to die by the king of Mexico, as a punishment for his rebellion, and his wife and children to be made captives, and brought prisoners to the court of Mexico*; in pursuance of which condemnation the officers are executing the punishments to which they had been sentenced, as the figures indicate.

PLATE LXVII.

FIRST SECTION.

1. Huiznatl, an officer and executioner resembling a lictor. 2. An executioner. 3. The Cacique. 4. An executioner. 5. The captive wife of the Cacique with a collar round her throat. 6. The captive son of the Cacique confined in a collar.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section. The person who is seated and entitled a Cacique, signifies that he has been condemned, on account of his rebellion against the Mexican state, to utter ruin and destruction, together with the subjects of his city. The executioners accordingly present themselves before him by command of the Mexican government, informing him of the said condemnation; as a sign of which they mark him with the insignia which the executioners are putting on his head, and place in his hands a shield, in order thate h may not pretend ignorance of his ruin and destruction. The figures which are pierced through with mortal wounds, signify that they were Mexican merchants engaged in traffic, who came to the country and the city of the said Cacique; and that the vassals of the Cacique, without the permission of their lord, attacked them on the road, killing them and robbing them of the merchandise which they carried, which furnished occasion for the said ruin and destruction of the whole city.

rebuilding the *temple* in three days; whose real meaning was mistaken by the Jews, as is evident from their reply: "Forty-and-six years hath this temple been building," &c. The House of Darkness may appear a very inappropriate name for either a Mexican or a Jewish temple, since light was obliged to be kept perpetually burning in each of them; but it is necessary to recollect, that in both there was a separate place inclosed within curtains; and that the ark of the covenant, which was an inclosed box in which the Jews declared that Jehovah was mysteriously present, was dark within; to which Solomon refers in the twelfth verse of the eighth chapter of the First Book of Kings: "Then spake Solomon, The Lord said that he would dwell *in the thick darkness*. I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in for ever." It is singular that the Mexicans should sometimes have applied the epithet of *divine* to darkness, as in the expression teotliltan.

* Leading away into captivity was a punishment which the Jews inflicted on their enemies, as well as one which they experienced from them; it implied irredeemable slavery.

SECOND SECTION.

7. A vassal of the Cacique. 8. Loads of merchandise. 9. A merchant. 10. A merchant. 11. A vassal of the Cacique. 12. An executioner. 13. An executioner. 14. The Cacique.

The explanation of what is represented in the third section. The four officers of dispatch and ambassadors of the Mexican government signify, that after having denounced war against the Cacique, contained in the second section preceding this, as has been mentioned,—at the time that the said officers of dispatch were returning to Mexico, certain vassals of the said Cacique followed them on the road to ill-treat them, shooting arrows at them as a sign of war and rupture between them, and of the consequences which would ensue, and to widen the causes of hostility.

THIRD SECTION.

15. An officer of dispatch and ambassador from the state of Mexico. 16. An officer of dispatch and ambassador from the state of Mexico. 17. A vassal of the Cacique. 18. A vassal of the Cacique. 19. An ambassador and officer of dispatch from the state of Mexico. 20. An ambassador and officer of dispatch from the state of Mexico. 21. A vassal of the Cacique. They shoot arrows at the ambassadors to widen the causes of hostility.

The description and explanation of what is represented in the first section of the following plate. The Tequihua signify an armed band of men dispatched by the state of Mexico to the city of the Cacique, in order that they might go and pass through it secretly by night without being perceived by the foe, that their enemies might be apprised and informed of where they should commence the battle, and make a successful assault without much resistance on the part of the foe. The Tequihua accordingly go and walk round about the city, houses, mezquita, and tianguez, at a time when the citizens are asleep and still, to discover where with least trouble and resistance it might be in their power to make the attack*.

* The military tactics and articles of war of the Mexicans nearly resembled those of the Jews. Both nations were in the habit of sending spies to report the strength and condition of the cities which they intended to attack; they both treated their enemies when vanquished with extraordinary cruelty;—the Mexicans sacrificing them in their temples, and the Jews on the field of battle. It was equally a custom with them after the return of the spies, formally to declare war against the foe; since Moses ordained that the devoted cities of the land of Canaan should be apprised, (like the Cacique of the city that rebelled against Mexico,) of their impending destruction; although peace was not to be proclaimed to them on terms of submission, as in the case of other cities, who by accepting it became tributary to the Jews. The following were the rules of Jewish warfare as laid down by Moses in the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy: "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities *which are very far off from thee,* which *are not* of the cities of these nations. But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: But thou shalt utterly

PLATE LXVIII.

FIRST SECTION.

1. A Tequihua. 2. A Tequihua. 3. A Tequihua. 4. A house. 5. The Mezquita. 6. A Tequihua. 7. A house. 8. The Tianguez, or market-place. 9. A Tequihua. 10. A Tequihua. 11. A house. 12. A house. 13. A Tequihua. 14. A Tequihua. 15. A house.

destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee: That they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against the Lord your God." It is stated a little further on, that insults offered to Mexican ambassadors and merchants were a cause that sometimes induced Mexico to move her arms against other states; and we are indebted to Torquemada for observing, that the Mexicans entertained notions very similar to those of the Jews, of the respect due to the persons of ambassadors; and for citing as a parallel case to one which he mentions, the example of David who sent ambassadors to Hanun the king of the Ammonites, to condole with him on the death of his father Nahash, who being accused of being spies, were contumeliously treated by that king, and sent back to David with their beards shorn, who was so provoked that he immediately declared war against the Ammonites; and having taken the city of Rabbah, put the inhabitants to the torture to revenge himself of the insult offered to him by Hanun, as is recorded in the third verse of the twentieth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles: "And he brought out the people that were in it" (Rabbah); "and cut them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes: even so dealt David with all the cities of the children of Ammon: and David and all the people returned to Jerusalem." It is to be presumed that the reason David tortured the Ammonites was to revenge himself of the insult offered to his ambassadors; since, though simply putting them to death might have been only obedience to the law, the Jews were not commanded first to torture their prisoners.

It is probable that the Mexicans, in their mode of attack and defence, in their warlike weapons and accoutrements, in their ambushes and in their fortification of towns and cities, closely resembled the Jews. We might perhaps also note the practice of transmitting state dispatches from one part of the kingdom to the other by means of couriers, who both in Mexico and Peru were a class of persons *exercised in running*, and maintained for the service of the state: and the frequent mention in Scripture of persons of this description induces the supposition that public officers of this kind existed amongst the Jews. In the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel they seem to be spoken of in more places than one: "Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, Let me now *run* and bear the king tidings, how that the Lord hath avenged him of his enemies. And Joab said unto him, Thou shalt not bear tidings this day, but thou shalt bear tidings another day; but this day thou shalt bear no tidings, because the king's son is dead. Then said Joab to Cushi, Go tell the king what thou hast seen. And Cushi bowed himself unto Joab, and *ran*. Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok yet again to Joab, But howsoever, let me, I pray thee, also run after Cushi. And Joab said, *Wherefore wilt thou run, my son, seeing that thou hast no tidings ready?* But howsoever, said he, let me run. And he said unto him, Run. Then Ahimaaz ran by the way of the plain, and over-ran Cushi. And David sat between the two gates: and the watchman went up to the roof over the gate unto the wall, and lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, a man running alone. And the watchman cried, and told the king. And the king said, If he be alone, there is tidings in his mouth. And he came apace, and drew near. And the watchman saw another man running; and the watchman called unto the porter, and said, Behold, another man running alone. And the king said, He also bringeth tidings. And the watchman said, Me thinketh the running of the foremost is like the running of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok. And the king said, He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings." Ezekiel says, in the fourth chapter of his prophecies, that God had commanded him to pourtray Jerusalem upon a tile, and to lay siege to it, and to cast a mount against it. This mode of raising earthen mounds, so as to overtop the walls of a city and to enable the enemy to shoot arrows into it, seems to have been practised by the Mexicans. The Jews often made use of the stratagem of laying in ambush, and of digging pits into which their adversaries or their horses might fall: and Cortes says that the Tlascalans employed both these devices against the Spaniards. Mutual challenges and defiances frequently took place between the Jewish leaders and those of the enemy; and the same thing usually happened when the Mexican armies took the field,—the contending parties pausing in the mean time to behold the result of these single combats. The Tlascalans are said to have drawn an omen of the fortune of the approaching battle *by previously firing an arrow:* and the following story, of Joash king of Israel auguring the issue of an engagement with the army of the Syrians from shooting and smiting arrows on the ground, is found in

This section signifies the city of the Cacique, before mentioned, against whom war had been denounced on account of his rebellion against the state of Mexico. The figures of the Tequihua signify those who were sent by the said state to the city, to pass through it secretly by night, and to destroy the foe without much trouble in the hour of battle, and to make their enemies masters of the city and its territory.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section. The Mexican who is seated with a shield and arrows behind him, signifies that the Mexicans were resolved to destroy by war a certain city which had rebelled against the state of Mexico. The three vassals of the Cacique represented in the plate, who likewise are seated opposite to the Mexican, signify that all the subjects of the

the thirteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings. "Now Elisha was fallen sick of his sickness whereof he died. And Joash the king of Israel came down unto him, and wept over his face, and said, O my father, my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof! And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and arrows: and he took unto him bow and arrows: and he said to the king of Israel, Put thine hand upon the bow: and he put his hand upon it: and Elisha put his hands upon the king's hands. And he said, Open the window eastward: and he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot: and he shot. And he said, The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek till thou have consumed them. And he said, Take the arrows: and he took them. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground: and he smote thrice, and stayed. And the man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it: whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice." The Mexicans when they lost their sacred standard became so terrified at the omen,—as was the case at the famous battle of Otumba which decided the fate of the Mexican empire,—that the army invariably disbanded itself, and the soldiers retreated in confusion from ever so inferior a force. The Jews in the same manner were dismayed at seeing the ark fall into the hands of the enemy, which if the Philistines had twice taken, twice would the children of Israel have fled. In modern times, armies being less superstitious, these kinds of divine panics are unknown. It would be wrong to suppose, from the example above mentioned, that valour and not discipline was only prized in the Mexican armies, nor is it probable that the forces of Montezuma were inferior in this latter respect to those of other Indian states. In Peru, on the contrary, military discipline was held in great esteem by the Ingas: and Rosales says that the Indians of Chili, especially the Araucas, highly valued it. In Xalixco likewise it was carefully infused into the troops; and Gomara observes in the following passage, that the chiefs of that province held in their hands during the time of an engagement *a baton*, in order to maintain it. "Sus armas son como en Mexico; empero no traen los señores y capitanes arma ninguna en la guerra, *sino unos bastones*, con que sacuden al que no pelea, ó se desmanda, ó no guarda orden." "Their arms resemble those of the Mexicans; but their chiefs and generals only carry batons, with which they remove from the ranks those who do not fight, or who disobey orders, or who do not preserve discipline." The Mexican mode of fortification seems chiefly to have consisted in their teocallis or *temples*, which were also, like the temple of Jerusalem, arsenals; and in the thick walls which surrounded their cities, protected on the outside with a fosse with ramparts above. The streets likewise, from the houses being flat-terraced and covered with battlements, were capable of defence, and Cortes complains of the annoyance which his soldiers experienced from the Mexicans, who fought from the tops of their houses and threw missiles from behind the battlements. It is certainly singular that this curious mode of turreting the roofs of the houses should have existed in Mexico, as it was *in strict conformity with the Mosaic law:* "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence." And perusing a few verses lower down the same twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, we come to another precept, which we find from the indubitable testimony of their own paintings that the Mexicans followed more scrupulously than the Jews of the middle ages, who were laughed or persecuted out of some of their prejudices by Christians: "Thou shalt make thee fringes upon the four quarters of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself." It is not of any signification whether all the Mexican dresses were ornamented

with fringes, provided proof may be found in the Mexican paintings that this custom if not universal was general, and sacred and ritual, if not profane and vulgar. From the phrase "the four quarters of thy vesture," which could not apply to the girdle or maxtle, which the Jews wore round their loins, it may be inferred that the square vest or mantle which covered their body is understood; and that was precisely the part of their dress to which *the Mexicans fastened fringes.* Further arguments may appear unnecessary to establish the fact, that in military matters, as well as in their civil institutions, the Mexicans resembled the Jews: but another analogy may still be pointed out in reference to its being customary with the kings of both nations to entrust to a subject the supreme command of the army, since the title of Tlacatecatl in the Mexican army, seems to have been equivalent to that which Joab and Abner possessed, under Saul and David, in the army of the Jews.

Cacique, being terrified at the war and destruction in which the Mexicans wished to involve them, they have come to Mexico to treat of peace, submitting themselves as vassals to the Mexicans, and promising to pay them tribute and to acknowledge their dominion; on which conditions they are admitted to amity, and received as vassals, that which had previously been determined to their prejudice having been laid aside. The four valiant men represented and intitled with their lances in their hands, ready and equipped for war, wearing their devices and arms, signify the generals of the Mexican armies.

SECOND SECTION.

15. 16. 17. These are the vassals of the Cacique. 18. The Mexican. 19. A shield and arrows. 20. A brave officer entitled Tlacatecatl. 21. A brave officer entitled Tlacochcalcatl. 22. A brave officer entitled Huitznahuatl. 23. A brave officer entitled Ticocyahuacatl.

The explanation of what is represented in the first section of the following plate; which signifies that he who is seated with a woman spinning behind him, is the newly married husband of the woman, who by reason of his having taken upon himself the marriage state, having before been a messenger of the number of the others who are painted before him, who are five, who are named Telpuchtli, who are likewise messengers, the married man discourses to them of the reasons which induced him to relinquish his office and duties of a messenger, as well for the sake of his private ease, as because he wished to rest from service; and further, to gain their good will and to cause them to grant his request, he invites them to a banquet plentifully supplied with meat and drink, besides making them a present of a handful of perfumes and some copper axes and two mantles, according to the signification of the representations of these articles; and with this ceremony the married man remained free, and vacated the said office.

PLATE LXIX.

FIRST SECTION.

1. A Telpuchtli, who is a young man who is sent on missions: they are five. 2. Mantles. 3. A handful of perfumes. 4. An axe of copper. 5. The married Telpuchtli. 6. Tamales. 7. A dressed fowl. 8. A xicara containing chocolate to drink. 9. The wife of the married Telpuchtli.

The explanation of what is represented in the second section. He who is seated and his title declared is the king of Mexico; before whom some of the messengers named Telpuchtli, who are represented in the preceding plate, having rendered a satisfactory account of their past services, and taken on themselves the marriage state,—the said king promotes them from messengers, which they had before been, to higher rank and titles, by creating them Tequihua, which is what the three figures entitled

Tequihua with their lances and fans signify, conferring upon them the privilege of being his ambassadors and comptrollers in war, which they esteemed an honourable office.

SECOND SECTION.

10. The king of Mexico. 11. A Tequihua. 12. A Tequihua. 13. A Tequihua.

The explanation of what is represented in the third section. The magistrates and judges placed by the hand of the king of Mexico, to try both civil and criminal causes, are here signified: accordingly the figures of men and women represented in front of them, are those who demand justice, who are suitors; and the four figures intitled Tectli, who are behind the judges, are young men of rank, who were assessors to the judges when they heard causes, that they might exercise themselves in affairs of judicature, for the purpose of afterwards succeeding to the office of judges.

An appeal lay from these judges before the council-hall of MOTECCUMA, as will presently be shown *.

* The Jewish Sanhedrim was a council composed of seventy-one persons; which Whiston, in a note to his *Translation of Josephus*, thus takes occasion to describe: "It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judea but by the approbation of the Jewish Sanhedrim, there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem, as I have formerly observed in my *Horeb Covenant Revived*, (page 100.) and this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says, "It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem." Although the words of Christ seem *rather to allude* to the verse immediately following, in the thirteenth chapter of Saint Luke, wherein, addressing Jerusalem, he says, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *which killest the prophets*, and stonest them that are sent unto thee:"—still all will assent to what Whiston says of the constitution and prerogatives of the supreme court of judicature among the Jews, called the Sanhedrim. But it is not a little surprising, that the *Teotlatolli*, or *Tribunal of God*, in Tezcuco, should have nearly resembled the Jewish Sanhedrim, both in the number of the judges of which it was composed, in the high authority which it possessed, and in the appeals which lay to it from the inferior courts; as also in the jurisdiction which it seems exclusively to have exercised in all criminal causes affecting the life of the accused. The following account of the Teotlatolli is extracted from the twenty-second section of the *Idea of a New General History of North America*. "The court was at first established in Tenayuca, and afterwards transferred to Tetzcuco, where in the pagan times a famous university for all kinds of literature and science flourished, to which the lords of the country sent their sons, that they might learn the Nahuatl language in all its purity, together with poetry, moral philosophy, profane theology, astronomy, medicine, and history; besides those courteous addresses which it was proper to employ when sent on embassies, or in transacting business at court or with the nobility, (which have been printed in the Indian idiom, and which I possess in my museum:) and being not only the residence of monarchs as illustrious and wise as were Netzahualcoyotl, who composed sixty hymns in praise of the Creator of the universe, whose dwelling he affirmed was above the nine heavens, (mentioned in section 14. n. 3.) and Netzahualpiltzintli his son, who was a celebrated poet, historian, and astronomer; but also the place in which the great council of eighty judges assembled, (as I have stated in section 15. n. 3.) where was the criminal court, which they named Teotlatolli, or the Tribunal of God, (of which I have spoken in section 14. n. 7.) at which tribunal criminal indictments represented in painting, together with the law which the accused parties had violated, were laid before the Emperor, on which the monarch pronounced sentence by drawing with an arrow the line of death over the figure of the culprit." Boturini says, in section 15. n. 3, that the above-mentioned tribunal was also called Nepohualtlatolli, which signifies *The tribunal of eighty days*, because all appeals were obliged to be determined within that time. Eighty, it may be remarked, was a favourite number among the Mexicans; which was probably owing either to its being the decuple of eight, a number to which they were as partial as the Jews; or because it was equal to twice forty, to which latter number they were also attached, and usually dedicated so many days to fasting, although a fast likewise of eighty days was no uncommon thing amongst them. It need scarcely be observed, that Moses fasted the first time forty days in the Mount, which was undoubtedly by way of penance (for all fasting is penance). And it is stated in the thirty-fourth section of *A View of the Jewish Religion, by A. R.*, printed in London in the year 1656,—That the Jews for certain offences "must fast forty days, and twice every day endure the malkus, or thirty-nine stripes on the back." The Mexican fast of eighty days also resembled that of Moses; since we learn from the ninth and eighteenth verses of the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy, that Moses fasted eighty days in all: "When I was gone up into the mount, to receive the tables of stone, even the tables of the covenant which the Lord made with you, then I abode in the mount forty days and forty nights; I neither did eat bread nor drink water." He then

THIRD SECTION.

14. Tectli. 15. Tectli Myxcoatlaylotlac, the chief justice. 16. These six figures, three male and three female, are suitors who demand justice from the judges. 17. Tectli. 18. Ezguaguacatl, a judge. 19. Tectli. 20. Acatliyacapanecatl, a judge. 21. Tectli. 22. Tequixquiuahuacatl, a judge.

The explanation of what is represented in the following plate; the plan of the halls of council belonging to the king of Mexico, and of his palace with its courts, and the steps by which they entered, and the throne and seat of MOTECCUMA*. In the empty spaces of the figures representing them, are

proceeds to say, that having received the tables from God, and flung them on the ground and broke them when he found that the Jews had taken advantage of his absence to prevail on Aaron to make them the golden calf; he fasted forty days more, to induce God to pardon their sins: "And I took the two tables, and cast them out of my two hands, and brake them before your eyes. And I fell down before the Lord, as at the first, forty days and forty nights: I did neither eat bread nor drink water, because of all your sins which ye sinned, in doing wickedly in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger. (For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure wherewith the Lord was wroth against you to destroy you.) But the Lord hearkened unto me at that time also. And the Lord was very angry with Aaron to have destroyed him: and I prayed for Aaron also the same time." It is no wonder, since the fasting of Moses was so efficacious, that the Jews should ever afterwards have considered it very meritorious to fast a length of time. And it is highly probable that the fasts of excessive duration, which Torquemada says in the thirty-first chapter of the tenth book of his *Indian Monarchy* that the Tlascalans celebrated to their god Camaxtle, who he supposes was Quecalcoatle,—but who, it is more probable, was Huitzilopuchtli, (if indeed the two latter deities were not one and the same,) derived their origin from Jewish superstition. Describing these fasts, to which he gives the common appellation of festivals, although macerations of the body by bleeding and fasting were what they entirely consisted in, he writes; "Esta fiesta se hacia en el principio de Março; y aunque se le hacia fiesta cada año, era la major de quatro en quatro años, *que era su grande Pasqua*. Este dia de su celebracion se llamaba *Teoxihuitl*, que quiere decir *Año de Dios*." "This festival was celebrated in the beginning of March; and although it took place every year, it was kept with greater solemnity every fourth year, which was their great Passover. The day of its celebration was named Teoxihuitl, which signifies the Year of God." It would appear from the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, that *the fourth year* was esteemed also by the Jews at a very early period of their history as holy: "And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, *then ye shall count the fruit thereof as uncircumcised:* three years shall it be as uncircumcised unto you; it shall not be eaten of. But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, to praise the Lord withal. And *in the fifth year* shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof: I am the Lord your God." It is a remarkable fact, which admits of no doubt, (because the proof of it is found in the Mexican paintings,) that the Mexicans evinced a predilection for exactly the same numbers as the Jews; and hence eight, four, twelve, and seven, perpetually recur in those paintings, distinguished by as many units or points: and in Mexico, the number of the supreme judges, as the best informed authors assert, was strictly limited to twelve.

* Peter Martyr gives the following description of Montezuma and his court, in the fourth chapter of his fifth decade: "Let us therefore say somewhat of the palaces of the nobility and other rich men, and of their excellent buildings. Cortes saith, that he never saw any palace in Spain, either of kings or any other prince, which the meanest of seventy stone or marble houses doth not match; who saith that they are all built by the curious art of the architect, with pavements of divers sorts, and pillars of jasper stone or white transparent marble round about the courts, and large galleries under the solars. He addeth further, that whatsoever is reported concerning these things ought to be credited, saying, it is no wonder, because Muteczuma hath many large kingdoms, in the which a great multitude of noblemen govern many countries, as under the Emperor's crown many dukes, earls, and marquises, and nobles of other titles are sha-

dowed; all these at certain times of the year, by an ancient custom, frequent the court of Muteczuma; nor may they do otherwise. It is a thing whereto they are much inclined, that every one should strive in his desires to excel his companions in the building of sumptuous houses. I might compare the manner of the Pope's cardinals in the city of Rome to their magnificence, but much otherwise; for the cardinals in their buildings have respect only to themselves, not regarding succession: but these people, being obedient to Muteczuma, provide for posterity long to come; for they send their own children to be brought up with Muteczuma, especially such as descend from nobility; whereof there is so great a multitude, that every day as soon as light appeareth, you may see more than five hundred such young noblemen walking in the halls and open solars of Muteczuma, with whose familiars, pages, and followers, three great courts and streets before the gates of the palace are filled at that time to the hour of dinner; all these are filled with Muteczuma's provision. He saith, the cellars are never shut all day long, and that any man may demand drink of the butlers; yet no man seeth the king before he come forth to

written the names and the explanations of each particular thing; and accordingly that which has already been explained is not repeated in this description, further than that those who in the way of

dinner or supper out of the privy chambers into the great hall, whose equal in greatness, Cortes saith, he knows not any. When he is set, three hundred young men, apparelled after the Palatine manner, come unto him; and every one of them brings several dishes of divers dainty meats, with chafing-dishes under them, that the meats freeze not in the winter time: but they come not near the table, for it is compassed about with a rail;—one only standeth within the rail, who taketh the several dishes from their hands, and setteth them before the prince being ready to dine. Muteczuma *giveth, with his own hand, of the dishes* to six ancient men of great authority, *standing at his right hand,* who, after the ancient manner, while he dineth stand all barefooted. The pavements are covered with mats. If it so happen that he call any, he that is called goeth unto him, bowing down his body with his face to the earth, and lifteth not up his head at all before he be gone far from him, creeping backward; for he may not return turning his back toward him. No man useth directly to look upon the king; his familiars and friends, and also the princes, casting down their eyes, and turning their face to the left or right hand, hearken what the king answers: and thereupon they blamed Cortes, because he suffered the Spaniards which he called unto him, to behold him with a direct countenance; who answered, that it was not the manner with us; nor that our king so highly esteemed his mortality, although he were the greatest, that he would be adored with so great reverence. This answer pleased them. Besides, when Muteczuma is present, in what state soever he appear among so great a multitude, there is so wonderful a silence, that none would think any of them drew any breath at all. Every dinner and every supper *he washeth his hands on both sides,* and wipeth them with very white linen, and the towel he once useth he never taketh in hands again; all instruments must never be touched more. The like doth he concerning his apparel. Arising from his bed, he is clothed after one manner as he cometh forth to be seen; and returning back to his chamber after he hath dined, he changeth his garments; and when he cometh forth again to supper, he taketh another; and returning back again, the fourth, which he weareth until he go to bed. But concerning three garments which he changeth every day, many of them that returned have reported the same unto me with their own mouth: but howsoever it be, all agree in the changing of garments, that being once taken into the wardrobe, they are there piled up on heaps, and not likely to see the face of Muteczuma any more. But what manner of garments they be, we will elsewhere declare; for they are very light. These things being observed, it will not be wondered at that we made mention before concerning so many garments presented; for accounting the years, and the days of the years especially, wherein Muteczuma hath enjoyed peace, and how often he changeth his garments every day, all admiration will cease. But the readers will demand why he heapeth up so great a pile of garments,—and that justly." Peter Martyr proceeds to say, that Montezuma occasionally made presents of these garments to his friends and distinguished soldiers: and it deserves to be remarked, that frequent changes of raiment, and presents of apparel as a mark of honour from the hand of the king, are noticed in more places than one in Scripture. When Montezuma therefore, on his first interview with Cortes, took from his own neck a chain, and desired that it should be placed on that of the Spanish general, he treated him in a manner which the Jews would have considered very honourable; as is evident from the two following passages out of Genesis and the Book of Esther, which describe the marks of royal favour shown to Joseph and Mordecai by Pharaoh and Ahasuerus: "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck."—"Then the king said to Haman, Make haste, and take the apparel, and the horse, as thou hast said, and do even so to Mordecai the Jew, that sitteth at the king's gate: let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken." The eating meat at the king's table, and receiving dishes of provision sent from him, was also looked upon by the Jews as a great distinction. It is therefore recorded in the twenty-fifth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, that Jehoiachin king of Judah, when in captivity, was treated graciously by Evilmerodach king of Babylon, who "spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon, and changed his prison garments; and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life." And Uriah is said, in the eighth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, to have had a mess of meat sent him from the king: although David, in conferring this apparent mark of favour on him, was guilty of the basest duplicity. "And David said to Uriah, Go down to thy house, and wash thy feet. And Uriah departed out of the king's house; *and there followed him a mess of meat from the king.*" From what is said above of the six ancient men of great authority who partook of the dishes to which Montezuma helped them, it is plain that this was considered a mark of the highest royal favour in Mexico: and as Cortes has taken care to mention that Montezuma frequently sent him and some of his superior officers dishes from his own table, it is evident that the customs of the Jews prevailed to a great extent at the Mexican court. Nor should the ablution or washing of the hands, which this monarch is said publicly to have performed, pass altogether unnoticed; or the ceremonious manner in which his subjects approached him, bowing their heads, *and worshipping,* as Scripture expresses it, and averting their eyes from those of their sovereign, and casting them down on the ground; to which may be added, taking off their sandals. The right hand of Montezuma, it should also be observed, was the place of honour: and that it was so amongst the Jews may be inferred from the expression in the Psalms; "On his right hand did stand the queen." Hence it is more probable that Huitzilopuchtli, or Quecalcoatle, was seated on the right hand of Tezcatlipoca, than on the left as Boturini affirms, in the following curious passage of his *Idea of a New General History of America:* "Llamóse esta deidad, assi en el primero, como en este segundo tiempo, Huitzilopochtli, porque debieron las gentes mayores creer que estaba sentada á la mano siniestra de Tezcatlipoca, de la misma suerte que la fingieron estar á la de Tetzauhteotl, en esta segunda edad; en que de su nombre proprio *Huitziton,* y de

appeal from the judges appeared at the one council hall, as a party aggrieved, obtained redress, if their causes were just: but this not being the case, the decision and the sentence of the judges were

mapoche que es la mano siniestra compusieron el nombre de Huitzilopochtli. Alude esta fabula á la de la transformacion de Eneas, quien por sus hechos heroicos á ruegos de Venus su madre, despues de haverle purificado y lavado en el rio Numicio, assimismo ungido con balsamos y licores divinos, fue recebido de Jupiter en el colegio de los demas dioses." " This divinity was called, as well in the first as in the second age, Huitzilopochtli, from their ancestors' *believing that he was seated on the left hand of Tezcatlipoca,* as they now believe, in this second age, that he is on that of Tetzauhteotl; so that, from his proper name *Huitziton,* and from *mapoche,* which is *the left hand,* they formed the compound name *Huitzilopochtli.* This fable alludes to that of the transfiguration of Eneas, who, as a reward for his heroic deeds, was at the entreaty of his mother Venus received by Jupiter into the society of the other gods, having been first purified and washed in the river Numicius, and anointed with balsam and divine liquids." It is not unlikely that Boturini, having read in the memoirs of some of the early Spanish missionaries that the belief prevailed amongst the Mexicans that Huitzilopuchtli was seated on one hand of Tezcatlipoca, or Tetzauhteotl; and being uncertain on which hand, paid more respect to a seeming etymology than to Mexican usages, and so confounded the right hand with the left. This opinion receives some confirmation from the derivation which he assigns to the word Huitzilopochtli, which he says is compounded of *Huitziton,* (the name of the leader who conducted the Mexicans from Aztlan, who was otherwise called *Mexi,* the former appellation having been given to him *either on account of the bird which chirped from the bush, and invited the Mexicans to set out on their migration, having been the Huicilan,* or from some other cause), and *mapoche,* the *left hand. Ma* certainly signifies, in the Mexican language, *the hand,* and *poche* may mean *the left:* but still Boturini seems to have written this word by mistake for *opuchtli,* which itself forms the latter part of this compound proper name, and which means, according to Torquemada, both *water,* and *the left hand;* and he may have sought to clear up tradition by the preference which he gave *to its latter signification.* That, however, Boturini assigned a somewhat forcible etymology to the word Huitzilopochtli, may be inferred from comparing his derivation with the symbol of the town of Huiçilopucho, which Clavigero asserts to have been named after Huitzilopuchtli, as Mexico was after Mexitli; and as we read in Scripture that Jehovahjireh, (the place where Abraham was about to offer up his son as a burnt-offering,) was, after Jehovah.

The symbol of this city occurs in the 20th plate of the Collection of Mendoza, under the figure 8, which is represented by a bird flying over a piece of water, the bill of which, more than the brilliant plumage, assimilates it to the kingfisher, and might induce us to suppose that the ancient Mexicans bestowed the appellation of Huicilan on the kingfisher as well as on the humming-bird. It deserves likewise to be noticed, that the Mexicans painted their principal deity Huitzilopuchtli, with a crest formed out of the head and straight bill of this bird. And since Torquemada and Sahagun both declare that Opuchtli was adored by the Mexicans as the god of fishermen, and the symbol of the city of Huicilopucho seems to allude to this occupation, a more simple and obvious interpretation of the proper name Huitzilopuchtli than that given by Boturini would appear to be, *The god of fishermen crowned with the feathers of the kingfisher.* And if Huicilan, the primary signification of which is *a bird of green plumage,* could also, like *quetzalli,* which means simply *green feathers* (which the Mexicans, from the use they made of them in painting, prized in the highest degree), metaphorically signify *precious,* then the meaning of this proper name would be, *The precious god of fishermen.* It is certainly not a little singular, that one of the figures standing at the side of the mysterious cross in the temple of Palenque, should wear on its head a rich crest of feathers, on which are embroidered two fish; while a bird, perched with one foot on a cross, holds another in his bill; and a fourth is represented in front;—the whole constituting a very extraordinary head-dress. These reasons having been given for assigning a different derivation to the proper name Huitzilopuchtli, and for supposing that it was *on the right hand,* and not *on the left,* of Tezcatlipoca, that the deity so named was seated; we shall venture to attempt to account for so remarkable a Mexican tradition, by referring to the prophecy of David in the Psalms; " The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool;" and by supposing that the Jews who passed over to America appropriated this prophecy, like many others, to Quecalcoatle. But one solution offers itself for all the difficulties and mysteries which seem to be inseparable from the study of the ancient monuments, paintings, and mythology of the Mexicans: and that is, the presence of the Jews in the new world. Their bloody sacrifices, absurd traditions, and fictitious crimes and pollutions, appear to have traversed more than the half of that vast continent, and to have displaced the purer worship of the sun, and altars on which flowers were the only offering which the simple Indian dared to present to his Creator, and prayer the grateful incense. With respect to the appellation Mesi, or Mesitli (the other name by which Quecalcoatle was known amongst the Mexicans), it is very remarkable that it is precisely the same as the Hebrew word משיח, which signifies properly *The Anointed,* and is peculiarly applied by Christians to Christ. At the same time, it is impossible not to recognize a great similarity between the two Hebrew names מָשִׁיחַ and משה, which is much stronger in the Hebrew language, where the vowels are not written but supplied, than in other languages which, admitting a diversity of inflection in the pronunciation of words and a change of intonation, and making use of vowels, have produced a considerable difference in these proper names. Reverential reasons, as well as the alterations which are constantly found to occur in introducing names into one language which are foreign and peculiar to another, may be assigned as the chief cause of the apparent difference between them. And this may account for an opinion entertained by some of the Jewish rabbis, that the prophecy of Moses relating to the likeness which the future Messiah would bear to him, was the reason why that expected deliverer was called *by a name resembling his,* which came also to signify *anointed,* because

confirmed. If it was a matter for the council in the first instance to take cognizance of, an appeal lay, on the plea of grievance, before MOTECCUMA, where the cause was concluded. The hall, which

Moses was himself the spiritually-anointed prophet of God. Since the history of the Jews commences with their Egyptian bondage, and their middle state was bondage to the Babylonians, and their latter end bondage to the Romans,—it is not surprising that a people whose minds were so familiar with slavery should constantly have expected a deliverer like unto Moses, such as that great lawgiver had foretold in the fifteenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy should rise up in Israel: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, *like unto me*[1]; unto him ye shall hearken:" whose coming, succeeding prophets, testifying to the truth of the Mosaic traditions, did not fail to announce. We accordingly find that many pretended Messiahs did from time to time rise up among the Jews, who imposed upon their credulity, and made them believe that the ancient prophecies were verified in their persons; amongst which number was the famous Bar Chocoba, (i. e. the Son of the Star,) whom the rabbis themselves were not ashamed to acknowledge, nor hesitated, by so doing, to draw down upon their countrymen the severe vengeance of the Romans. But it is in America, and in the person of Quecalcoatle, that the Jews, as we shall elsewhere point out, have pretended to discover the full accomplishment of the ancient prophecies respecting the Messiah; although the only one which has been here noticed is that of David in the Psalms, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool:" which it is evident, from the question which Christ puts, in the twenty-second chapter of Saint Matthew, to the Pharisees, was generally understood by the Jews to refer to the Messiah, and must therefore be considered a more famous prophecy than some others, which, equally relating to him,—such as that quoted in the twenty-third verse of the second chapter of Saint Matthew, "He shall be called a Nazarene,"—were more obscure, and less heeded by the Jews; as the fact of their being careless of preserving the books of Scripture, in which they were contained, sufficiently proves; which we know from Saint Chrysostom was the case; who, confessing that the prophecy which Saint Matthew cites was no where to be found in Scripture, thus vindicates, in his Ninth Homily on Saint Matthew's Gospel, that Evangelist from the charge of want of veracity in adducing proofs of Christ's being the Messiah, as if out of Holy Writ; which in fact did not there exist: "Many of the prophetical monuments have perished; for the Jews being careless, and not only careless but also impious, they have carelessly lost some of these monuments; others they have partly burned, partly torn in pieces." It might further have been satisfactory to have learned from Saint Chrysostom why, since the Jews could have had no reason for impiously destroying prophecies relating to the Messiah till the coming of Christ, the Christians were not more careful to preserve these prophetical monuments. It might, however, be abundantly proved, that the early Fathers were as diligent *in collecting traditions* relating to Christ, as the primitive Christians were sadly negligent in recording the real events of his life: since, strange to say, for more than forty years was the only Son of God incarnate amongst men; and his remarkable actions are declared by Saint John, in the twenty-fifth and last verse of the last chapter of his Gospel, to have been so numerous, that if they had been severally recorded, the world would scarcely have been able to contain the books which would have been written. Yet the entire history of a life so important to mankind is comprised in a few pages, which a few hours would suffice to peruse: for, deducting from the New Testament, (which is but a small book,) that part which relates only to the Apostles, containing a scanty enumeration of their acts, but no detailed accounts of their lives, some of their letters, and the Revelations of Saint John, which were not at first allowed to be a canonical portion of Scripture,—there only remain the four Gospels which treat of the history of Christ; and deducting again from them, or from the three last, what is merely a repetition of what is said in the first, or the Gospel of Saint Matthew, the biography of Christ may truly be said to be reduced to a few pages. And the contrast is more surprising, when we consider how diffuse the early Christians, *who lived after the first Fathers*, have been in recording the most insignificant circumstances relating to the births, lives, deaths, and parentage, of the saints. This striking difference we might be tempted to try to account for, by supposing (if the fact was not notorious that the age of Augustus was the age of letters, and that Judea in the time of Christ was tributary to Cæsar,) that the four Evangelists were the only primitive Christians acquainted with the art of writing; and that they had, for inscrutable reasons, thought proper to communicate no more than they have done of the history of Christ for the information of mankind. Having referred to the authority of Saint Chrysostom, it may be proper to observe, that that ancient author appears to have understood the force of Saint Matthew's reasoning, in the following verse of his Gospel, and the distinction between *a Nazarite* and *a Nazarene*, much better than some modern commentators, who affirm that, "And he came, and dwelt in a city called Nazareth; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene"—refers, as regards the alleged accomplishment of a prophecy, to the fifth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Judges, which more immediately relates to Samson: "For, lo, thou shalt conceive and bear a son; and no razor shall come on his head, for the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb; and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines." That Samson, although not a Nazarene, was considered both by the Jews and Christians a type of the Messiah, is an undoubted fact. *An angel was sent to his mother*, to inform her that she should conceive and bear a son. *It was predicted before he was born*, that he should deliver Israel; *he was consecrated from the womb to God; he became a judge of Israel; he was betrayed by the men of Judah* to his enemies the Philistines: *he was delivered up bound to them*, notwithstanding his great strength. The Spirit of God came upon him, and he broke his bonds asunder; and slew a thousand of the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass.

[1] Moses here likens himself to God.

is named the council-hall of war, was that in which deliberations were held for providing officers and armies in time of war, according to arrangements made by MOTECCUMA himself; and in all the

He was a second time betrayed by Delilah, *his concubine,* who received eleven hundred pieces of silver *as the price of his blood,* into the hands *of the heathen rulers over his people,* after having *first denied thrice* to her the truth of his great strength. *His hair was cut off:* to which Isaiah perhaps alludes, in the sixth verse of the fiftieth chapter of his prophecies: "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to those that plucked off the hair." And the Spirit of God *forsaking him* and not renewing his strength within him, he remained in the power of the Philistines, *who mocked him,* and put out his eyes, and brought him to a large entertainment, at which all the lords of the Philistines were present, for the purpose of turning him into derision: when, invoking the name of God, and determining *by his voluntary sacrifice to accomplish the deliverance of Israel,* standing between two pillars, which he clasped, *the one on his right hand, and the other on his left,* he bowed with all his might to the ground: and the house in which the Philistine lords were feasting, fell upon them and crushed them all. And Samson *died with the wicked;* but his brethren obtained his body, *and buried it in Eshtaol, the sepulchre of his father Manoah.* It is not surprising, from all these striking coincidences in the life of Samson, that he should have been considered a type of Christ by Christians: but *how far* the analogies between some of the circumstances of his voluntary death and the crucifixion of Christ may have been traced in the first and second centuries, is uncertain; or whether *the former* might not have given occasion for mixing up legendary tales with the history of *the latter;* since, that legendary tales began at an early period to be mixed up with the evangelical accounts, is a fact that cannot be denied, as they have even crept into the sacred text and been identified with it, as the following verse, inserted immediately after the forty-eighth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, and occurring also in the Gospel of Saint Mark, in several of the most ancient MSS. of the New Testament extant, fully demonstrates: "Alius autem, acceptâ lanceâ, pupungit latus ejus; et exivit aqua et sanguis: Jesus autem iterum clamans voce magnâ, emisit spiritum." "But another having taken a lance, pierced his side, and there came forth water and blood: but Jesus again crying with a loud voice, expired." Sir William Betham states in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches,* that this verse is found in two Irish MSS. of the most remote antiquity, (the *Leabhar Dhimma,* or *Book of Dhimma;* and the *Book of Armagh,*) as also in other MSS. preserved in the College Library of Dublin. Describing the former MS. he says, in a subjoined note, "There is in this book a very extraordinary various reading, on which I think it necessary to enlarge. After the forty-eighth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, the following is inserted: 'Alius autem, captâ lanceâ, pupungit latus ejus, et exivit aqua et sanguis.'" He next proceeds: "'Jesus autem clamans,' &c. This reading, which is to be found in four Greek MSS. in the Æthiopian version of the New Testament, and in the works of Saint Chrysostom, does not occur in the Vulgates which Sabbatier has published, or in any of the four Italic texts of Blanchini. Its history is curious, as it is related by Wetstein. In the time of Pope Clement V. this additional verse was very generally received; but that pontiff—considering it to contain heretical doctrine, that our Saviour had been wounded before his death, as this text imports,—condemned it at the council of Vienna, holden in the year 1311. The text rested, indeed, upon the slightest authority, existing only in four MSS., of the hundreds collated by Mill, Wetstein, and their predecessors. *I find it in several of the most ancient Vulgate copies that were written in Ireland,* and exist in the College Library, as in A. 1. 5., and A. 4. 6. It is also in some others. Birch asserts, in his edition of the Gospels, that it is to be found in the Vatican MS.; one which is surpassed by none in antiquity, and by few in importance. But I doubt the fact: for, were it the case, it would not have escaped the knowledge and notice of Wetstein, who does not mention it." The same learned author, speaking afterwards of the *Book of Armagh,* and of the version of the Apostolic Epistles which it contains, says: "The disputed seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the First Epistle of Saint John, respecting the heavenly witnesses, *'For there are Three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One,'* is omitted in this version." This fact, if the arguments of Porson required confirmation, which they do not, might be further adduced to confute those who, in the true spirit of inconsistency, will contend for the canonicity of this disputed verse of Saint John, at the same time that they deny that of the forty-ninth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, which is found in some of the most ancient copies of the Scripture, and which must be either a true or *a legendary account* of one remarkable event that occurred at the crucifixion. Since it is quite unlikely that so important a doctrinal text as that of the above-mentioned Epistle of Saint John would ever have been left out if it had formed an original portion of Scripture, it is probable that the enemies of the Arians added it to that Epistle, but not that their friends expunged it from it; since the latter supposition involves the contradiction of maintaining that the weaker party were sufficiently powerful to mould the Scriptures according to their views, and that the more orthodox suffered them to do so; weaker and stronger being relative terms of comparison, this argument does not affect that by which others attempt to prove that the Arians altered the New Testament, as the Jews have been accused of corrupting the chronology of the Hebrew version of the Pentateuch, as far at least as they proceed on the assumption that the Arians were a most powerful sect; since it is only the conclusion at which they arrive that it is impossible to assent to. On the contrary, all who have read history must confess, that the fourth century has bequeathed an admirable lesson of toleration to all succeeding ages; since scarcely three hundred years after the establishment of Christianity, the minds of men became divided on one of its most important doctrines, that of the Trinity. Bishops and Fathers of the church espoused opposite sides on this great question, and excommunicated each other; and, as at the commencement of the Reformation, frequently recanted old opinions: the councils of the Emperors wavered: and finally, the disorder in which the East was thrown, by these contending religious sects, favoured the progress of Mahomedanism; the rapid growth of which, in the succeeding centuries, Tillemont ascribes principally to this cause.

affairs of state, order, regularity, and judgment prevailed, that the government might thereby be well administered. But before the reign of MOTECCUMA, so much order had not been introduced by his predecessors into the public affairs, as MOTECCUMA introduced after his accession to the throne: for being endowed with excellent parts and prudence, by his own free will he prescribed order and the rule of good government, which he commanded to be maintained and preserved under heavy penalties; and accordingly offenders suffered, without any mitigation of their sentence, the punishment which he had prescribed for their particular case of delinquency; which punishments were rigorous: and since they underwent no modification in their execution, his subjects were always on their guard, attentive to their duty; and they accordingly with fear applied themselves to profitable things, and to such as were in no wise prejudicial to the public liberty which they enjoyed.

PLATE LXX.

1. The throne and state of MOTECCUMA, where he sat in council and in judgment. 2. MOTECCUMA. 3. The house in which the lords of Tenayuca, Chicenauhtla, and Colhuacan, who were friends and allies of MOTECCUMA, were entertained as guests. 4. The house in which the great lords of Tezinco and Tacuba, who were friends of MOTECCUMA, were entertained as guests. 5. The court of MOTECCUMA's palace. 6. The court of MOTECCUMA's palace. 7. The council-hall of war. 8. These lines gradually ascending lead to the court of MOTECCUMA's palace, which is here represented. 9. These four persons are, as it were, judges of MOTECCUMA's council, and learned men. 10. Suitors who, in the way of appeal from the judges, appear and present themselves before the judges of MOTECCUMA's council.

The explanation of what is represented in the following plate.—The father and son, who are seated opposite to each other, signify that the father is giving good advice to his son, that he may not turn out ill; setting before him the example of those who attained complete virtue, who afterwards joined in dances with the lords and caciques, when they bestowed honourable offices upon them, employing them as their messengers, and were admitted by the musicians and singers to their feasts and wedding entertainments, on account of the favour which they enjoyed.

This painting represents the place where they were accustomed to assemble, to consider and provide for the public works. The overseer, who is there seated, signifies that the two young men before him are weeping, because he has proposed and offered to employ them in manual labour; and the overseer is occupied in giving them good advice, admonishing them to lay aside idleness and to forsake a vagabond life, which occasioned and caused them to become robbers, or players of the ball, or gamesters with patol *, which resemble dice; the losses sustained in which games they recruited themselves for by stealing to satisfy and gratify such vices, which only led to bad consequences, as that which is signified by the figures, with their titles, declares.

* From casting lots being so often mentioned in Scripture, and games of chance *not having been forbidden to the Jews in the Pentateuch*, it is probable that they were acquainted with the use of dice, and that the Mexican game of patol differed little from the ancient Hebrew usage of throwing lots.

The trades* of a carpenter, jeweller, painter, goldsmith, and embroiderer in feathers, accordingly as they are represented and declared, signify that the masters of such arts taught these trades to their sons from their earliest boyhood, in order that when grown up to be men they might attend to their trades and spend their time virtuously, counselling them that idleness as it is the root and mother of vices, as well as of evil-speaking and tale-bearing, whence followed drunkenness and robberies, and other dangerous vices, and setting before their imaginations many other grounds of alarm, that hence they might submit to be diligent in every thing.

PLATE LXXI.

1. A messenger. 2. The father who advises his son to apply himself to the practice of every virtue, and to avoid turning out ill. 3. The son. 4. A singer and a musician, who invite guests and entertain them with music. 5. A Coaguacal. 6. A young man. 7. A vagabond. 8. A player of ball. 9. The house where they assemble about the public works. 10. Texancalco. 11. The Petlacalcatle, or overseer. 12. A Coaguacal. 13. A young man. 14. A robber. 15. A gamester with patol. 16. A kind of dice. 17. A carpenter. 18. The son of the carpenter. 19. A jeweller. 20. The son of the jeweller. 21. An evil-speaker and tale-bearer. 22. A painter. 23. The son of the painter. 24. A goldsmith. 25. The son of the goldsmith. 26. A master of the art of embroidering in feathers. 27. The son of the master of that art. 28. A drunken man. 29. A drunken woman. 30. From the vice of drunkenness ensues that of robbery.

The explanation of what is represented in the first section of the following plate.—That which is there painted, declared, and described, signifies the punishments awarded by the laws and statutes of the kings of Mexico to those who committed such offences, which were put in force without any remedy, as appears by the painting.

PLATE LXXII.

FIRST SECTION.

1. 2. These two figures signify, that young men who intoxicated themselves with wine, died for the same, according to their laws and ordinances. 3. If a young woman intoxicated herself, she was put to death by the laws of the kings of Mexico. 4. A robber was stoned to death by the laws of the kings of Mexico. 5. These two figures, lying side by side and covered with a garment, denote that whosoever had criminal intercourse with a married woman, was stoned to death according to the laws of the kings of Mexico†.

* A curious account of these different trades will be found in the *Supplement*. It is in Spanish, and taken from the *Indian Monarchy* of Torquemada.

† Stoning to death and burning to death were both Mexican punishments; and that they were founded on religious prejudices, as well as sanctioned by legal usage, may be inferred not only from the latter sentence being executed chiefly on priests who disgraced the

The explanation of what is represented in the second section: wherein it is shown that drunkenness was prohibited by the laws and statutes of the kings of Mexico, to men as well as to women who were under seventy years of age; persons of that age being permitted and allowed to indulge in it, provided such old persons had sons and grandsons, as is demonstrated by the figures; and he who transgressed this law died for his offence, as is represented in the first section that precedes this.

SECOND SECTION.

An old man of seventy years of age was privileged, both in public and in private, to drink wine and to become drunk, on account of his great age, and of his having sons and grandsons, by reason of which age he was not forbidden to drink wine and to become intoxicated. The old wife of the old man represented above was, for the same reason, privileged and allowed to become intoxicated like her husband, since she had sons and grandsons: drunkenness was prohibited to none who had attained such an age.

The reader must excuse the rude style of the interpretation of the paintings contained in this History, for the interpreter was pressed for time, and as a matter neither duly considered beforehand, nor on which all were agreed; it was interpreted in the manner of a suit at law*. Where, likewise, the names of *superior Alfaqui* and *novice Alfaqui* occur, it was the mistake of the interpreter to use such names, which are proper to the Moorish idiom. By the term *superior Alfaqui* is meant a *superior priest*, and by that of *novice Alfaqui*, *a priest in his noviciate;* and where the word *Mezquita* is written, *temple* should be understood. Ten days before the departure of the fleet this History was given to the interpreter in order that he might interpret it; which negligence was owing to the Indians, who were long before they could come to an agreement: and as a task executed in haste, much stress was not laid on the style most suitable to the interpretation of it, nor was there time to make a new copy, and to polish the expressions, and improve the order of the sentences: but although the interpretation is rude, all that is necessary to attend to is the substance of the explanations and the meaning of the figures, which is correctly declared, because the interpreter is well acquainted with the Mexican language.

rules of their order, but likewise *because the people acquiesced in such cruel judgments;* since public opinion, in judging of the degrees of crime and the proper measure of punishment, seldom errs, *except* when it views human actions through the distorted medium of false religious doctrines, and becomes the unconscious but powerful organ of injustice.

* The interpreter of the Collection of Mendoza means to say that these Mexican paintings were, in the first instance, given to the native Mexicans, that they might consult together on their proper meaning, whose oral testimony he afterwards took down when they had come to an agreement as to the right signification of the symbols representing the cities tributary to the crown of Mexico. And Sahagun says, that he assembled, in a similar manner, the Indians of Tezcuco and Mexico who were most conversant with the antiquities of their country, in order that they might explain to him the signification of their ancient paintings, as the best authority which he could follow in writing the History of New Spain.

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TO

THE FIRST PART

OF

THE COLLECTION OF MENDOZA.

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[a] The country of paper. [b] The country of the red river. [c] The hill of four hundred. [d] The leg of grasshopper.
[e] The hill of the star. [f] The country of yellow garments. [g] Place of the bell in the water. [h] The sandal of the wolf.
[i] The place of the scarlet-feathered serpent. Mexican names terminating in *oztoc* are generally represented by the head of a serpent as their symbol. *Chicomoztoc*, from whence the nations of New Spain derive their origin, may allude to the ancient fable of men sprung from serpents' teeth.
[k] The place of a net.

Note.—A star placed by the side of a name, signifies that the corresponding name is found in the second Index;—a numeral added, refers to places which are apparently the same, with some change in the name and symbol by which they are distinguished.

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[a] The country of the cochineal.
[b] The country of bees.
[c] The country of goldsmiths.
[d] The dark mountain.
[e] The place of wasps on the shield.
[f] The azure-coloured mountain.
[g] The country of Xolotle.
[h] The firmament.
[i] The white temple.
[k] The white country of Tlaloc.

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[a] The country of water.

[b] The country of the veil of the feathers of the flamingo.

[c] The symbol representing this city resembles the bust of Jupiter Ammon.

[d] The country of Xipe.

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[a] Prickly leaf of the pine-apple. [b] The place of numbering. [c] The hill of earthquakes. [d] Place of the veil of eagles' feathers.
[e] The place of the vapour bath. [f] Mexico. [g] The country of the pyramid. [h] The country of divine darkness. [i] On the point of the hill.

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[a] The red country.

[b] The place of the sun.

[c] The country of water.

[d] The hill of heaven.

[e] The country of Yxmatla.

[f] The country of paper of the palm.

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Ocelopan	I.	3
Ochpaniztli[b]	XLIX.	9
Omeqûh Tezcacoacatl	XVIII.	9
Otonti	LXV.	17
Petlacalcatle	XX.	1
Petlacalcatle	LXXI.	11
Quachic	LXV.	19
Quapan	I.	2
Quauhnoctli	LXVI.	7
Quauhtlatoa	VI.	5
Quauhtlatoa	XIX.	19
Teachcauh	LXII.	6
Tecineuh	I.	5
Tectli	LXIX.	14
Tectli	LXIX.	17
Tectli Myxcoatlaylotlac	LXIX.	15
Tecutli	LXV.	6
Tegigua	LXIII.	15
Telpuchtlato	LXIV.	17
Telpuchtli	LXIX.	1
Tenuch	I.	6
Teponaztli[c]	LXIV.	4
Tequihua	LXVIII.	1
Tequixquinahuacatl	LXIX.	22
Tezcacoacatl	LXVI.	12
Tiçoçicatzin	XI.	7
Ticocyahuacatl	LXVI.	13
Ticocyahuacatl	LXVIII.	23
Tlacatecatl	LXV.	21
Tlacatecatl	LXVIII.	20
Tlacatecatl	XVIII.	2
Tlacatectli	XVIII.	4
Tlacatectli	XVII.	6
Tlacaxipehualiztli[b]	XLIX.	12
Tlacochcalcatl	LXVI.	11
Tlacochcalcatl	LXVIII.	21
Tlacochtectli	XVII.	1
Tlacochtectli	XVII.	14
Tlamazqui	LXII.	2
Tlamacazqui	LXIII.	1
Tlilancalqui[d]	XVIII.	10
Tlilancalqui	LXVI.	8
Tocinltecatl	LXVI.	14
Xiuhcaq[e]	I.	9
Xocoyol	I.	8
Xomimitl	I.	7
Yxcoaçi	V.	4
Yxcoaçi	XIX.	17

[a] Temple.

[b] The name of a Mexican month.

[c] An instrument of music.

[d] The house of darkness.

[e] Blue sandal.

THE EXPLANATION OF THE HIEROGLYPHICAL PAINTINGS OF THE CODEX TELLERIANO-REMENSIS*.

THE FIRST PART.

PLATE I.

1. TECUILVITONTL.

THE lesser festival commenced on the . . . of June, ... ; it was the Festival of all the Lords, that is to say, of all the lords in their calendar. They said on the arrival of this festival, that the kids would not rule during the entire year; or if they did, that they would be applied to merchants. The lords gave food and drink on this festival to all the people: it was the lesser festival.

2. VEYTECUILVITL.

The principal festival commenced on the fourteenth of July; the name signifies The Principal Festival of the Lord, resembling the preceding. This was the greatest festival of all that were celebrated in the entire year. The great festival was kept in this month, on which the Indians drove the Spanish Christians out of Mexico, when the great slaughter took place; and I am informed by many old men, that their indignation against the Christians was in consequence of many Christians mixing amongst them whilst they were engaged in dancing and celebrating the festival, who turned it into ridicule; and that the Indians on this account determined to massacre them all. This event took place in the year of Two Flints. This month was that of the general fast which they called Atamal†, which means bread and water. They neither ate salt during the period of this fast or any thing else but bread and water‡.

a.§ The greatest festival of all that were celebrated in the entire year.

3. MICHAYLHUITL‖.

The Festival of All the Dead commenced on the third of August. They made offerings on this

* The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* is merely a copy by Peter de los Rios, a Dominican monk, of a Mexican calendar. An original Mexican calendar, painted on paper of the Agave, and very much resembling the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* in the disposition of the signs of the days of the year round the figures of the principal Mexican idols, is preserved in the Library of the Chamber of Deputies at Paris.

† This name is compounded of *atl* water, and *tamal* bread.

‡ This reminds us of the Jewish feast of unleavened bread.

§ *a.* refers to the symbol of the day on which the festival occurred.

‖ The festivals of Michaylhuitl and Huemiccaylhuitl were probably in honour of Quetzalcoatle, whom Torquemada says the

festival to the dead, putting food and drink upon their sepulchres, which custom they continued for the space of four years; for they believed that during this entire period their souls had not arrived at the place of repose, according to their notions; and they therefore buried them with all their apparel, vestments and shoes: for they believed that until souls had arrived at the destined place at the expiration of these four years, they had to encounter much hardship, cold, and toil, and that they had to pass through places full of snow and of thorns*; and on this account, when any principal person died, they killed at the same time a slave, and buried him with the deceased, in order that he might serve him. The Mixtecas, Capotecas, and Mixes, performed the honours of the dead almost in the manner of the Spaniards, for they placed over them a tomb covered with black, and around it a quantity of food. Their manner of burying the dead was quite conformable to our custom, the feet of the deceased were turned towards the east†. After the bodies had been buried, they removed the bones from the sepulchre, and put them into charnel-houses, which they had in the courts of the temples, made of mortar. This was the custom of the Mixtecan and Capotecan nations; since the Mexicans did not bury, but burned the bones of the dead‡; and this custom the Mexicans borrowed from the Otomitles or Chichimecas, who were the most ancient inhabitants of that country. *a*. A knife.

4. HUEYMICCAYLHUITL.

This festival began on the twenty-third of August. They celebrated again in this month the

Mexicans believed to have disappeared or *died*, and whose image was placed in their temples reclining on a bier, and covered up with mantles to denote his absence. The cuchillo (or knife) placed before the two figures in the plate, is the sign *of the flint proceeding from the cane.*

* The Jews believe in a short state of purgatory.

† M. Dupaix observes, that the Mexican temples, or Teocalli, were turned towards the east, or at least that their sides were adjusted to the four cardinal points of the compass, and that the sacellum or sanctuary above faced the east. It will also be seen from his plans, that the ancient subterraneous sepulchres in the province of Mixteca were made in the form of a cross. The sides of the Hebrew tabernacle were likewise turned to the cardinal points of the compass.

‡ The Jews sometimes burned the bones of the dead, as is evident from the tenth verse of the sixth chapter of the prophet Amos: "And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue; for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord. For, behold, the Lord commandeth, and he will smite the great house with breaches, and the little house with clefts." It is singular that many of the temples in the Mexican paintings, especially in the MS. of Vienna, should be represented with breaches and clefts in the roofs or other parts of them. According to Torquemada and Gomara, it was an ancient usage to burn the bodies of the deceased kings of Michuacan (a powerful state bordering on Mexico) with great pomp; and the latter writer dedicates a long chapter to the description of the rites which accompanied that ceremony; of which the title is, "De como queman para enterrar los reies de Michuacan"—"How they burn at their funerals the bodies of the kings of Michuacan." And the Scripture informs us, in the Second Book of Chronicles and in the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, that the funeral rites of the Jewish kings were solemnized with *great burnings;* whether of the body or of spices only is not clearly explained, since "burying" might apply to the ashes or the bones after they had been reduced to charcoal by the fire. At any rate the Jewish custom might easily, in process of time, have changed into a real burning of the body along with the odoriferous perfumes. The passages of Scripture alluded to are the following: "But thou shalt die in peace: and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee, so shall they burn odours for thee; and they will lament thee, saying, Ah Lord! for I have pronounced the word, saith the Lord." The king here addressed is Zedekiah king of Jerusalem, to whom the prophet Jeremiah thus speaks. Of Asa it is said: "And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David; and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art; and they made a very great burning for him."

Festival of the Dead; and it was much greater than the former, since the name Hueymiccaylhuitl signifies the great festival of the dead*.

During the three last days of this month the living all kept a fast to the dead, and went out into the plain to celebrate rejoicings.

The Marquis Don Ferdinand Cortes terminated in this month the war which he carried on with Mexico, when he entirely conquered it.

Each year, on the celebration of the Festival of the Dead, whilst the priests were engaged in performing sacrifices, the entire people, every individual in his own house, ascended on the terraces of the houses, and looking towards the north†, made earnest supplications to the dead, each of them to those of his own lineage, and ejaculating aloud, exclaimed, "*Come quickly, since we expect you* ‡."

The slaves whom they killed along with the lords when they died, were for the purpose of assisting them in the hardships which they had to encounter in a future state.

PLATE II.

5. OCHPANIZTLI.

Ochpaniztli commenced on the twelfth of September. They here celebrated the Festival of the Woman who sinned by eating of the fruit of the tree. The festival held on this occasion was properly named Otlacotleutli, *our beginning;* or the festival of our Mother Tutzin §, or *our end*, or the termination of our lives. Ochpaniztli is interpreted purification; and accordingly in this month all carefully swept their houses and the roads. They fasted on the first four days of this month, and during the entire of it they sacrificed to plants; and after adoring them they carried them to the temples. This purification originated in the belief which they entertained, that by the performance of this ceremony every evil would depart from the city ‖.

They kept many fasts; but the priests fasted during every month: not however all at the same time; but a general assembly of the priests having taken place, three or four of them made a vow to fast a certain number of days; at the expiration of which the others in their proper order proceeded to make a similar vow to fast, until the entire number had been reckoned, and all had fasted on bread and water, in order that every evil might depart from the city; and likewise because she ¶

* *Huey* signifies, in the Mexican language, *old*.

† They supposed Mictlan or hell to be situated towards the north.

‡ The following passage occurs in the thirty-sixth chapter of *A View of the Jewish Religion, by A. R.*, printed in London in 1656. "That a Messias is promised to the Jews all agree, therefore in their prayers they beseech God *that he may come quickly*; but who he is, or when he shall come, is much controverted."

§ Tutzin, otherwise written Totzin, was said to have been a different goddess from Tonantzin. The first name signifies our Mother, the other our Grandmother. *Our beginning* and *our end* were names equally applicable to the festival of Tutzin, since Eve was the cause of the beginning and of the termination of man's existence.

‖ The notion of evil departing from a city or people by the performance of some ceremony or rite is entirely Jewish.

¶ Suchiquecal. She was also designated Cihuacohuatl, which name certainly alludes to her temptation. It is singular that this woman should be represented in the forty-eighth page of the Vatican painting with two children who appear to have been fighting, *and one of them to have been killed,* since in Mexican paintings closed eyes signify death.

Baron de Humboldt supposes that the two vases at the bottom of the page, one of which is upset, *might have been the cause of*

introduced evil into the world. Suchiquecal was the first who sinned; she is here named Yzpapalotle, the goddess of filth or of sin; and on this account they celebrated a festival to the fate which awaits man after death. In the course of these twenty days Ferdinand Cortes arrived in the country.

6. PACTONTLY.

Pactontly, (or Humiliation,) commenced on the second of October. It was the festival of Tetzcatlipoca and the rest of his companions, *Tehatletllachinatli,* which name signifies a conflagration of fire and water*.

In this month the water usually freezes and ice appears, whence they say that the natives consider the festival of the glorious Saint Francis as highly ominous†, because it occurs in this

the quarrel. A reversed vase might be symbolical of *a refused offering,* as an upright one of *an offering accepted.* The difference of colour in the children might mark inferiority or *degradation in the descendants of one of them.* Suchiquecal is represented in the eighty-seventh page of the Vatican painting, and in the MS. of Archbishop Laud, with two children at her knees, apparently in great mental affliction. This position of the children is very remarkable; and it reminds us of a phrase often used in Scripture, of children being *brought up at the knees of their parents;* Ephraim and Manasseh, the adopted children of Joseph, are thus said to have been brought up at his knees.

* Abrasamiento de fuego y agua.

† Fear of the gods seems to have been the fundamental principle of the Mexican religion, which absorbed all other considerations of good or evil: thus virtues became vices, and vices virtues, according to the prescriptions of a barbarous ritual. It would appear that even after their conversion to Christianity, the Mexicans could not entirely divest themselves of their ancient prejudices; and it is probable that Saint Francis long continued rather an object of their fear than of their love. The same principle of fear induced the Mexicans to pourtray their divinities with terrible countenances, and to bestow the epithet of Tetzauhteotle, or the terrible god, on Tetzcatlipoca. It would almost appear that the angels of Raphael were copied from the busts of Apollo, Diana, or some of the other beautiful imaginary deities of Greece; but such were not the forms of the angels that appeared to the Jews, whose countenances are described in the Old Testament as terrible, even when executing a mission of grace. The wife of Manoah (informing her husband of the apparition of the angel, who declared to her, that although she had been barren, she should bear a child who should be a Nazarite unto God from the womb, and begin to deliver Israel,) says in the sixth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Judges; "A man of God came unto me, and his countenance was like the countenance of an angel of God, *very terrible.*" Ezekiel also describes, in the first chapter of his Book of Prophecies, the appearance of the four cherubim which he beheld on the banks of the river Chebar in Babylon, than which nothing could be more formidable:—the head of a lion, which of all wild beasts is the most ferocious; that of a bull, which of all domestic quadrupeds is the most dangerous; of a carnivorous eagle, and of a man,—all united in one,—formed the head of each cherub. It is singular that the inhabitants of the island of Haiti, whose supreme deity (to whom they assigned many attributes) was worshiped by them under the name of Jocanna, should have also adored a figure somewhat resembling the cherubim mentioned by Ezekiel; which instead of four, had five heads united on the body of a man, terminating like the Hebrew cherubim with the feet of an animal: these heads were those of *a tiger, a stag, an eagle,* a serpent, and a dog. The presence of the Deity is also described in the nineteenth chapter of the Revelations as exceedingly terrible: "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew but he himself. *And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood:* and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. *And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword,* that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great." A very remarkable painting occurs in the third page of the Codex Borgianus, in which Quecalcoatle is represented in a sumptuous temple, seated on a throne; *a sword proceeds out of his mouth, and an eagle is hastening to prey on the dead bodies under the*

month, since their fruits are at this season attacked by the frost. They accordingly paint this month dangerous like that of May, with the same symbols. They paint likewise these footsteps behind the month to signify that now the waters are left behind. Tetzcatlipoca* is he who

throne: above is the symbol of the sun, which half conceals the body of a lamb, or a deer. Quecalcoatle is again represented in the same page in the act of sacrificing a demon, whom Death, painted beneath the sacrificial stone, seems waiting to devour. Many passages might be adduced from Scripture to prove that terror and martial prowess were attributes with which the Jews loved to invest the Deity: even still they cry with a loud voice at stated intervals in the synagogues, Magnus, magnus, magnus, *est Deus exercituum;* which, whether it be translated, Great, great, great, *is the god of war,* or Great, great, great, *is the god of armies,* means the same thing, for *hosts* does not convey the signification of 'exercituum'.

* It is singular that the Mexicans should have entertained the belief that their supreme deity Tetzcatlipoca, who punished them for their sins, and was the god to whom they professed penitence and besought forgiveness of them, nevertheless tempted them to sin. Various passages in Scripture might have induced the Jews to believe that God when provoked would lead them into temptation, notwithstanding the necessity of reconciling these passages with another, "neither tempteth he any man;" since the mildest interpretation that can be put upon the often-repeated words "the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart," is, that he tempted him to sin: for to suppose that by the expression "hardened Pharaoh's heart" is meant *forced him* to adopt a sinful course of conduct, would be to impute the sin of Pharaoh to God, which would be impious. Neither, on the other hand, can it be contended that the conduct of Pharaoh was not sinful, since by it he drew down the most dreadful judgments recorded in history upon all the Egyptians; or that God had no share in causing it, since that would contradict the express words of Scripture. Some persons endeavour to draw a distinction between the pride, obstinacy, and presumption of a headstrong monarch and positive sin,—as much as arguing that God might fill the heart of man with the former, but could not cause the latter. But the thirty-fourth verse of the ninth chapter of Exodus, where sinning and hardening the heart are used as correlative terms, does not permit us to doubt that by the expression "God hardened Pharaoh's heart" is meant, he tempted him to sin by refusing to let the Israelites depart out of Egypt, for which Pharaoh was accordingly punished. "And when Pharaoh saw that the rain, and the hail, and the thunders were ceased, *he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart,* he and his servants." Herodotus says that the Egyptians were most submissive subjects to their kings; and had it been otherwise, they certainly would never have suffered, from the heart of one of them having been hardened, ten such plagues as those recorded in the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters of Exodus, without rising into open rebellion. Another attempted solution of the difficulty which is found in reconciling God's assurance to Moses, "I will harden Pharaoh's heart," with the declaration of Saint James in the thirteenth verse of the first chapter of his General Epistle, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man,"—proceeds on the admission that God did tempt Pharaoh to sin, because he was an idolater, his enemy, and the oppressor of his chosen people; and that the words of Saint James are only applicable to true believers. But in what sense do those who thus attempt to reconcile the words of the Old Testament with those of the New, and Christian opinions with Jewish, understand the first verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel? "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, *and he moved David against them to say,* Go, number Israel and Judah." The effect of David's taking this census of the population was to displease God, and the consequences of it are described in the fifteenth verse of the same chapter of Samuel: "So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beer-sheba, seventy thousand men." Every man on this occasion does not appear *to have borne only his own iniquity;* but the Jews, like the Egyptians, suffered for the transgression of their king. Deception differs from temptation, or we might also remind them of the lying spirit which Jehovah is said on one occasion to have sent upon the Hebrew prophets. It was probably in consequence of its being a prevalent notion amongst the Jews, as amongst the Mexicans, that the Supreme Being did sometimes, when angry, tempt them to sin,—which the former might have inferred from the following passage of the eighth chapter of Isaiah: "Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, *for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.* And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken."—that Saint James made the above-mentioned declaration; which, if "*lead*" in the sentence "Lead us not into temptation" be an error, as has been contended, which in the apostolic age crept into the Lord's Prayer, which it must be presumed originated in some misconception which the early Christians entertained as to the meaning of the corresponding Hebrew term, might likewise have been intended to rectify that misconception.

When it is considered what elevated notions the ancient philosophers entertained of the Supreme Being; and that the Stoics, on purpose to do away with the idea of evil either emanating from God, or attaching in any manner to his divine essence, only

appeared to that nation on the Mountain of the Mirror, as they say; and is he who tempted Quecalcoatle the penitent*.

They paid Tetzcatlipoca great reverence, for they kept lights and fire burning in his honour in the temples. Whenever they worshiped him they addressed him, "Lord, whose servants we are, grant us this." They accordingly called this festival The Lesser Festival, or that of Humiliation. In this month the inhabitants of Mataltzingo celebrated a festival to the god Suchiquecal †.

a. Xiuatlatli. *b*. A Quiver. *c*. A Serpent. *d*. Water and Flames. *e*. Footsteps. *i*. A Flint.

7. VEYPACTLI.

Veypactli commenced on the twenty-second of October. It was named the Festival of Humiliation, for each individual had his own advocate, whosoever he thought proper, and this advocate stood in

admitted one kind of evil,—moral evil, of which man himself was the sole cause; denying that what are usually called physical evils were really in their nature evil, because proceeding from his eternal decree, the words of Saint James seem rather to be addressed to the Jews than to the Gentiles. But how would the Greek sages, Solon, Plato, and Socrates, have been shocked at the Rabbinical doctrine that God can do no evil,—not because he is incapable of doing or commanding evil acts to be done, but because all actions, either done or commanded by him, lose the character of evil which otherwise might have belonged to them. The Rabbis would never have maintained this absurd and impious doctrine, if they had not misconstrued certain passages of Scripture, since the omnipotence of God can do all but evil; and evil, were it possible to be done by God, would not lose its character.

It is probable that the first and third chapters of the prophet Hosea led them into error. It has been truly remarked, that the philosophy of the ancients was of a sublimer kind than the modern, because, not encompassed with Jewish prejudices, and turning more on mind than on matter. This was owing to the uncircumscribed range of reasoning on all philosophical questions in which they indulged. No fear of exciting the divine anger by the crime which the Jews invented of *lesæ divinæ majestatis* prevented them from discussing every question connected with their own mythology, the nature and the attributes of the Deity, the origin of good and evil, or any other moral problem; although in reference to that fictitious crime we may observe, that the wisest of the ancient philosophers judged it absurd to suppose that the Deity, though he might accept praise, could receive honour (τιμη) from mortals, or could, on the other hand, suffer disgrace or dishonour from them.

* *El penitente* should, perhaps, be translated *the doer of penance*, instead of *the penitent*. The temptation of Quecalcoatle, the fast of forty days ordained by the Mexican ritual, the cup with which he was presented to drink, the reed which was his sign [1], (which appears to have been a thistle in the province of Yucatan,) the morning star which he is designated, the tecpatl, or stone, which was laid on his altar, and called the teotecpatl, or divine stone, which was likewise an object of adoration;—all these circumstances connected, with many others relating to Quecalcoatle which are here omitted, are very curious and mysterious.

† Al dios Suchiquecal.

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[1] Parkhurst notices in his *Greek* and *Hebrew lexicons*, that the Jews were accustomed to give to criminals condemned to death a beverage with some infusion mixed with it, which lessened their sufferings by depriving them in some measure of the consciousness of pain. It is singular that the Mexicans should have had an analogous custom, as Sahagun remarks in the tenth chapter of the second book of his *History*, of scattering a powder named yiauhtli on the faces of those whom they were about to sacrifice, "para que perdiesen el sentido, y no sintiesen tanto la muerte;" "that they might become deprived of sensation, and not suffer much pain in dying." It is singular also, that the person who presented a prisoner at the temple for sacrifice, should, at the moment the priest was about to perform the ceremony, have offered him wine to drink, *which he was obliged to sip through a reed*, as Sahagun states in the following passage of the twenty-first chapter of the same book: "Estando todos sentados venia uno de los que tenia cabtivos para matar, y traia à su cabtivo de los cabellos hasta la piedra donde le habian de acuchillar, *alli le daban à beber vino* de la tierra ò pulcre, y como el cabtivo recebia la xicara del pulcre, alzabala contra el Oriente, y contra el Septentrion, y contra el Occidente, y contra el Medio dia, como offreciendolo *acia las quatro partes del mundo:* y luego bebia, *no con la xicara,* sino *con una caña hueca chupando.*"

the relation of a guardian angel to him. The festival itself was that of the advocates. This festival was the great festival of humiliation; they celebrated in it the Festival of All the Gods, which corresponds in phraseology to that of All Saints.

8. QUECHOLI, OR THE SERPENT OF THE CLOUDS.

Quecholi, or The Serpent of the Clouds*, commenced on the eleventh of November. It was the festival of the fall of Miquitlatecotli and of Zontemoqui, and the rest. They paint him† on this account with these instruments of war, since he introduced it into the world. They celebrated in this month the festival of animals, and made ready their weapons of war, which is the reason why they represent it with these insignia. The first entrance of Don FERDINAND CORTES, Marquis of the Valley, into Mexico occurred in this month. The proper signification of this name is the fall of the demons, who they say were stars; and even still there are stars in heaven called after their names‡, which are the following: Yzacatecuytli§, Tlahvizcalpantecuytli, Ceyacatl‖, Achitumetl, Xacupancalqui, Mixauhnatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Contemoctli. These were their appellations as gods before they fell from heaven, but they are now named Tzitzimitli, which means something monstrous or dangerous.

a. Xiuatlatly. *b*. Arrows. *c*. A Bag of provisions for war.

PLATE III.

9. PANQUETZALITZLI.

Panquetzalitzli commenced on the first of December, being another celebration of the festival of Tezcatlipoca, which they kept three times in the year¶.

They do not here paint Tezcatlipoca with a foot formed of a serpent, since they say that this festival refers to a time previous to his sinning, whilst still in heaven; and that hence happened the war in heaven, from whence sprung wars below. Panquetzalitzli may be interpreted "the lifting up of banners," for every individual in this month placed upon his house a paper banner; and the captains and soldiers sacrificed a certain number of those whom they had made prisoners in war, to whom

* This Mexican month was called Quecholi, and Mixcoatle: the first of these names, according to Torquemada, signified a bird of blue and scarlet plumage, perhaps the flamingo; the signification of Mixcoatle is the serpent of the clouds.

† "Him" refers to the figure contained in the plate.

‡ The devil is named Lucifer, and is compared in Scripture to a star falling from heaven.

§ This proper name is compounded of *Yzaca*, the name of the star, and *tecuytli*, an honorary appellation which refers to the tecutli, or ornament of the head worn by the kings of Mexico and some of the priests and judges.

‖ Ceyacatl signifies one cane.

¶ The Jews celebrated three times a year a solemn assembly to Jehovah, whose feet, in the figurative language of the East, they likened to fine brass. But it deserves to be remarked, that Nehushtan signifies *a serpent* as well as *a lump of brass*, and the brazen serpent to which the Jews offered incense in the days of Hezekiah was so named. Tezcatlipoca was the supreme deity of the Mexicans, but the interpreter confounds him here with Zontemoctli.

they gave arms similar to their own, to defend themselves with, and in this manner fought with them until they killed them. The Mexicans celebrated in this month the festival of their first captain, whom they worshiped as a god, and named Vichilupuchitl *; and the province of Chalcho sacrificed to their captain Tezcatlipoca, who was so called.

They celebrated in this month the Festival of the Loaf, which was in this manner. They made a large loaf of the seed of bledos, which they called tzoalli, and of honey †; and after having made it, they blessed it in their manner and broke it, and the high priest put it into a very clean vessel, and took a thorn of maguey, with which he with great reverence took up a morsel and put it into the mouths of every one of the Indians, as if in the manner of a communion ‡. They also celebrated in this same month the festival which they called Xiutecutli, the Saviour of Fire. They celebrated it in this manner: Four priests took each of them a handful of ocotl §, and descended from the upper area of the temple, and with certain ceremonies which they performed, first towards the east, and then towards the north and towards the west, and lastly towards the south ‖, threw the ocotl into a cauldron which they kept in the temples, where it burned; and this served them with light, as it never was extinguished either by night or day. *a.* A Banner.

10. ATEMOZTLI.

Atemoztli commenced on the twentieth of December. They celebrated in this month the festival of the descent of the waters of the deluge. They kept the festival for this reason: I mean on account of the earth's having become visible, or on their finding themselves secure from the danger of the deluge. Atemoztli signifies the descent of the waters, as it rains surprisingly in this month.

11. TITITL.

Tititl commenced on the tenth of January. They here kept the festival of Mixcoatle ¶, which

* The month Panquetzalitzli was dedicated to Huitzilopuchtli or Quecalcoatle, to which latter name of the tutelary god of the Mexicans the name of the month refers. Huitzilopuchtli's name was sometimes lengthened by the addition of other titles into Teoyaotlatohuehuitzilopuchtli.

† Torquemada says that the Totonacas, a numerous people of New Spain, consecrated every three years some dough, which they kneaded with the hearts of three sacrificed children, of which all the males above five-and-twenty, and the females above sixteen, were obliged to partake every six months. They called this dough Toyoliaytlaquatl, which name signifies *Manjar de nuestra vida,* Food of our life.—*Monarquia Indiana,* lib. vi. cap. 48.

‡ The Jews are said, in former ages at least, to have celebrated a kind of communion. But we will not revive the calumnies of centuries gone by.

§ Ocotl was a kind of gum.

‖ The Jews on the feast of Tabernacles shake a bundle of boughs, "thrice before their face eastward, thrice toward the south, thrice backward over their shoulders toward the west, thrice on their left side toward the north; lastly thrice upwards and downwards."—*A View of the Jewish Religion,* page 306.

¶ The Mexican month Quecholli was also named Mixcoatle. Torquemada says that a bird of beautiful plumage called the Teoquechol was dedicated to the gods, but that the Indians after they became Christians changed its name into that of Tlauquechol.

means the Serpent of the Clouds. Women likewise, who followed the occupation of weaving and washing, celebrated a festival in this month to the goddess Ychpuihtl, which name signifies the Virgin Goddess, who is the same as Suchiquecal*.

12. YZCALLI.

Yzcalli commenced on the thirtieth of January. It was the Festival of Fire, for at this season of the year the trees, becoming sensible of warmth, shoot forth. It was likewise the Festival of Pilquixtia, or of Human Nature, which was never destroyed in the various destructions of the world. This month Utzalli has the same signification as the living principle, or vital power; and accordingly on the arrival of this month, each mother took hold of her son by the head, and lifting him upwards, addressed him frequently with the words, Ytzcalli, Ytzcalli, as if saying to him, Hail, Hail. They paint this month only with a crown, as being the month of vegetation, or rather of returning thanks to Nature, which is the cause of this vegetation. The year here ended; for they reckoned in it eighteen months, of twenty days each, as appears by these paintings; and they named the five superfluous days dead days, for they neither celebrated any sacrifices or undertook any affairs of importance on these days. They kept every four years another fast of eight days in memory of the three destructions † which the world had undergone; and accordingly when this period arrived, they exclaimed four times, "Lord, how is it that the world having been so often destroyed, has never been destroyed ‡?" And they named it the Festival of Renovation; and further declared, that at the expiration of this fast and festival men imitated the frolicksome sports of children, wherefore to represent this festival they led children by the hands through the dance.

a. A Crown. *b*. A Tlacochitl with a Quiver. *c*. A Shield.

13. THE FIVE DEAD DAYS.

The five dead days, in which no sacrifices were performed, commenced on the nineteenth of February §. These were the days which were over and above the vicenary computation of the days

* Chalchiuitlicue appears to have been the name by which the virgin Chimalman was designated in heaven. She was also called Suchiquecal, which seems to signify *woman*, in a general sense, or *human nature* without reference to sex; and Ychpuihtl, in reference to the Mexican belief that Quecalcoatle was born of a virgin. Huitzilopuchtli is also said to have been miraculously brought forth by a woman named Coatlycue, a native of the city of Tulan, who being a devout person and engaged in sweeping the altars of the gods, perceived a ball of feathers falling through the air, which having taken up and put into her girdle she became pregnant.

† The destruction of the province of Tulan, which constitutes an epoch in Mexican chronology, and is the fourth in order of the catastrophes which had befallen the world, is here omitted.

‡ That is to say, How has the human species been preserved?

§ This passage seems to explain in a very simple manner the system of the Mexican intercalation, and serves to illustrate the text of the Vatican MS. The Mexicans reckoned 365 days to their year; the last five of which had no sign or place appropriated to them in the calendar; since, if they had been admitted, the order of the signs would have been inverted, and the new year would not always have commenced with Ce Cipactli. These days, therefore, although included in the computation of the year, were rejected from the calendar, until at the expiration of four years an intercalation of twenty corresponding signs might be

of the year; and they always on the completion of the full period of three hundred and sixty-five days, left out these days, and proceeded to the commencement of the new year in the sign which entered*.

* The signature of *Count Gazama* is affixed to the end of this First Part, and *y ansi gusto Ger' de Spinosa* to the end of the Second. It may here be observed that Spinosa is the name of many Jewish families in Portugal.

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effected without producing any confusion in it [1]. It would appear, however, that this intercalation did not actually take place till at the expiration of 52 years; for it is impossible, except on this supposition, to understand *the intercalation of years* mentioned in the Vatican MS. as occurring at the expiration of every period of 52 years, when an entire year was intercalated: but admitting the postponement of an intercalation of a month every four years during a period of 52 years, such an intercalation would then become quite intelligible; since thirteen Mexican months, of 20 days each, exactly constitute a ritual year of the Mexicans, which contained 260 days, and was shorter than the civil year by 105 days; and this is the precise number of months of which the intercalation would have been postponed. Herrera has observed, in the following passage of his *History of the Indies*, that the people of Yucatan computed the duration of the year as exactly as the Mexicans: " Y para acabar estas cosas de Yucatan, no se esconde, ni aparta tanto el sol de esta tierra, que jamas vengan las noches á ser majores que los dias, i quando majores vienen á ser, suelen ser iguales, desde San Andres á Santa Lucia, que comiençan á crecer. Regianse de noche, para conocer la hora, por el Lucero, i las Cabrillas, i los Astilejos: de dia, por el medio dia: i desde el Norte á poniente tenian puestos á pedaços nombres, con los quales se entendian i regian. Tenian su año perfecto, como el nuestro, de trecientos i sesenta i cinco dias, i de estos tenia el año doce meses, cinco dias, i seis horas. A estos meses llaman U, que quiere decir luna, i la contaban desde que salia nueva hasta que no parecia. Tambien contaban el año de diez i ocho meses, á veinte dias cada mes, al uso de Mexico, i tenian sus veinte caracteres con que los nombraban, dexando de poner nombre á los cinco dias i seis horas que sobran de esta cuenta, porque los tenian por aciagos.—*Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Dec. IV. lib. x. cap. iv. If the Mexicans were acquainted, like the inhabitants of Yucatan, with the excess of six hours in the duration of the natural year, their intercalation every four years might refer to *the hours* by which those years exceeded the period of 365 days, as the other intercalation which took place every 52 years might be explained by *the days* being taken into account which had been omitted in the previous calculation: and in this manner the Mexican calendar would really have had two distinct intercalations, as stated by the interpreter of the Vatican MS. Torquemada, however, denies that the Mexicans were acquainted with these superfluous hours [2]; and he further says, relying upon the authority of Sahagun and his own knowledge of the Mexican mode of computing time, that the Mexican paintings called Tonalamatl by the Indians, and Calendars by the Spaniards, were in reality *arts of divination*, and improperly named calendars; for that the Mexican year contained 365 days, whilst the series of signs employed in the Tonalamatl amounted only to 260; the Mexican calendar used only four signs for the notation of days and years, and the Tonalamatl made use of twenty: and finally, that time was divided amongst the Mexicans into lesser periods, not of *thirteen*, the number found in the Tonalamatl, but of *five days*. In reference to the last argument, by which Torquemada endeavours to prove that the Mexican paintings to which the Spaniards had given the name of Calendars were not really such, but arts of divination; viz. that time was not divided by the Mexicans into lesser periods of thirteen parts;—it is proper to observe, that a Mexican age (a period consisting of 52 years) was divided by the Mexicans into four equal portions of thirteen years; so that thirteen was a number used in the Mexican calendar: and if the days had been also so divided, this division would have only been analogous to

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[1] In the Coptic calendar, which was derived from the ancient Egyptian, an intercalation every four years was also admitted. If colonies had proceeded from Alexandria to America, it is likely that they would have carried with them the Egyptian mode of computing time, which was more correct than the old Roman reckoning.

[2] Sahagun, in the following passage of the eighteenth chapter of the second book of his inedited *History of New Spain*, seems to differ from Torquemada; since he says, without stating his doubt of a fact, which if it had been improbable in itself, or mere ignorant conjecture, he would certainly have done:—" that it was conjectured that when they (the Mexicans) bored holes in the ears of their male and female children, which custom was observed every four years, they intercalated *six* days of Nemontemi; which is the same thing as the bissextile intercalation which we employ every four years." " Hay conjetura que quando aguge-raban las orejas á los niños, y niñas, que era de quatro en quatro años, hechaban seis dias de Nemontemi; y es lo mismo del bisiesto que nosotros hacemos de quatro en quatro años."

that of the years. Neither was the computation of time and of the duration of the year (which reduced to writing or painting constitutes a calendar, and which depends on astronomy and the observation of the stars,) so distinct in the beginning, from astrology and the art of divination, as Sahagun seems to suppose. The Chaldeans, the ancestors of the Jews, contemplated the stars from the temple of Belus, and predicted by them the fortunes of men. Diodorus Siculus has preserved some curious opinions of the Chaldeans respecting the stars; and it is unlucky that the book in which he had recorded various true predictions which they had uttered to many famous kings and generals should have been lost. We may observe, that the number two thousand seems to carry with it some strange fatality to religions, the most durable of all human institutions, (because founded on popular prejudices,) as lesser numbers have been deemed to be fatal to the more ephemeral works of man. For about two thousand years the fame of the Chaldeans resounded through Asia; for two thousand years the oracles were revered by the greatest heroes and sages of the earth; for two thousand years the Jewish religion flourished either in Egyptian bondage or in a remote corner of Palestine, scarcely even known to the other nations of the earth; and perhaps for nearly fifteen hundred years the American altars, fragrant with incense and crimson with gore, failed only to draw down the indignation of Heaven, that by the continuance of their sacrilegious rites those might be punished who permitted impiety, absurdity, and cruelty, to cross the threshold of the Gods. Divination in Mexico was in as general use, and perverted to as mischievous purposes, as ever it was amongst the Jews, and popular delusion was equally amongst both nations its main spring. It cannot be doubted that the Tonalpouqui, or fortune-tellers of the Mexicans,—a class of men highly esteemed by them,—predicted with the assistance of the Tonalamatl, or book of destiny, the fortunes of children. But how, we may inquire, did the Mexicans become acquainted with that superstitious practice? Torquemada, who does not allow that the Mexicans borrowed any of their analogous ceremonies and superstitious rites from the Jews, nevertheless in treating, in the thirty-seventh chapter of the tenth book of his *Indian Monarchy*, of their art of divination, expresses himself thus, "*Segun doctrina falsa de estos diabolicos Rabinos;*" by which he clearly shows the channel of his thoughts. It is an undeniable fact that the Jews have in all ages been inclined to practise divination. Whilst other ancient nations became famous for their learning; and the all-inquiring minds of the Grecian philosophers made philosophy rest on a solid basis,—this people, turning aside from the contemplation of nature, bestowed all their attention upon dreams, visions, omens, prophecies, and their absurd and false interpretations: and their minds reverting to the early period of their own history, and to the signs and wonders performed not only by Moses and by Aaron but by the magicians of Pharaoh,—it is no wonder that divination, necromancy, magic, and all kinds of superstition, should have engrossed so much of their attention: nor would it be surprising if in after-times so credulous a people should have persuaded themselves, or have been persuaded by their priests, that Jehovah was again present with them in an ark, animating them on to fresh victories, or that the American soil should have become the theatre of their new exploits, and of an imposition which was this time to make them masters of an *hemisphere*. On reading various books of the Old Testament, and especially that of Ezekiel, it is impossible to rise from their perusal and to meditate on these curious pages of Jewish history, without involuntarily asking one's self the question, What kind of people were the Jews? What were these visions *true* and *vain* which were continually perturbing their imaginations? and how shall we distinguish the true from the false, since they (who were so accustomed to them) were unable to do so; as the prophet Ezekiel declares in the twelfth chapter of his book. "And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, what is *that proverb* that ye have in the land of Israel, saying, The days are prolonged, and *every vision faileth?* Tell them therefore, Thus saith the Lord God; I will make *this proverb* to cease, and they shall no more *use it as a proverb* in Israel; but say unto them, The days are at hand, and the effect of every vision. For there shall be no more *any vain vision* nor *flattering divination* within the house of Israel." This last line recalls to our recollection the Homeric verse, "Βασκ' ἰθι οὐλε ὀνειρε θοας ἐπι νηας Αχαιων," where a false vision is sent to deceive Agamemnon; and appearing to him while slumbering in his tent, induces him to suppose that he had only to lead on his troops to the immediate conquest of Troy; "Φη γαρ ὁγ' ἁιρησειν Πριαμου πολιν ἡματι κεινω." It is very remarkable that the Jews, who have been noted by one Roman satirist in that often quoted passage "Credat Judæus Apelles, non ego" for their credulity, should have been stigmatized by another (Juvenal), in his second satire for carrying on the trade of professed fortune-tellers and diviners in his days in Rome. Beginning so early, they certainly had time to perfect the art and to become adepts in it many centuries before the fifteenth. But if we critically investigate the progress of this curious science amongst them, we shall find that the foundations of it were laid at a very early period of their history; since we read in the forty-fourth chapter of Genesis, of Joseph's policy to stay his brethren in Egypt, and of his causing his *divining cup* and every man's money to be put in his sack's mouth, whence it might appear that they had stolen the money, and had the policy to take the cup also, in order that he might not divine who the thieves were. And to this apparent theft the messenger whom he sent after them alludes in the fifth verse of the same chapter; "Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? Ye have done evil in so doing." It is not a little singular that the Mexicans should have made use of a cup, in order that, by the mode of divination which Torquemada describes in the following passage of the forty-eighth chapter of the sixth book of his *Indian Monarchy*, they might discover *stolen goods*, and who the thief was, and where

they were concealed; since it would argue some acquaintance with the history of Joseph. "Si perdian alguna cosa, hacian ciertas hechicherias con unos maices, y miraban en un lebrillo de agua, y dicen que alli veian al que lo tenia, la casa adonde estaba; y si era cosa viva, y alli les hacia entender, si era ya muerta, ó viva." "If they lose any thing they practise a certain mode of divination by means of stalks of maize, and look into an earthen pitcher full of water, and declare that they there see who has it, the house where it is; and if it was living property, that they there learn whether it is already dead or alive." The Mexicans were not only extremely superstitious, but inclined to pay great respect to lucky or unlucky omens; such as the screeching of the owl, the *sneezing of a person in a company*, the entrance of a rabbit or a hare into a house, (which animals were considered by the Jews as unclean); with many other idle notions too numerous to mention, but which show that they partook largely of vulgar European prejudices.

THE SECOND PART.

PLATE I.*

TONACACIQUA.

TONACACIQUA, otherwise Chicomecouatl, was she who caused famine: they named her Seven Serpents †.

God, Lord, Creator, Governor of the Universe, Tloque, Nauaque, Tlalticpaque, Teotlale-Matlava Tepeva:—all these epithets they bestowed on their god Tonacatecotle, who according to their account was the god who created the world; and they painted him alone with a crown, as lord of all. They never offered sacrifices to this god, for they said that he did not regard them. All the others to whom they sacrificed, were men once on a time, or demons.

PLATE II.

QUECALCOATLE.

Quecalcoatle‡ is he who was born of the virgin, who was called on . . . . . §, and in heaven Chalchihuitztli, which means the precious stone of penance or of sacrifice. He was saved in the

* The letters, *b*, *m*, and *in*, in the margin of the Plate, signify *bueno*, *malo*, and *indifferente*, (good, bad, and indifferent), and determine by the ruling signs the good or evil fortune of the days.

† The number seven is mentioned in Scripture in connection with abundance and scarcity. Pharaoh beheld in the dream which Joseph interpreted to him, seven lean and seven fat kine, and seven full and seven withered ears of corn, emblematical of seven years of plenty and seven of famine.

§ Two or three words are here obliterated; perhaps "*on earth Chimalman*" would complete the sentence.

‡ The Messiah is shadowed in the Old Testament under many types; such as those of a *lion*, a *lamb*, a *roe*, the *morning star*, (or the planet Venus, otherwise called Lucifer,) the *sun*, *light*, a *rock*, a *stone*, the *branch*[1], the *vine*, *wine*, *bread*, *water*, *life*, the *way*, and he is there recognized in the triple character of a king, a priest, and a prophet. It is very extraordinary that Quecalcoatle, whom the Mexicans believed equally to have been a king, a prophet, and a pontiff, should also have been named by them Ceyacatl, or the morning star; Tlavizcalpantecutli, or light; Mexitli, or the vine, (for Torquemada says that the core of the aloe, from which the Mexicans obtained wine, was so called); Votan, or the heart, metaphorically signifying life; and Toyoliatlaquatl, "manjar de nuestra vida," bread, (for his body made of dough was eaten by the Mexicans): and that the signs Ce Mazatl, or one stag; Nahui Ollin, four earthquakes;

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[1] The branch was a very famous type of the Messiah, which is thus mentioned by the prophet Zechariah, "Hear now, O Joshua, the high priest, thou, and thy fellows that sit before thee; for they are men wondered at: for, behold, I will bring forth my servant, The BRANCH. For behold the stone I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone shall be seven eyes. Behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day." This passage of the third chapter of Zechariah is very remarkable; and it is impossible not to connect the branch here personified, as the branch of the house of Israel, as well as the prophecy of the Lord's slaying the dragon of the sea in the twenty-seventh chapter of Isaiah (which may mean

deluge, and was born in Zivenavitzcatl, where he resides. They call this the Fast of the Lords; it lasted four days, that is to say, from the first day of Ocelotl * to Four Earthquakes †.

This fast was a kind of preparation for the arrival of the end of the world, which they said would happen on the day of Four Earthquakes, so that they were thus in daily expectation of that event.

* *Tierra* is written under the sign of Ce Ocelotl, or One Tiger, which means that that sign was applied to the earth.

† The sign of Nahui Ollin, or Four Earthquakes, was dedicated to Quecalcoatle, whose second advent, together with the end of the world, the Mexicans expected would be on the same sign. The sign of the sun in Four Earthquakes, or *in its four movements*, as later Spanish writers have wrongly explained *temblores* to signify, is found in the centre of the Mexican calendar which was discovered some years ago in the Plaza Mayor of Mexico, and refers no doubt to that belief.

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and Ome Tochtli, two rabbits,—should have been dedicated to him. As also that the fables of Quetzalcoatle, preparing the way for Tlaloc (which some Spanish writers understand to allude to wind preceding the fall of rain); and of the flint which was thrown from heaven, which breaking into pieces, the fragments were changed into as many heroes, should have existed amongst the Mexicans, the latter of which assimilates itself to the notion of God's raising up *from the stones* seed unto Abraham. The Mexican paintings afford some curious representations of the flint, or tequepatl, named by Acosta *fulmen*, or *the thunderbolt*, giving as it were birth to children. And the Jews still believe that Armillus Harascha, or *Antichrist*, will, or has been, born from a stone; which idea they may have borrowed from Christ having called two of his disciples Boanerges, sons of thunder, which appellation some commentators suppose was given to them because they wished to call down lightning from heaven, on a village that refused to receive the annunciation of the Gospel. That something else, however, was alluded to by "Quecalcoatle preparing the way for Tlaloc," besides wind preceding the fall of rain, may be inferred from what Boturini says of Tlaloc, in the 98th page of his *Idea of a New History of America:* "Tlaloc era el secretario de la Providencia, &c." "The Mexicans believed that Tlaloc was the secretary of Providence, who in his name wrote his laws in lightning, and published them with thunder." Quecalcoatle was also represented under the figure of Tlatocaoçelotl, which name signifies the lion or the tiger of the human species. Other analogies, extending to all the symbols mentioned above, might be pointed out between the types referring in the Old Testament to Christ, and the epithets bestowed by the Mexicans upon Quecalcoatle, in whose person several of the ancient Hebrew prophecies relating to the Messiah are pretended to have been fulfilled. And if more of his history, and

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the leviathan, as it seems to be elsewhere called in Scripture; but is certainly not the whale, which is one of the most harmless inhabitants of the ocean), with the paintings contained in the eighty-ninth and ninety-sixth pages of the lesser Vatican MS.: the last of which represents Quecalcoatle in the act of slaying some formidable sea-monster covered with scales. The Jews apply the line in Scripture, "He shall slay the dragon which is in the sea," to their expected Messiah; and they believe that that will be his last great exploit, and that the flesh of this *sacrificed* monster will be *eaten* at a great feast, to which he will only invite their nation. The stories of the Rabbis are in general absurd, and the frequent allusions which they make in the Talmud to animals which have no real existence, betray their ignorance of natural history; which need not, however, excite our surprise, since the Egyptians, a much wiser people, believed in the phœnix; and even long after Aristotle had composed his celebrated work on Natural History at the request of Alexander the Great, many Christian philosophers maintained that such imaginary beings did really exist; although, as they argued, much of the globe being undiscovered, and the torrid zone from its heat separating by an insuperable barrier one half of mankind from the rest,—the place of their habitation, like the site of the Terrestrial Paradise (in which they also, as well as the Mexicans, believed; the latter naming it Xochitlycacan, literally *the garden*), might remain unknown. The Mexicans, as it appears from the symbol of the city of Tuchconco contained in the fiftieth plate of the Collection of Mendoza, had formed to themselves an idea of an animal with a horn rising from its forehead, that, unlike the unicorn, which is a fabulous creature, between a horse and a deer, seems to have been of the rabbit or of the deer species only. The name of the city, as well as the form of the head of the animal which was its symbol, seems to point out that it belonged to the former class; and the other is merely suggested, because in Mexican paintings the head of the mazatl, or deer, is often very like that of the rabbit; and it is said, on very vague rumour, that in Thibet a species of deer or antelope exists with a single horn which grows from its forehead, which is exceedingly wild and difficult to catch. It must be admitted that the ancient paintings of the Mexicans are replete with Jewish images and conceptions. It has already been observed, that *eyes*, which are mentioned in several of the prophetical books of the Old Testament as mysteriously belonging to both animate and inanimate objects, are frequently found in these paintings, divested alike of all use and propriety of situation. Many words likewise occur in the Mexican language, which are strangely compounded of yx, the *eye*, as for example, Yxteocalli. On one of their festivals the Mexicans made a cake with the symbolical representation of eyes, to which perhaps the symbol of the city Cuezcomayxtlahuacan, represented in the fifteenth plate, No. 19, of the Collection of Mendoza, may refer.

Quecalcoatle was he who they say created the world; and they bestowed on him the appellation of lord of the wind, because they said that Tonacatecotli, when it appeared good to him, breathed

of the actions of his life had been preserved, we cannot tell where those analogies would have ceased. Isaiah says, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son." The Mexicans asserted that Quecalcoatle was born of the virgin Chimalman. And he adds, in the verse immediately following; "Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good." The cakes, called Uologopale, which were made of honey and eaten on the festival of Quecalcoatle, might bear some allusion to this incomprehensible prediction. From the little that has been preserved of the life of Quecalcoatle, it would appear that he was very anxious to verify, in his own person, some of the ancient prophecies relating to the Messiah; and that for this purpose he went about studiously performing certain actions, by which they might appear to be fulfilled. The Jews refer the fourth verse of the third chapter of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, "My flesh and my skin hath he made old; he hath broken my bones,"—to the Messiah (which they perhaps have been the more inclined to do, because Christians declare, that Scripture had foretold that *not a bone of him should be broken*). In connection with the former of these predictions, the following passage of the twenty-fourth chapter of the sixth book of Torquemada's *Indian Monarchy*, which treats of the life of Quecalcoatle, is deserving of consideration, "llegando à un lugar que se llama Quauhtitlan, estaba alli un arbol grande, grueso, y mui crecido, y arrimandose á él, pidio á uno de sus pajes un espejo, y mirandose en él, vidose mas viejo de lo que antes era, y dijo 'Ya estoi viejo,' y por esto se nombró desde entonces aquel lugar Huehuequauhtitlan, que quiere decir junto al arbol viejo, ó de el viejo; y tomando piedras apedrèo el arbol, y todas las metia dentro del tronco, que permanecieron asi por muchisimos años. Paso de este lugar, y por todo el camino que iba le iban tañendo flautas, y otros instrumentos muchas de las gentes que llevaba; llegó á otro que es un cerro junto del pueblo de Tlalnepantla, dos leguas de esta ciudad de Mexico, donde se sentò en una piedra, y puso las manos en ella, y las dejo estampadas que hasta el dia de oi se ven las señales de todo en ella." "Coming to a place named Quauhtitlan, where was a large, thick and lofty tree, leaning on the trunk of it he desired one of his pages to give him a mirror, which looking into, and perceiving himself older than he before was, he exclaimed, '*I have become old;*' whence the place was ever afterwards named Huehuequauhtitlan, which signifies 'close to the old tree, or to the tree of the old man;' and gathering up stones from the ground, he flung them at the tree[1], and lodged them all in the trunk, where they remained many years. From this place he passed on, and was accompanied on the whole of the way by a great multitude of people, who followed him playing flutes and other instruments. He arrived at another place, which was a hill adjoining the city of Tlalnepantla, two leagues distant from this city of Mexico, where he sat down on a stone, and laid his hands upon it, and left their impression there; the marks of which are at the present day quite visible." How many incidents, analogous to those which are related in the Gospels of Christ, occur in this short passage;—the withered fig tree; the crowd which followed him, strewing branches in his way, and singing hosannas; his custom of sitting down on the ground and discoursing to the people; the disciples by which he was attended; the halt, lame, and deformed persons[2], who pressed round him to be cured; and his laying on of hands,—all present themselves to the imagination. The impressions of hands and feet are found in various parts of America engraved upon rocks, and are frequently associated by ancient traditions with the preaching of some religious missionary, who left that sign behind him. If the Indians had been acquainted with the following verses of the nineteenth chapter of Job, they could scarcely have exhibited a greater predilection for sculpturing figures and hieroglyphics, upon rocks, than they did: "Oh that my words were now written. Oh that they were printed in a book; that they were graven with an iron pen and lead *in the rock for ever*. For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth." The signs of *One Cane* and of *Nahui Ollin*, or Four Earthquakes, which were both dedicated to Quecalcoatle,—and the latter of which alluded, according to Mexican mythology, to the day of judgment and the end of the world,—were frequently engraved by the Mexicans upon stones and rocks; and that of *Nahui Ollin* occupies the centre of the large stone usually designated the Mexican calendar, which is fixed to one of the sides of the cathedral church of Mexico, and which also comprises the other signs of the days of the year. The following extract from the inedited *History of Chille, by Rosales*, contains a curious account of footsteps, accompanied with an inscription, which were sculptured on a rock, in Chille: "Planto Valdivia su campo en el valle de Mapocho,

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[1] Sahagun in the fourteenth chapter of the third book of his *Universal History of New Spain*, says, that it was an arrow which Quecalcoatle fired at the tree: "Y en otro lugar tirò con una saeta à un arbol grande, que se llama Pochutl, y atravesole con la dicha saeta, y asi estaba hecha una cruz." "In another place he fired an arrow at a large tree, named a Pochùtl, and pierced it through with the said arrow, which thus formed a cross." Torquemada informs us that the Pochutl was a tree which the Spaniards named the Ceyba, and that it was very large, and of spreading foliage: "arbol que llaman Pochotl, que los Castellanos llaman Ceyba, que es mui grande, y mui copado." It does not appear to have borne any fruit to which the Mexican appellation Pochutl would seem to allude; since this name probably signifies *barren*, being derived from ychpochtli *virginity*, the latter part of which word communicates an analogous sense to its derivatives, one of which was telpuchtli.

[2] Quecalcoatle is said to have been attended by many deformed persons and crook-backs, *corcovados*, on his road to Cholula.

and begot Quecalcoatle. They erected round temples to him, without any corners. They said that it was he, (who was also the lord of the thirteen signs which are here represented), who formed the

que propriamente se llama Mapuche, que quiere decir valle de gente, por la mucha que en el avia; y dé ay tomo el esse nombre, mas los Españoles, y el tiempo, han corrompido el vocablo, y en lugar de Mapuche, le llaman Mapocho. Dio buelta al valle, mirando los assientos, y la hermosura de sus campanas, y llanura, que es de los mejores y mas fertiles valles del reino, fecundado de un rio que liberal reparte sus aguas por differentes sangrias, para que todos rieguen sus sembrados. Y pareciendole ser el lugar mas acomodado donde Loncomilla le dezia, poblo la ciudad de Santiago en el sitio donde oy esta; cuia fundazion fue á doze de Febrero de 1521; pidiendo à nuestro Señor gracia para estender y entabler la fee entre aquella gente; y à catorce Caciques que alli le dieron la paz, rogo le ayudassen para hazer alli una casa de oracion del dios verdadero, que esta en los cielos, y crio el universo, donde se celebrassen los divinos officios; y para persuadirles á ello, les traxo á la memoria la honra que se debe al culto divino, y al verdadero dios; á que le respondieron, que ya tenian noticia de que avia un dios que abitaba en los cielos; porque avian oydo dezir á sus antepassados, que antiguamente avia estado un hombre maravilloso en esta tierra, con barba crezida, y con ojotas calzadas, y manta, al modo que ellos traian sus mantas sobre los hombros; el qual hazia muchos milagros, sanaba enfermos con agua, hazia llover, y crezer las plantas, y los sembrados, y con un soplo hazia encender fuego, y otras maravillas, sanando de repente á los enfermos, y dando vista á los ciegos; y en la lengua de esta tierra hablava con tanta propriedad y elegancia, como si siempre hubiera estado en ella, con palabras mui dulces, y nuevas para ellos: diziendoles que en lo alto de los cielos estaba el criador de todas las cosas, y que tenia consigo mucha cantidad de hombres y mugeres *que resplandecian como el sol,* y que á poco tiempo se fue al Peru; y asi muchos a imitacion del habito y ojotas que este varon usaba, las traen entre ellos calzadas, y la manta suelta sobre los hombros, ó prendida en el pecho, ó por las puntas anudada: Por donde se infiere que este varon era algun apostol, cuio nombre no saben. Quedo admirado Valdivia de esta relacion, y conociendo que Dios le tomaba á el por instrumento, para volver à planter la fee que el santo Apostolo avia predicado en este reino; y perdiose la noticia de ella por la injuria de los tiempos, ó por los peccados de sus habitadores. Y confirma esta noticia de aver venido algun Apostolo à este reino à predicar el santo Evangelio, una cosa maravillosa, que hasta oy persevera en el valle de Taurua, donde esta una piedra de vara y media de alto, y dos de largo, en la qual estan estampadas las huellas de un hombre con ojotas, que en la piedra dejo ympressas; y sin duda sobre ella se subia à predicar á los Indios de aquel valle, y dejo las plantas ympressas; y demas de esto, en la frente de la piedra escribio tres renglones, abiertas las letras, en la peña, y con caracteres que no ay quien los entienda, ni sepa explicarlos. Y aviendolos hecho sacar, y copiar fielmente el Padre Joseph Maria Adamo de la compañia de Jesus, missionero de la provincia de Cuio, y que a trabaxado muchos años gloriosamente en la conversion de los Indios de aquella provincia, las embio á tres padres de la provincia, noticiosos en lengua, al Padre Angelo de Magistris a Cordova, al Padre Conine al Peru, y al Padre Nicolas Mascardi a Chiloe, y ninguno acerto a leer las, conque hasta ahora no se sabe su significado." In an old *Life of Saint Patrick,* contained in the Book of Armagh, and lately published by Sir William Betham, the impression of footsteps visible in a rock in Ireland is also mentioned, which were left there by an angel who frequently appeared to that Saint. "Aliquando sues custodiens perdidit eas, et angelus veniens ad eum, sues indicavit illi; aliquando etiam angelus illi loquens, multa illi dixit; et postquam illi locutus est, pedem super petram ponens *inscirit,* in montem Miss coram se ascendit; vestigia, pedes angeli, in petrâ huc usque manentia cernuntur, et in illo loco XXX vicibus ad eum locutus est."

It is highly probable that the mysterious personage who appeared to the Indians of the valley of Taurua was a missionary; but whether he was a Christian missionary or an agent of Jewish proselytism, may be doubted: his pretended miracles were certainly gross frauds upon the credulity of an ignorant and superstitious people. But the story of his kindling fire with his breath, recalls to our recollection a passage in *Basnage's History of the Jews,* in which that writer says that Barchochobas, the famous Jewish impostor, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Adrian, did precisely the same thing, in order to persuade the Jews that he was the Messiah, and the star which Balaam had seen afar off, and of which he prophesied, as recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of Numbers, ver. 15—19. "And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said: He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open: I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth. And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies; and Israel shall do valiantly. Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city." "This man having undertaken to persuade the Jews that he was the Messiah, did three things that facilitated the success of his enterprise: 1. He changed his name, and took that of the Son of the Star or Barchochobas, in order to have it believed that he was the star that Balaam had seen afar off. He maintained that he was one of the stars of heaven, sent to succour the people, and retrieve them from the oppression under which they groaned. 2. It was perhaps to confirm this notion that he cast out fire and flame from his mouth when he spoke. At least, Saint Jerome has said that he had the art of deceiving the people by means of some lighted tow, by which he seemed to vomit fire. 3. He made choice of a fore-runner, of the same character with himself, who was very assistant to him in these designs."—*Basnage's History of the Jews,* lib. vi. cap. ix.

first man. They celebrated a festival, on the sign of Four Earthquakes, to the destroyer, with reference to the fate which again awaited the world; for they said that it had undergone four destructions, and that it would again be destroyed.* He alone had a human body like that of men, the other gods were of an incorporeal nature.

* The word *otra* was undoubtedly followed by *vez*, in the obliterated text of the MS., the sense of which is here supplied.

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pag. 515. All will agree with Saint Jerome, that it was no very difficult thing to deceive the people; and certainly, if the Jews had penetrated, as it may be proved to demonstration that they did, in remote ages to the continent of America, it cannot be doubted that they would have found it an easy task to deceive the Indians, and firmly to establish amongst them their exploded rites, and the abolished institutions of the Old Law. But the secret, the consequences of which if openly divulged could not have been calculated, that the Spaniards did discover, on their first arrival in the continent of America, Judaism in a most monstrous form, mixed with all kinds of abominations, as of old was the case in Palestine, which like some noxious weed had attained an exuberant growth, that cast a deadly shade over the fairest provinces of the New World,—the policy of the age, and of the Spanish court, (where the highest dignitaries of the church occupied likewise the chief places in the cabinet,) firmly resolved to consign to everlasting oblivion. It cannot, however, be supposed that the true state of the case, of which the Pope became immediately apprised, exercised no influence upon his conduct, and upon that of some of his immediate successors, or might have had no share in paving the way for the Reformation. Alexander the Sixth was the pontiff who then sat in the chair of Saint Peter: and as, in modern times, secret articles are sometimes found to have been inserted in treaties, without even the knowledge of all of the high contracting parties, what secret stipulations might not the court of Rome have made with Spain, when, in the plenitude of long-recognised and revered power, she granted to her nearly the whole of the New World? or what return could have been too great for an obedient daughter of the Church to have made to show her gratitude for such a gift? One clause in the bull of Alexander the Sixth, which annexed the Indies to the Crown of Spain, is very remarkable: it is, that in which a papal ordinance seconded the civil enactment of the Spanish law, which was immediately framed on the discovery of America, commanding that none but Spaniards should be permitted to visit its shores: "Ac quibuscumque personis cujuscumque dignitatis, etiam imperialis et regalis status, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœnâ, quam eo ipso (si contra fecerint) incurrant, districtius inhibemus, ne ad insulas, et terras-firmas inventas, et inveniendas, detectas, et detegendas, versus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando, et construendo unam lineam a Polo Arctico, ad Polum Antarcticum, sive terræ-firmæ insulæ inventæ, et inveniendæ sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, quæ lineâ distet a quâlibet insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur *de los Açores*, et *Caboverde*, centum leucis versus Occidentem, et Meridiem, (ut præfertur) pro mercibus habendis, *vel quâvis aliâ de causâ*, accedere præsumant, absque vestrâ, ac hæredum et successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentiâ speciali." Gomara says, that during the life of Queen Isabella, Castilians were only allowed to pass over to America, and no Aragonese, except by her licence and express command—"No consentia pasar a ellas (Indias) sino à Castellanos; e si algun Aragones alla yva, era con su licencia y espreso mandamiento." It is evident, from the provision which was made, that no Spaniard whatsoever should proceed to America without first obtaining a licence, and registering his name at Seville; that Spain was very jealous even of her own subjects going thither; and as she absolutely forbade lawyers, surgeons, and clerks, (under which latter denomination all persons of studious habits and pursuits, and of an inquiring turn of mind, might be included,) as well as Jews, Moors, and heretics, and persons suspected by the Inquisition, and even the descendants of such, to the third generation, to visit the New World; it would appear, that, whether or no she wished to conceal from Europe a fact which she feared might shake its institutions, shock and confound the prejudices of ages, and remodel its laws, she took all the precautions which she could have done if she really had entertained such a fear. With respect even to the admission of ecclesiastics into America, it was very sparing in the beginning; four years elapsed after the destruction of the empire of Montezuma, before the first twelve preachers of the Gospel were sent to New Spain: and the reason of this delay is not satisfactorily explained. Cortes wrote himself to the Emperor, either spontaneously, or, as is much more probable, at the suggestion of others, who were nearer his person, to request that he would send neither bishops or secular clergy to that quarter of the globe; but that the charge of converting the Indians should be entrusted to the two regular orders of the Dominicans and the Franciscans; and that the Pope should be supplicated to grant to him the proceeds of the tythe, on his consenting to take upon himself the expense of building churches and providing for the ministers of the Gospel. The result of this letter was, "that the Emperor would not permit, during the whole course of his reign, (which lasted longer than thirty years,) that *any of the secular clergy* should pass over to America, with the exception of some particular persons, *who had been strictly examined*, although some others secretly and privily found their way thither." But the Pope did not equally approve of the plan of Cortes, which proposed the surrendering the tythe, or of delegating to others than bishops the powers and privileges of the church. The letter of Cortes to the Emperor is so curious, that we here subjoin it, with the observations of Torquemada upon it, which follow.

"Todas las veces, que à V. S. M. he escrito, he dicho à V. Alteça, el aparejo, que ai en algunos de los Naturales, de estas Partes, para se convertir à nuestra Santa Fè Catolica, y ser Christianos, y he embiado, à suplicar à V. C. M. para ello, mandase proveer de Personas

PLATE III.

They believed that he who was born on the ninth sign of air would be free and rich, and that although he might be of low origin, he would arrive at great offices in the state.

Religiosas, de buena Vida, y Egemplo: y porque hasta agora han venido mui pocos, ò casi ningunos, y es cierto, que haria grandisimo fruto, lo torno à traer à la memoria à V. A. y le suplico lo mande proveer, con toda brevedad, porque de ello Dios Nuestro Señor serà servido, y se cumplirà el deseo, que V. A., en este Caso, como Catolico, tiene. Y porque con los Procuradores Antonio de Quiñones, y Alonso de Avila, los Concejos, de las Villas de esta Nueva-España, y Yo, embiamos à V. M. mandase proveer de Obispos, ò otros Prelados, para la Administracion de los Oficios, y Culto Divino; y entonces parecionos, que asi convenia: Aora, mirandolo bien, hame parecido, que V. S. M. lo debe mandar proveer de otra manera, para que los Naturales de estas Partes, màs aina se conviertan, y puedan ser instruìdos en las cosas de nuestra Santa Fè Catolica; y la manera, que à Mi en este Caso me parece, que se debe tener, es, que V. S. M. mande, que vengan, à estas Partes, muchas Personas Religiosas (como yà he dicho) y mui zelosas de este fin, à la Conversion de estas Gentes; y que de estos se hagan Casas, y Monasterios, por las Provincias, que acà nos pareciere, que conviene; y que à estos se les dè de los Diezmos, para hacer sus Casas, y sustener sus Vidas; y lo demàs, que restare de ellos, sea para las Iglesias, y Ornamentos de los Pueblos, donde estuvieren los Españoles, y para Clerigos, que los sirvan: y que estos Diezmos los cobren los Oficiales de V. M. y tengan cuenta, y raçon de ellos, y provean de ellos, à los dichos Ministros, è Iglesias, que bastarà para todo, y aun sobrarà harto, de que V. M. se puede servir; y que V. A. suplique à su Santidad, conceda à V. M. los Diezmos de estas Partes, para este efecto, haciendole entender, el servicio, que à Dios Nuestro Señor se hace, en que esta Gente se convierta, y que esto no se podia hacer, sino por esta via: *Porque aviendo Obispos, y Prelados, no dejarian de seguir la costumbre, que por nuestros pecados oi tienen algunos, en disponer de los bienes de la Iglesia, que es gastarlos en pompas, y en otras cosas, y en dejar Maiorazgos à sus Parientes.* Y aun seria otro maior mal, que como los Naturales de estas Partes, tenian en sus Templos Personas Religiosas, que entendian en sus Ritos, y Ceremonias; *y estos eran tan recogidos (assi en Honestidad, como en Castidad) que si alguna cosa, fuera de esto, a alguno, le sentian, era punido con pena de Muerte: Si agora viesen las cosas de la Iglesia, y Servicio de Dios, en poder de Canonigos, y otras Dignidades, y supiesen, que aquellos eran Ministros de Dios, y los viesen usar de la profanidad, que agora, en nuestros tiempos, en esos Reinos usan, serìa menospreciar nuestrà Fè, y tenerla por cosa de burla; y serìa tan gran daño, que no creo aprovecharia ninguna otra predicacion, que se les hiciese.* Y pues tanto en esto và (y la principal intencion de V. M. es, y debe ser, que estas Gentes se conviertan; y los que acà en su Real Nombre residimos, la debemos seguir, y como Christianos tener de ello especial cuidado, he querido en esto, avisar à V. C. M. y decir en ello mi Parecer, el qual suplico à V. M. reciba, como de Persona, Subdito, y Vasallo suio: Que asi, como con las fuerças corporales, trabajo, y trabajare, que los Reinos, y Señorios de V. M. por estas Partes se ensanchen, y su Real Fama, y gran poder, entre estas Gentes se publique: asi deseo, y trabajarè con el Alma, para que V. A. en ellas mande sembrar nuestra Santa Fè; porque por ello merezca la Bienaventurança de la Vida perpetua. Y porque para hacer ordenes, y bendecir Iglesias, Ornamentos, Olio, y Chrisma, y otras cosas, no aviendo Obispos, seria dificultoso ir à buscar el remedio de ellas, à otras Partes: Asimismo V. M. debe suplicar à su Santidad, que conceda su poder, y sean sus Subdelegados, en estas Partes, las dos Personas principales, que à ellas vinieren; uno de la Orden de San Francisco; y otro de la de Santo Domingo, los quales tengan los mas largos Poderes, que V. M. pudiere; porque por ser estas Tierras tan apartadas de la Iglesia Romana, y los Christianos, que en ellas residimos, y residieren, tan lejos de los Remedios de nuestras Conciencias, y como humanos tan sujetos à pecado, ai necesidad, que en esto su Santidad, con nosotros, se estienda, en dàr à estas Personas mui largos Poderes; y los tales Poderes succedan en las Personas, que siempre residan en estas Partes, que sea en el General, que fuere, en estas Tierras, y en el Provincial de cada uña de estas Ordenes."

"Este Capitulo de Carta quadrò mucho al Emperador; *porque lo mismo leaconsejaron en España, las Personas, que consultò sobre este Negocio,* en particular dos Hermanos, llamados los Coroneles, Famosisimos Letrados, los quales, à pedimento, y mandado de su Magestad, hicieron una Instruccion, y Doctrina mui docta, y curiosamente ordenada, de como se les avia de dàr à entender, à estos Indios las cosas de nuestra Fè y Misterios de ella, por manera de Historia, conforme à la Relacion, que tenian de su capacidad, y (como he dicho) aconsejaron al Emperador, que para su Conversion embiase Ministros, que no recibiesen de ellos, sino sola la simple comida, y vestuario; porque de otra manera, no harian en ellos fruto alguno espiritual; y asi lo cumpliò con grandisimo cuidado, como adelante se verà: *y no permitiò en todo el tiempo que despues reinò (que fueron mas de treinta Años) que pasasen à estas Partes Clerigos Seculares, sino fuese algun Particular, y mui examinado: puesto que algunos otros pasaron à escondidas, y ocultamente.* Solo en lo de los Diezmos, y en dejar de venir Obispos, no podia aver efecto la traça, que Cortès dava; porque, ni el Summo Pontifice concediera los Diezmos, de aquella suerte, ni eran menester para los Ministros, que al principio venian, pues eran Frailes Observantisimos de San Francisco, y ni ellos los recibieran, ni pudieran (aunque quisieran) segun su Regla, y Profesion, que aunque pudiera hacer esta dispensacion el Vicario de Christo, eran ellos tan Pobres, y deseosos de serlo, *que no admitieran Diezmos por ninguna manera del Mundo.*"

After the deluge for a long period of time they sacrificed in this manner*, and did not kill men.

* They merely drew blood from their tongues and ears, which the Spaniards called sacrificing those parts.

The principal reasons which lead us to the conclusion that the Spaniards on their arrival in America discovered judaism, either more or less tinctured with other idolatrous rites and ceremonies (to which it seems in the course of ages to have given birth), to have been the prevailing religion of the people of that continent, are the following: First: the admission of the best informed Spanish historians, who were ecclesiastics, that the Indians generally throughout the continent of America had some knowledge of the true God: this was a great admission on their part, because it was opposed to their own prejudices, and to those of the age in which they lived, which was only inclined to view, in the exact resemblance which many of the Indian rites and ceremonies bore to the Levitical institutions and the ordinances of the old law, an excess of presumption in Satan which could thus lead him to imitate God. It was likewise opposed to the prejudices of former ages; we may even say, to those which Christianity itself had imbibed from Judaism, (which, though forced to admit that in the beginning man was not created without some knowledge of the true God, affirmed at the same time that that knowledge was speedily lost by the other nations of the earth, and only preserved in the line of their own virtuous patriarchs;) for the early fathers would not acknowledge that under the name of Jove, the god to whom the philosophers of Greece and Rome attributed every perfection with which it was possible for human conception to invest divinity, the Supreme Being was really adored; although to surpass the idea which they formed of him, not narratives of miracles and prodigies wrought in favour of one nation in particular, or of all mankind in general, since they would not aggrandize the notion of preconceived omnipotence, but some new idea, according to the theory of Locke, infused into the understanding, would absolutely be requisite. Torquemada affirms in the following passage of the thirty-third chapter of the sixth book of his *Indian Monarchy,* that the Indians of America had some knowledge of the true God: "Por esta manera, y suerte iba la religion, en quanto à los Dioses de todas las naciones que avia en todas las provincias que avemos nombrado, y otras que dejamos de nombrar, que corren por muchas leguas, hasta entrar en los reinos del Perù, donde mas, donde menos, *y casi la maior parte de este orbe, tiene algun conocimiento de el verdadero Dios;* pero este mezclado, y ofuscado con el del Demonio, al qual adoraron, y reconocieron, como à Dios, segun lo mas, ò menos, que del mismo Dios verdadero, Señor Nuestro, le fue permitido." "This was the fashion of their religion, as regards the gods of all those nations which were worshiped in all the provinces which we have named, and in others which we have omitted to mention, which extend over many leagues of territory, until we come to the kingdom of Peru, with some shades of difference; *and the greater part of this continent has some knowledge of the true God;* but mixed up and obscured with that of the Devil, whom they worshiped and acknowledged as God, in different degrees, accordingly as was permitted by the same true God, our Lord." Torquemada had supposed, in the preceding chapter, that the custom of placing the images of their ancestors in their houses and temples, had given rise, in some provinces of America, to idolatry; and he corroborates, by this supposition, the assertion of the interpreter of the *Vatican Codex,* that the seven tribes that proceeded from the seven caves to colonize America, worshiped the several founders of their respective lineages. He in another chapter incidentally relates a very curious fact, that Cabeça de Vaca and some other Spaniards travelling through some unknown provinces of America, arrived amongst certain Indians, who, on being questioned as to their religion, informed them that they worshiped *one God, the Creator of heaven and earth;* and being further asked from whom they derived that doctrine, they replied, from their ancestors, who had handed it down by tradition to them, when the Spaniards bid them persevere in the faith which they professed.

Cogolludo says, in his *History of Yucatan,* "Creian los Indios de Yucathan, *que avia un Dios unico, vivo, y verdadero,* que dezian ser el mayor de los dioses, y que no tenia figura, ni se podia figurar por ser incorporeo. A este llamaban Hunab Ku, como se halla en su Vocabulario grande, que comiença con nuestro Castellano. De este dezian, que procedian todas los cosas, y como à incorporeo, *no le adoraban con imagen alguna,* ni dèl la tenian, (como se dize en otra parte,) que tenia un hijo à quien llamaban Hun Ytzamna, ò Yaxcocahmut. Este parece ser el que aquel señor dixo al clerigo llamado Francisco Hernandez. No solo supieron aquellos religiosos (referidos en el capitulo antecedente) lo que se ha dicho; pero que tambien tenian, y usaban los Indios de Yucathan confession vocal de pecados, semejante en algo al santo sacramento de la penitencia, y algunas otras ceremonias de la Iglesia catolica. De lo que se confessaban, era de algunos pecados graves, y à quien los dezian era el sacerdote, ó medico, y la muger al marido, y este á la muger. El que avia servido de ministro de la confession, publicaba los pecados, que se le avian dicho, entre los parientes, *y esto para que todos pidiessen à Dios le fuessen perdonados, para lo qual hazian oracion particular.* En un papel antiguo, dize el Padre Lizana, que hallò, *que para este fin no buscaban Dios alguno de los que adoraban, mas que solo llamaban à Dios con muchos suspiros, diziendo Kue, que es lo mismo que Dios, y oy vemos, que el dezir à Dios Ku està de la misma manera introduzido en este tiempo, porque en su lengua Ku es lo mismo que Dios en nuestra Castellana, y no señala Dios alguno de los que vanamente adoraban los gentiles sino el solo Dios, que lo es verdadero.* Aunque este modo de oracion *con esta circunstancia* parece especial de los Indios Yucathecos, pero no lo de la confession vocal, que otras naciones de la Nueva España la hazian, como refiere Torquemada en diversas partes, y Remesal dize de los Indios de Chiapa, pero unos ni otros *obraban con tan buen fin,* como los Yucathecos. Avia entre estos Indios noticia alguna del

PLATE IV.

TEPEOLOTLEC*.

This name refers to the manner in which the earth was preserved after the deluge. The sacrifices of these thirteen days were not deemed good; they might be interpreted in Spanish, sacrifices of dung †.

* This name is compounded of Tepec *a mountain,* and Yolotle *a heart.* The Mexicans believed that the deluge ceased at the sound of the echo proceeding from the heart of the mountains.

The figure of Tepeolotlec at first appears to be a tiger, but on nearer examination it proves to be a man clothed in a tiger's skin, whose head appears between the jaws of that animal, and whose feet are also visible. This mode of representing the human species disguised almost completely in the animal form, was peculiar to the Mexican school of painting and sculpture. Amongst the drawings of M. Dupaix will be found a piece of sculpture resembling a bat, but which in reality is a human body immured within the skin of one, of which the face is the only part visible. Tepeolotlec is also said to have been the voice or echo, at the sound of which the waters of the deluge ceased; and since the Jews attribute very miraculous effects to *the daughter voice,* which they say they received when prophetic inspiration was withdrawn from them, a deluge may only mean sin spreading over the face of the earth, or, understood literally, water by which *sin* was cleansed away *and ceased,* (for the Mexicans, like the Jews, considered water a great purifier; and *the water of regeneration* was the name which the inhabitants of Yucatan gave to that with which they baptized their children.) Tepeolotlec may have been the voice of Totec, who clothed in a raiment of skin ascended the mountain of thorns, which, perhaps, was also named Tezcatepec, and from thence called to the people to come and do penance with him, and to repent of their sins. Many ages may create great confusion in old traditions, especially when the vehicle by which they have been transmitted to posterity has been such an imperfect one as allegorical paintings. It deserves further to be remarked, that in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* the figure of Tepeolotlec or Tescaulutli, (both which proper names signify *the heart of the mountain,*) immediately precedes, in the proper order of the *Mexican Calendar,* that of Quecalcoatle instituting sacrifices. It is not easy to explain why the symbols of some of the Apostles should have been wild and ferocious animals, since the lion of Saint Mark and the dragon of Saint George breathe nothing of Christian persuasion.

† Compare Ezekiel, chapter the fourth, verses 14 & 15.

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infierno, y parayso, ò à lo menos, que en el otro mundo despues de esta presente vida eran castigados los malos con muchas penas en lugar obscuro, y los buenos eran premiados en deleytosos, y agradables sitios, y en esta razon tenian cosas por ciertas, que les obligaban à no pecar, y saber pedir perdon, si pecaban, y tambien tenian tradicion de que el mundo se avia de acabar. Hablaban con el Demonio, à quien llamaban Xibilba, que quiere dezir el que se desaparece, ò desvanece. *Tenian fabulas muy perjudiciales de la creacion del mundo, y algunos (despues que supieron) las hizieron escrivir, y guardaban aun ya christianos bautizados, y las leian en sus juntas.* El Doctor Aguilar refiere en su informe, que tuvo un cartapacio de estos, que quitò à un maestro de capilla, llamado por sobrenombre Cuytun del pueblo de Zucop, el qual se le huyò, y nunca lo pudo aver, *para saber el origen de este su Genesis.* Recien venido yò de España, oi dezir à un religioso llamado Fr. Juan Gutierrez, y era gran lengua de estos Indios, *que avia visto otro escrito semejante al dicho, y que en èl tratando de la formacion del primer hombre se dezia, que avia sido formado de tierra y zacate,* ò pajas delgadas, y que la carne y huessos se avian hecho de la tierra, y el cabello, barba, y pelo, que ay en el cuerpo, era de las pajas ò zacate, con que se avia mezclado la tierra. No me acuerdo de mas singularidad, que si entonces yo presumiera aver de escrivir esto en algun tiempo, fuera possible huviesse tenido noticia de otros muchos desaciertos como el referido. Dize el Padre Lizana, que avia assimismo matrimonio muy natural entre estos Indios, *porque jamàs se les consintiò tener dos mugeres, à ellos, ni à ellas dos maridos:* mas podia el marido por algunas causas repudiar la muger, y casarse con otra, y la repudiada con otro, *y assi siempre era una sola la muger, y uno solo el marido.* Contradize Aguilar en su informe lo de una muger sola, diziendo que tenian muchas, y aunque con dificultad en su conversion à la fè, las dexaron, quedandose con sola la primera." *Historia de Yucathan,* lib. iv. p. 193.—It is certainly singular that the Indians of Yucatan should have invoked him whom they believed to be *the one true and living God,* of whom they made no graven image, by the appellation of Kue, in order to obtain remission after the act of confession for their sins; since this invocation reminds us of the *Κυριε ἐλεησον,* which was said or sung in churches in the earliest ages of Christianity: and likewise *that their Genesis,* of which it is a pity that we should know so little, contained a history so analogous to the Mosaic account of the first formation of man from the dust of the ground; which was perhaps the reason why they afterwards entertained so great a reverence for Moses, that, as Cogolludo informs us in the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of the seventh book of his *History of Yucatan,* a chieftain named Andrew Chi endeavoured at a period subsequent to the establishment of the Spaniards in that peninsula, to excite the people to idolatry by declaring that he was

The sign under which No. 1 is written*, caused paralysis and evil humours. 2 was appropriated to drunkards; and 3 was applied to the earth. Tepeolotlec presided over these thirteen days, in

* Cielo is written under the sign Ce Mazatl, or One Stag, to signify that that sign applied to heaven.

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him. "El mismo año el Capitan Palomar, teniente general desta governacion, condenò à muerte (hecho processo por via juridica) à un Indio natural del pueblo de Zotuta, llamado Andrès Chi, que solicitaba à todos los Indios de aquel territorio, para que fuessen à los montes à idolatrar, mintiendose otro Moyses, y diziendo que lo era, engañaba à los de su pueblo, persuadiendoles, que lo que hazia, era revelado del Espiritu Santo. Para esto ponia un mucacho encubierto en su casa, que de noche le hablasse, y dixesse lo que queria, oyendolo los Indios, que ignorantes del embuste, ciegamente se dexaban engañar." "In the same year Captain Palomar, the lieutenant-governor of this district, condemned to death by a judicial process, an Indian, a native of the town of Zotuta, named Andrew Chi, who solicited all the Indians of that territory to go to the mountains to commit idolatry: feigning himself to be another Moses, and declaring that he was him, he deceived his fellow-citizens, persuading them that what he did was by a revelation from the Holy Spirit. For this purpose he placed a boy in a concealed situation in his house, who conversed with him by night, and said whatever he pleased in the hearing of the Indians, who, ignorant of the fraud, blindly suffered themselves to be deceived."

The Indians of Yucatan, besides practising confession, had a particular kind of mass, which Cogolludo takes occasion to notice in the fourteenth chapter of the eleventh book of his *History*. "Dixeronle al Padre Estrada, que uno de aquellos apostatas era sacerdote idolatrico de los otros, *que les dezia Missa*, y que con aquella su comida de tortillas, y bebida de pozol la dezia, y que los demàs Indios idolatras les dixeron: 'Esta si que es Missa, que no la que dize tu compañero.'" It would appear from the following passage of the above-mentioned bull of Alexander the Sixth, that the Pope himself was not entirely ignorant of the fact, that one God the Creator, existing in heaven, was worshiped by the Indians. "Et ut præfati nuntii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ insulis et terris prædictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in cœlis esse." To what god but the God of the Jews, can either the words of the Pope or the conjectures and suspicions of the Spanish messengers possibly here refer? or why, if by one God the Creator was only meant a deity whom the Pope believed to have been falsely, like the Olympian Jupiter, invested with that title; and who, like the supreme divinity of the Hindoos, it were unreasonable to suppose would quickly have been discarded from the minds of the Indians,—does the above paragraph serve as a sort of premice to the concluding portion of the sentence "ac ad fidem catholicam amplexandum, et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti videntur, spesque habetur, quod si erudirentur, nomen Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in terris, et insulis prædictis facilè induceretur." Pedro de Cieça de Leon admits in his *Chronicle of Peru*, that the Indians had some knowledge of God the Creator, which title he says the all-powerful God did not permit the Devil to assume. "No porque (como dixe) estas gentes ignoren, que ay un solo Dios hazedor del mundo: porque esta dignidad no permite el poderoso Dios, que el Demonio pueda atribuyr a si, lo que le es tan ageno." *Chronica del Peru*, cap. xxiii. Although this passage is somewhat at variance with another which occurs in the seventy-second chapter of the same work: "Algunos Indios dizen, que en lugares secretos habla con los mas viejos este malvado demonio Pachacama: el qual como vee que ha perdido su credito y authoridad, y que muchos de los que le solian servir, tienen ya opinion contraria, conosciendo su error; les dize que el Dios que los Christianos predican y èl, *son una cosa*, y otras palabras dichas de tal adversario, y con engaños y falsas aparencias procura estorvar que no reciban agua del baptismo." "Some Indians affirm that this malicious demon Pachacama converses with the oldest amongst them in secret places, who, perceiving that he has lost his credit and authority, and that many of those who were accustomed to serve him, discovering their error, have now adopted a contrary opinion, tells them, that the God whom the Christians preach to them and he, are the same, with other statements which such an adversary chooses to put forth; and with artifices and false appearances he endeavours to prevent their receiving the water of baptism." The extreme pertinacity which the Indians, both of Peru and Mexico, displayed in adhering to their old religion, frequently laying down their lives in its defence, and affirming, when reasoned with upon the subject, that if Christianity was good for the Castilians, their own religion was no less so for them, is a convincing proof that the signs and wonders which the Mexicans believed that Huitzilopuchtli had wrought in their favour, (to which the hand and stretched-out arm so often occurring in Mexican paintings probably alludes,) and the oracles of Pachacama, revered in Peru, maintained the greatest ascendancy over their minds; and in this obstinacy, in blindly persisting in a persuasion which Christians told them was false, it must be confessed that the Indians closely resembled the Jews. The second reason for believing that Judaism was the religion of the Indians is, that they used circumcision. The third, that they expected a Messiah. The fourth, that many words incorporated in their languages and connected with the celebration of their religious rites, were obviously either of Hebrew or of Greek derivation. The fifth, that Las Casas the bishop of Chiapa, who had the best means of verifying the fact, was of this opinion. The sixth, that the Jews themselves, including some of their most eminent rabbis, such as Menasseh Ben Israel and Montecinio, who, though not a rabbi, was a Jew who had visited America, maintained it both by verbal statement and in writing. The seventh is the dilemma in which the most learned Spanish authors, such as Acosta and Torquemada, have placed their readers by leaving them no other alternative than to come to the decision whether the Jews had colonized America and established their rites amongst the Indians, or whether the Devil had counterfeited in the New World the rites and ceremonies which God gave to his chosen

which they celebrated a festival; and during the last four of which (where the hands are marked*) they fasted. Tepeolotlec means the Lord of Animals †.

The four days of the fast were in honour of SUCIQUECAL ‡, who was the man who remained in the earth which we now inhabit. Tepeolotlec is the same as the echo of the voice when it reverberates in a valley from one mountain to the other. They bestowed the appellation of the tiger on the earth, because the tiger is a very courageous animal, and they say that the deluge ceased at the reverberation caused by the echo in the mountains §.

* These hands have not been introduced in the plates, as they have no connection with the original paintings.

† Tepeolotlec does not literally signify a tiger, but it refers to the earth, the symbol of which was the tiger.

‡ The inhabitants of Matalcingo are said to have offered sacrifices in the month Pactontly to the god Suchiquecal, so that this name was both masculine and feminine.

§ A slight transposition of a sentence in the original text has here occurred.

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people. The eighth is the resemblance which many of the Indian rites and ceremonies bore to those of the Jews. The ninth is the similitude which existed between many of the Indian and many of the Hebrew moral laws. The tenth is the knowledge which the Mexican and Peruvian traditions implied that the Indians possessed of the history contained in the Pentateuch. The eleventh is the Mexican tradition of the Teoamoxtli or divine book of the Tultecas. The twelfth is the Mexican history of their famous migration from Aztlan. The thirteenth is the traces of Jewish superstitions, history, traditions, laws, manners, and customs, which are found in the Mexican paintings. The fourteenth is the frequency of sacrifices amongst the Indians, and the religious consecration of the blood and the fat of the victims. The fifteenth is the style of architecture of their temples. The sixteenth is the fringes which the Mexicans wore fastened to their garments. The seventeenth is a similarity in the manners and customs of Indian tribes far removed from the central monarchies of Mexico and Peru (but still within the pale of religious proselytism) to those of the Jews, which writers who were *not* Spaniards have noticed, such as Sir William Pen, who, recognising a probably fanciful likeness between the features of Indian and Jewish children, says, "When you look upon them, you would think yourself in the Jews' quarter at London. Their eyes are little and black like the Jews. Moreover they reckon by moons; they offer the first fruits; and have a kind of feast of tabernacles. It is said their altar stands upon twelve stones. Their mourning lasts a year. The customs of their women are like those of the Jews. Their language is masculine, short, concise, and full of energy, in which it much resembles the Hebrew. One word serves for three, and the rest is supplied by the understanding of the hearers. Lastly, they were to go into a country which was neither planted nor known, and he that imposed this condition upon them, was well able to level their passage thither; for we may go from the eastern extremities of Asia to the western extremities of America." *Pen's Letter on the Present State of the Lands of the English in America*, p. 156.—If Sir William Pen had had an opportunity of beholding on what purple thrones the sovereigns of Peru and Mexico sat, he would perhaps have exulted less at the idea of the Jews having miraculously passed from the old continent to the new, either by the division of the waters of the Euphrates, as foretold by Esdras, or of those of old ocean itself, the only remaining obstacle that could stop the march of the chosen people of God. We, for our own part, should be almost tempted at the bare mention of such a prodigy to declare ourselves of the same faith with the Irishman, who, on hearing a similar relation, gaily exclaimed, "I believe it all but the first step," if the subject itself, the credulity of mankind, was not calculated to excite rather our sorrow than our mirth, at beholding reason so fallen from her throne, and the great, the good, and the wise of ancient days deemed nought in comparison with an outcast race of jugglers who still pretend that they have "*an oath in heaven*," for ever constituting them the favourite people of God, and ratifying for ever the articles of the old covenant, which comprises all the items of the old law which Christians assert has been long since abolished, and which even if Christianity had never been established, or the old superseded by the new covenant, it might be argued on the grounds of fitness ought to have been abolished, since those laws were certainly not fit to be everlasting, some of which God himself declares in the following passage of the Old Testament to have been not good: "Wherefore also I gave them (the Jews) statutes that were not good, and judgments by which they should not live." And also on the grounds of expediency, because many of the Mosaic laws would have been quite unsuitable to the present age, and one which the Jews were strictly commanded to obey, enjoins an act which we find registered in our statute books as a crime to which both legal penalties and infamy are equally attached. We shall not lengthen this list by adding to it any more general reasons for forming the conclusion that America was in early ages colonized by the Jews, but shall here insert, as well on account of its importance as an historical document, as because it is but rarely met with in books, the famous bull of Alexander the Sixth, which vested in the person of the king of Spain, his heirs and successors, the possession of nearly the entire continent of America.

"Alexander, Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei. Charissimo in Christo Filio Ferdinando, Regi, et Charissimæ in Christo Filiæ

PLATE V.

QUECALCOATLE.

After the deluge the custom of sacrificing commenced *.

* It says in the eighth chapter of Genesis, " Egressus est ergo Noë et filii ejus, uxor illius, et uxores filiorum ejus cum eo: sed et omnia animantia, jumenta et reptilia, quæ reptant super terram secundum genus suum, egressa sunt de arcâ. Edificavit autem Noë altare Domino: et tollens de cunctis pecoribus et volucribus mundis, obtulit holocausta super altare. Odoratusque est Dominus odorem suavitatis, et ait ad eum: Nequaquam ultra maledicam terræ propter homines." According to Scripture, therefore, sacrifices commenced immediately after the deluge; but sin, according to the notions of the Mexicans, commenced much earlier, for they believed that sin began with time. Noah was called by the Mexicans, Patecatle and Cipaquetona: they said that he invented the art of making wine, which it is generally agreed was not known before the deluge (since the patriarchs Noah and Lot were ignorant of its effects), and that he was preserved with six others in the ahuehuete, or ark of fir, (which is one less than Moses says were saved from the deluge; since eight persons entered the ark,) and that shortly afterwards his descendants built the tower of Tulan Cholula, partly from curiosity to see what was going on in heaven, and partly from fear of another deluge; but that Tonacatecutli, becoming incensed at their presumption, destroyed the tower with lightning, and scattered the workmen. Hence the Mexicans probably bestowed the epithet of Tepeva, or the disperser, on their supreme deity. M. de Humboldt says that " The people of Mechoacan preserved a tradition, according to which Coxcox, whom they named Tezpi, embarked in a large acalli, (a word compounded of *atl* water, and *calli* a house,) with his wife, his children, and animals and seeds of various kinds, the preservation of which was valuable to mankind. As soon as the great spirit Tezcatlipoca commanded the waters to retire, Tezpi caused a vulture, the Zopilote, (Vultur aurea,) to leave the bark. This bird, whose food is carrion, did not return, on account of the number of dead bodies with which the earth only just drying was strewed. Tezpi sent other birds, of which the Colibri (or humming-bird) alone returned, bearing in its bill the leafy branch of a tree. Tezpi then perceiving that the earth began to be covered with new verdure, quitted his bark near the mountain of Colhuacan." The ark of Noah rested on Mount Ararat in Armenia. It should further be observed, that the confusion of tongues, as well as the dispersion of tribes, was recorded in the traditions of the New World. In attempting to explain how the Indians could have become acquainted with events of such remote antiquity, coeval with the foundation of the earliest monarchies, it would be absurd to suppose that their annals and native traditions extended backwards to a period unknown to Egyptian, Persian, Greek, or Sanscrit history.

Elisabeth, Reginæ Castellæ, necnon Legionis, Aragonum, Siciliæ, et Grannatæ, Illustribus; Salutem, et Apostolicam Benedictionem: Inter cætera Divinæ Majestati beneplacita Opera, et cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit, ut Fides Catholica, et Christiana Religio (nostris præsertim temporibus) exaltetur, ac ubilibèt amplietur, et dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac Barbaræ Nationes deprimantur, et ad Fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc Sacram Petri Sedem (Divina favente Clementia, meritis licèt imparibus) evocati fuerimus: cognoscentes Vos, tamquam veros Catholicos Reges, et Principes (quales semper fuisse novimus, et à vobis præclara gesta, toti pænè jam Orbi notissima demonstrant) ne dum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio, et diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo, efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc, jam dudum, dedicasse: quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Grannatæ, à Tyrannide Sarracenorum, hodiernis temporibus, per Vos, cum tanta Divini nominis Gloria facta, testatur: dignè ducimur, non inmeritò, et debemus illa vobis, etiam spontè, et favorabilitèr concedere, per quæ hujusmodi Sanctum, et laudabile, ac immortali Deo acceptum propositum indies, ferventiori animo, ad ipsius Dei honorem, et Imperii Christiani propagationem prosequi valeatis. Sanè accepimus, quod Vos, qui dudum animum proposueratis aliquas Insulas, et Terras-firmas, Remotas, et Incognitas, ac per alios hactenùs, non partas, quærere, et munire, ut illarum Incolas, et Habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem Nostrum, et Fidem Catholicam profitendam reduceretis: hactenùs in expugnatione, et recuperatione ipsius Regni Grannatæ, plurimum occupati, hujusmodi Sanctum, et laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis. Sed tandem (sicut Domino placuit) Regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium adimplere vestrum, dilectum Filium Christophorum Colon, virum utique dignum, et plurimum commendandum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Navigiis, et hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, et periculis, ac expensis destinatis, ut Terras-firmas, et Insulas, Remotas, et Incognitas, hujusmodi per Mare, ubi hactenùs Navigatum non fuerat, diligentèr inquireret. Qui tandem Divino

Topilcin* Quecalcoatle was born on the day of Seven Canes; and they celebrated on this same day of Seven Canes a great festival in Cholula †, to which they came from all parts of the

* Topilcin was a title of Quecalcoatle, originally signifying *our son,* which in later times was assumed by the priest who presided at human sacrifices.

† A famous temple was dedicated in Cholula to Quecalcoatle, which was much frequented by pilgrims. The inhabitants of Cholula entertained the extraordinary superstitious notion, that, if their city was ever taken hostile possession of by a foe, and that they pierced the sides and broke off the plaster of this revered teocalli, water would immediately flow forth and inundate the city so as to destroy the enemy. Accordingly, in the full belief that Quecalcoatle would take speedy vengeance on the Spaniards, they admitted them within their walls and demolished, as Torquemada records in the fortieth chapter of the fourth book of his *Indian Monarchy,* nearly all the plastering on the sides of the teocalli; but no water flowed forth, and the Spaniards made a dreadful massacre of the priests and the citizens.

Auxilio, facta extrema diligentia in Mari Occeano Navigantes certas Insulas Remotissimas, et etiam Terras-firmas, quæ per alios hactenùs repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt. In quibus quam plurimæ Gentes pacificè viventes, et (ut asseritur) nudi incedentes, neque carnibus vescentes inhabitant: et ut præfati Nuntii vestri possunt opinari, Gentes ipsæ Insulis, et Terris prædictis habitantes Credunt Unum Deum Creatorem in Cœlis esse, ac ad Fidem Catholicam amplexandum, et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti videntur, spesque habetur, quod si erudirentur, Nomen Salvatoris Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, in Terris, et Insulis prædictis facilè induceretur. Ac præfatus Christophorus, in una ex principalibus Insulis prædictis, jam unam Turrim satis munitam (in qua certos Christianos, qui secum iverant in custodiam, et ut aliàs Insulas, et Terras-firmas, Remotas, et Incognitas inquirerent, posuit) construi, et edificare fecit. In quibus quidem Insulis, et Terris jam repertis aurum, aromatha, et aliæ quam plurimæ res preciosæ diversi generis, et diversæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligentèr, et præsertim Fidei Catholicæ exaltatione, et dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges, et Principes) consideratis, more Progenitorum vestrorum claræ memoriæ Regum, Terras-firmas, et Insulas prædictas, illarumque Incolas, et Habitatores vobis (Divina favente Clementia) subjicere, et ad Fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos igitur hujusmodi vestrum Sanctum, et laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes, ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipsum nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur Vos, quam plurimum in Domino, et per Sacri Lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, et per viscera Misericordiæ Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, attentè requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi prosequi, et assumere prona mente Orthodoxæ Fidei zelo intendatis, Populos in hujusmodi Insulis, et Terris degentes ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendam inducere velitis, et debeatis: nec pericula, neque labores ullo unquam tempore Vos deterreant, firma spe, fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus Omnipotens conatus vestros fælicitèr prosequetur. Et ut tanti negotii Provinciam Apostolicæ Gratiæ largitate donati liberius, et audatius assumatis, motu proprio, non ad vestram, vel alterius pro vobis super hoc nobis oblatæ petitionis instantia, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, et ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolicæ Potestatis plenitudine, omnes Insulas, et Terras-firmas inventas, et inveniendas, detectas, et detegendas, versus Occidentem, et Meridiem, fabricando, et construendo unam lineam à Polo Arctico, scilicèt, Septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicèt, Meridiem, sive Terræ-firmæ, et Insulæ inventæ, et inveniendæ sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibèt Insularum, quæ vulgaritèr nuncupantur, de los Açores, et Caboverde, centum leucis versus Occidentem, et Meridiem. Itaque omnes Insulæ, et Terræ-firmæ, repertæ, et reperiendæ, detectæ, et detegendæ à præfata linea versus Occidentem, quæ per alium Regem, aut Principem Christianum, non fuerint actualitèr possessæ, usque ad Diem Nativitatis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, proximè præteritum, à quo incepit annus præsens millessimus quadrigentessimus nonagessimus tertius, quando fuerunt per Nuntios, et Capitanos vestros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum Insularum, Authoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in Beato Petro Concessa, ac Vicariatus Jesu Christi, quo fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominiis, Civitatibus, Castris, Locis, et Villis, Turribusque, et Jurisdictionibus, ac pertinentiis universis, vobis, herædibusque, et Successoribus vestris, Castellæ, et Legionis Regibus in perpetuum, tenore præsentium, donamus, concedimus, et assignamus. Vosque hæredes, ac Successores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, et omnimoda Potestate, Authoritate, et Jurisdictione facimus, constituimus, et deputamus. Decernentes nihilominus, per hujusmodi donationem, concessionem, et assignationem nostram, nulli Christiano Principi, qui actualitèr præfatas Insulas, et Terras-firmas possederit, usque ad prædictum Diem Nativitatis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, jus quæsitum sublatum intelligi posse, aut auferri debere. Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ, ut (et sicut etiam pollicemini, et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione, et Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad Terras-firmas, et Insulas prædictas, viros, probos, et Deum timentes, Doctos, Peritos, et Expertos, ad instruendum Incolas, et Habitatores præfatos in Fide Catholica, et bonis moribus imbuendum destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes. Ac

country and the cities, and brought great presents to the lords and papas of the temple; and they did the same on the day * on which he disappeared or died, which was the day of One Cane. These festivals happened at the expiration of every period of fifty-two years †.

PLATE VI.

QUEQUECOYOTL.

They called the lord of these thirteen days Quequecoyotl ‡, which signifies the old fox. They here fasted during the last four days to Quecalcoatle of Tula, who is he who was named after the first Calcoatle §; and now they name him One Cane, which is the star Venus, of which they tell the fables accredited amongst them. Quequecoyotl is the same as the tale-bearer, the tempted, or he who suffered himself to be tempted. They here celebrated the Festival of Discord, or rather they implied by this figure the discord which exists amongst mankind. They believed that those who were born on this sign (One Rose) would be musicians, physicians, weavers, and principal persons. Here, in this week of One Rose, when the year of the Rabbit occurred, they fasted to the fall of the first man, who was accordingly called Quequecoyotl, which signifies the old man.

* Perhaps *day* has been written by mistake for *year;* since Quecalcoatle is elsewhere said to have disappeared on the day of Four Earthquakes.

† The line which follows in the Spanish text, "Los que nacian en este dia de 7 Cañas si era mejor," is unintelligible: *serian mejores* must certainly be the right reading of the MS.; the meaning of which would be, "They believed that those who were born on the day of Seven Canes would excell." The reason for their so thinking was because Quecalcoatle was born on that day.

‡ Coyotle signifies *a wolf*, and is a generic term for any wild animal of the canine species. Hue means *old*, and its reduplication forms the superlative of the adjective. Mexican words commencing with *h*, are frequently spelt by Spanish writers with *q* or *g*; as *huetlan*, which signifies the old country, is written *guetlan*.

§ An abbreviation probably for Quecalcoatle.

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quibuscumque Personis cujuscumque Dignitatis, etiam Imperialis et Regalis Status, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis, sub Excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna, quam eo ipso (si contra fecerint) incurrant, districtius inhibemus, ne ad Insulas, et Terras-firmas inventas, et inveniendas, detectas, et detegendas versus Occidentem, et Meridiem, fabricando, et construendo unam lineam à Polo Arctico, ad Polum Antarcticum, sive Terræ-firmæ Insulæ inventæ, et inveniendæ sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibèt Insularum, quæ vulgaritèr nuncupantur de los Açores, et Caboverde, centum leucis versus Occidentem, et Meridiem (ut præfertur) pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia de causa accedere præsumant, absque vestra, ac Hæredum, et Successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque: in illo à quo Imperia, et Dominationes, ac bona cuncta procedunt Confidentes, quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si hujusmodi Sanctum, et laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore cum fælicitate, et gloria totius populi Christiani vestri labores, et conatus exitum fælicissimum consequentur. Verùm quia difficilè foret præsentes litteras, ad singula quæque loca, in quibus expediens fuerit defferri, volumus, ac motu, et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transumptis manu publici Notarii inde rogati subscriptis, et sigillo alicujus Personæ in Ecclesiastica Dignitate Constitutæ, seu Curiæ Ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in judicio, et extrà, ac aliàs ubilibèt adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ. Nulli ergò omninò hominum liceat, hanc paginam nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, et voluntatis, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem attentè hoc præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri, et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1493. quarto nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri, Anno primo."

They recount a prodigy, that in the year of the Rabbit, on the day of this Rose, a rose sprung up in that country, which immediately afterwards withered.

1.* Hell. 2. Tatacoada, the god of the Otomies.

PLATE VII.

YSNEXTLI.

They represented her as Eve, always weeping and looking at her husband Adam. She is called Ysnextli, which signifies eyes blind with ashes; and this refers to the time subsequent to her sinning by plucking the roses †. They accordingly declare, that they are still unable to look up to heaven; and in recollection of the happy state which she lost, they fasted every eight years on account of this fall, and their fast was on bread and water only. They fasted the eight days preceding this sign of One Rose; and on the arrival of this sign, they prepared to celebrate the festival. They say that all the days of their calendar are applied to this fall, because on such a day sin was committed. They were commanded to bathe themselves in the night, lest they should grow ill.

1. Dung ‡. 2. Suchiquecal.

PLATE VIII.

CHALCHIUHTLI.

Chalchiuhtli, who presided over these thirteen days, saved herself in the deluge. She is the woman who remained after the deluge. Her name signifies, the woman who wears a dress adorned with precious stones §. They here fasted four days, to death. They paint her holding in one hand a spinning-wheel, and in the other a certain wooden instrument with which they weave: and in order to show that of the sons which women bring forth, some are slaves, and others die in war, and others in poverty, they paint her with a stream, as if carrying them away; so that whether rich or poor, all were finally doomed to perish.

* 1. refers to the sign Ce Xochitl, or One Rose, which was dedicated to hell, probably on account of Suchiquecal having transgressed by plucking roses in Xochitlycacan, or paradise. 2. refers to Quequecoyotl, who was named by the Otomies, Tatacoada. The corresponding numbers have been omitted in the plate.

† These roses are elsewhere called "Fruta del arbol," the fruit of the tree.

‡ Father Fabrega says, in his *Commentary on the Codex Borgianus,* that the mother of the human race is there represented in a state of humiliation eating cuitlatl (κοπρος). The vessel in the left hand of Suchiquecal contains "mierda," according to the interpreter of these paintings.

§ Torquemada says that she was also styled Chalchiuhtlatonac, which name signifies *the queen of heaven,* and was invoked by the Mexicans at the baptism of their children. Sahagun affirms that she was another Juno: but it is probable that she was the same as Chimalman. The Jews are said, in the eighteenth verse of the seventh chapter of Jeremiah, to have made offerings to the queen of heaven: "Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven."

1. On this sign of One Cane *, they celebrated the other great festival in Cholula to Quecalcoatle, their first papa or priest. It occurred on the twenty-second of April.

PLATE IX.

TLACOLTEOTLE.

As soon as time commenced, sin began. They fasted on this sign of One Cane, when the year of the Cane occurred, in recollection of the various times in which the world had been destroyed.

1. Heaven.

PLATE X.

TONATIHU.

Tonatihu signifies the sun: he presided over these thirteen signs. (Wherever, either here or in any other part of this Calendar, two hands are marked, a festival is celebrated; and where there is only one, it is a fast.) They believed that those who were born in these days would be principal persons amongst the people. They said, that if an earthquake or an eclipse of the sun should occur on the day dedicated to him, which was that of Four Earthquakes, that on such a day the world would come to an end, which was the fourth destruction which it was fated to undergo, ... figures disposed in such a manner as to represent a man divided, with his legs and arms apart †.

1. This sign (One Skull ‡) was a day dedicated to the Devil and to evil. They supposed that those who were born on this sign would be magicians; for they were much addicted to the magical art of metamorphosing themselves into the shapes of various animals.

2. They pronounced sentence on this sign (Five Dogs) on adulterers and robbers. 3. Naolin, which signifies the four motions of the sun §.

* The sign of One Cane was dedicated to heaven, as that of One Rose was to hell, the words *cielo* and *infierno* being written under these two signs in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis.

† The figure of a man divided in the middle seems sometimes to occur in Mexican paintings, which here being alluded to in the description of Tonatihu, or the sun, may possibly have reference to the following fable of the creation of the first man by the sun, which Torquemada, on the authority of Andrew de Olmos, thus relates as traditionary amongst the Indians of Tezcuco: " Dicen, que estando el sol á la hora de las nueve, hechó una flecha en el dicho termino, y hiço un hoio, del qual salio un hombre, que fue el primero, no teniendo mas cuerpo, que de los braços arriba, y que despues salió de alli la muger entera."—*Monarquia Indiana*, lib. vi. cap. xliv. It cannot be expected that this mutilated passage should admit of any clearer elucidation.

‡ Moses Ben Maimonides mentions a superstition, which, as the Jews were acquainted with, it may be supposed they practised, of divining by a skull.

§ The Mexican sign Ollin is explained " temblor de tierra," an earthquake; and the sun in the sign Nahui Ollin, or Four Earthquakes, was a symbol of the end of the world or of the day of judgment. The ideas originally associated with the sign Nahui Ollin were religious, and not astronomical; but it being a great object with the early Spanish missionaries to efface from the minds of the Mexicans the remembrance of their former superstitions, which could be more easily accomplished by developing new meanings in the interpretation of their ancient monuments, than by attempting wholly to consign them to oblivion, the sign Nahui Ollin was referred to astronomy; and *El sol en quatro temblores de tierra*, became *El sol en los quatro temblores*.

PLATE XI.

MEZTLI.

Meztli was otherwise named Tectziztecatl; because, in the same way as the snail creeps from its shell, so man proceeds from his mother's womb. They placed the moon opposite to the sun, because its course continually crosses his; and they believed it to be the cause of human generation *.

1 †. Tectziztecatl, a kind of sea-snail. 2. The Moon.

PLATE XII.

NAVIHEHECATL.

Navihehecatl presided over these thirteen days, during the four last of which they fasted. They killed before his image those whom they took . . . . .‡. The merchants celebrated a great festival to him . . . . . ., since the deluge. The signification of this name is the four winds§; and they considered this sign unlucky: and accordingly when it arrived, all the merchants shut themselves up in their houses‖; for they said that it caused them to risk the loss of their property. They neither danced or indulged in sports of any kind on these days; for if on such a day an accident happened to any one, it was sure to prove highly dangerous, and therefore, although they chanced to be on a journey, they stopped and shut themselves up in the house.

PLATE XIII.

CINTEOTLI.

Cinteotli was the origin of the gods, it signifies abundance.

PLATE XIV.

TLAVIZCALPANTECUTLI.

Tlavizcalpantecutli is the star Venus, the first created light (Civahteltona) before the deluge.

* The Egyptian women prayed in childbirth to Isis, or the moon; and the Jews entertained great respect for the moon, as being *the lesser of the two great lights which God had created.*

† No. 1. refers to the shell of the snail at the back of the head of the figure, and 2. to the figure of Meztli, or the moon itself.

‡ The concluding portions of these sentences have been obliterated.

§ It is compounded of Nahui *four*, and Ehecatl *wind.*

‖ The Mexican merchants seem to have exceeded in superstition the other classes of the community, divining by their staffs before setting out on a journey, which on their return home they laid up with great care. The Jews were also superstitious about journeys,

They say that it was fire, or a star: it was created before the sun. This star, Venus, is Quecalcoatle. They say this is the star which we call Lucifer, from its light; and they accordingly paint it with the sign of One Cane, which was the day dedicated to it. He took this name on the occasion of his departure or disappearance*. Tlavizcalpantecutli is the God of Morning when it begins to dawn; he is also the Lord of the Twilight on the approach of night; he presided over these thirteen days, during the four last of which they fasted. It properly was the first light which appeared in the world; it here signifies the light which diffuses itself over things, or the surface of the earth.

PLATE XV.

MICHITLATECOTLE.

They place Michitlatecotle† opposite to the sun, to see if he can rescue any of those seized upon by the lord of the dead‡, for Michitla signifies the dead below. These nations painted only two of their gods with the crown called Altontcatecoatle, viz. the God of heaven and of abundance, and this Lord of the Dead, which kind of crown I have seen upon the captains in the war of Coatle.

PLATE XVI.

PATECATLE.

Patecatle‖ was the god of these thirteen days, and of a kind of root which they put into wine; since without this root, no quantity of wine, however much they drank, would produce intoxication. Patecatle taught them the art of making wine, for wine was made according to his instructions; and as men when under the influence of wine are valiant, so they supposed that those who were born during this period would be courageous. They considered these thirteen days all as fortunate; for Patecatle, the god of wine, the husband of Mayaquel, who was otherwise called Cipaquetona, he

and when proceeding on their travels invoked the angels Michael, Nemuel, and Shaatsiel, to accompany them. This was the practice of the Jews in former times, which, with many of their other customs, has probably become long since obsolete and forgotten.

* This alludes to the departure of Quecalcoatle to his former kingdom of Huetlapallan.

† Michitlatecotle, the Mexican Lord of the Dead, resembles Satan, or the Angel of Death of the Jews, whom they believe to stand by all dying persons with a drawn sword. *View of the Jewish Religion*, page 407. The Mexican proper name Xomunco bears also some likeness in sound to Munkir, the Angel of Death of the Mahometans.

‡ This curious passage deserves to be considered in connection with the first verse of the third chapter of the prophet Zechariah: "And he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him."

‖ Patecatle was the Noah of the New World. He is called by some writers Coxcox, as well as Cipaquetona. Coxcox was the name likewise of the king of Colhuacan, in whose states the Mexicans sought an asylum after their long peregrinations. The engraving in the *Giro del Mondo* of Gemelli, taken from a Mexican painting in the possession of Siguenza, erroneously said to represent the universal deluge, but in reality a history of the Mexican migration, may have caused some confusion in these proper names. The same migration is also represented in an original Mexican painting that formerly belonged to Boturini, in the first page of which is the river, or the arm of the sea, which Torquemada says he had observed in all the ancient paintings of this migration, and which, perhaps, was Tlapallan, or the Red Sea.

who was saved from the deluge, ruled over them. They placed the eagle and lion near him, as a sign that their sons would be valiant men.

PLATE XVII.

QUATLE. OCELOTLE.

Those who bore these arms of the eagle and tiger were their most redoubted and valiant warriors.

PLATE XVIII.

YTZLACOLIUHQUI, THE LORD OF SIN*.

Ytzlacoliuhqui was the lord of these thirteen days. They say he was the god of Frost †. They put to death before his image those who were convicted of adultery during these thirteen days: this was the punishment of married persons, both men and women ‡; for, provided the parties were unmarried, the men were at liberty to keep as many concubines as they pleased §.

Ytzlacoliuhqui was the Lord of Sin, or of blindness, who committed sin in Paradise ‖; they therefore represent him with his eyes bandaged ¶, and his day was accordingly the lizard, and like

* He might have been called the Lord of Sin, from offenders being amenable to his laws.

† Some persons, indulging in an over-eager inclination to adapt heathen mythology to sacred history, have likened Moses to Saturn; others have confounded him with Bacchus:—but what likeness, we may ask, really exists between that youthful conqueror, whose praises were sung at Alexander's feast, and the hoary legislator of the Jews?

‡ Boturini says that Tlaloc was the god who punished adulterers, and that those who were sentenced to death by the Mexican laws for this crime, were called by the common name, without distinction of sex, of Tlazolteominqui; but that men who died for this offence were designated by the term of Tlazolteotlahpaliuhqui, "el que le aplastan la cabeza con una losa," "he who has had his head smashed with stones;" this name being given to the man from the punishment which he suffered for his crime, as among the Jews the name of "he who has had his shoe loosed" was given, according to the law of Moses, to the man who refused to raise up seed to his brother by marrying his widow. Women who were put to death for adultery were called Tlazolteocihuatl.

§ It says, in the third verse of the eleventh chapter of the First Book of Kings, of Solomon, "And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart." Solomon's wisdom differed from the σωφροσυνη of the Greeks.

‖ Moses sinned, in the opinion of the ancient fathers, in the mountain, when he threw down and broke the tables of stone on which God had written the commandments.

¶ It is singular that the figure of a person with his eyes bandaged, or with a veil over his face, should frequently occur in Mexican paintings; as also the more curious representation of a hand half covering the mouth or lower part of the faces of other figures. Moses covering his face with a veil when he descended from Mount Sinai (after his continued conference for forty days and forty nights with Jehovah, without tasting food during that long period of time), in order that the children of Israel might not be dazzled by his countenance, is an act much applauded by the rabbis. But God's covering the face of Moses when he put him in the cleft of the rock, while his glory passed before him, is much more celebrated by them; in commemoration of which, "on the feast of Expiation, or the Chipur, which is the festival mentioned in the sixteenth and twenty-third chapters of Leviticus, and the seventeenth verse: At the close of the day the rabbi extends his hands towards the people and gives them the benediction of Moses; which the people receive with great humility and devotion, covering their faces with their hands, imagining that God is behind the rabbi, and that man for that reason ought not to have the assurance to cast his eyes upon him. Thus the hand of God covered the face of Moses, whilst that holy legislator humbled himself before his Divine Majesty for the sins of the Israelites; and this, in all probability, is the real rise of this custom." *Religious Ceremonies of All Nations.* Although it would appear from the thirty-third chapter of Exodus, that the hand of God was placed over the eyes of Moses until he entirely removed it on advancing a little beyond the rock where Moses stood, when his face could no longer be visible to him; still, as the Jews have frequently contradicted the text of Scripture by their traditions, and as it says in the tenth verse of the thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel

the lizard he is naked. He is a star in heaven, which, as they pretend, proceeds in a backward course, with its eyes bandaged; they considered it a great prognostic*.

All these thirteen days were bad; for they affirmed that if evidence should be adduced in these days, it would be impossible to arrive at justice: but they imagined that judgment would be perverted in such a manner that unjust condemnations would ensue; which was not the case in the days immediately following, when, if evidence was adduced, they supposed that justice would be made apparent. They believed that those who were born on the sign dedicated to him, would be sinners and adulterers.

1. ADAM after he had sinned. 2. He† is turned towards the south, which denotes toil.

PLATE XIX.

Women taken in adultery were put to death by being stoned‡, as appears by this painting. They were strangled previously to being stoned, and were afterwards thrown into some public place where all might see them.

PLATE XX.

YXCUINA, THE WIFE OF MIQUITLATECOTLE.

Yxcuina presided over these thirteen signs. She was the goddess who, according to their account, protected adulterers. She was the goddess of salt§ and of dissolute persons: they accordingly

* This star was supposed by the Mexicans to exercise an influence in war. If the Jews, who always interpret the text of Scripture literally, had entertained any such superstitious notions respecting any particular star, they probably would have defended it by referring to the twentieth verse of the fifth chapter of Judges; "They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera."

† The star is here meant. The south was named Huiztlan, which signifies *the place of thorns.*

‡ Stoning to death was the common punishment for adultery among the Jews; but it was ordained in the ninth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Leviticus, that the daughter of a priest who violated her chastity should be burnt with fire. This punishment must have frequently taken place, as the priests among the Jews were so numerous, and the Scripture represents the people to have been so corrupt. It is a singular coincidence, that both among the Jews and the Mexicans, burning to death and stoning should have been the punishment of adultery and the breach of chastity, for a priest who was guilty of the latter offence was sentenced by the Mexican laws to be burnt alive.

§ Salt was an article *highly esteemed by the Mexicans;* and the Jews always offered it in their oblations, it being so ordained in the thirteenth verse of the second chapter of Leviticus: "And every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering: with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt." *It is probable that the Levites liked salt.*

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like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face;" they might have maintained that it was the lower and not the upper part of the face of Moses that the hand of God covered. A veiled face occurs in the twenty-second plate of the Collection of Mendoza, No. 14, as the symbol of the city Yxquemecan. It is somewhat odd, in tracing up effects to causes, to find that the history of Moses covering his face with a veil in the Pentateuch, caused Moore more than three thousand years afterwards to write the poem of *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan;* which is founded on the history of a Jew, who in the early ages pretended to be the Messiah, and wore a veil to verify the prophecy of Moses, that God would raise up a prophet like unto him; but whose imposture being detected, and the people refusing to serve him, the impostor himself disappeared, and his deluded followers spread abroad a fabulous story of the manner of his death.

painted her with her cheeks of two colours; and they put to death adulterers before her image. She was likewise the goddess of prostitutes, and of immodest women and impostors. They believed that those who were born in these days would be profligate.

1. They thought that those who were born on the sign of Five Cipactli,—if men would be rogues, and if women prostitutes. 2. Tlaçolteotl, the goddess of dirt or of immodesty. 3. The woman who sinned before the deluge, who was the cause of all evil, and of all deceit.

PLATE XXI.

THE SERPENT QUECALCOATLE.

This is the serpent Quecalcoatle. In order to show that this is a festival of fear, they paint this dragon in the act of devouring a man.

PLATE XXII.

YZPAPALOTLE.

He was called Xounco, and after he sinned Yzpapalotle* or a Knife of Butterflies. The signification of this name is a knife of butterflies; and accordingly he is surrounded with knives and wings of butterflies; for they say that he sometimes appears to them, and that they only see feet resembling those of an eagle†. He was the lord of these thirteen days: they say that he always carries in his hands a knife. Yzpapalotle was one of those who fell from heaven with the rest who fell from thence, whose names are the following: Quecalcoatle, Ochululuchesi, Tetzcatlipoca, Oaletecotle, and Hatzcanpantecoatli. These were the sons of Citlaliace and Citlalatona‡, of whom they relate a fable, that being in a garden they ate some roses; but that this recreation lasted only a short time, as the tree presently afterwards cracked.

1. They considered the day of One House bad; for they affirmed that on such a day demons came through the air from the sky in the shape of women, such as we name witches, who assembled where the highways met in the form of a cross, and in remote and solitary places: and accordingly, that wicked women and adulteresses, when they wished to free themselves of their sins, went alone by night, and without the covering of a veil§, to the crosses of the highways, where they said that

* Eve is elsewhere called Yzpapalotle, or the goddess of pollution.

† As they only beheld the feet of an eagle, they were at liberty to represent in any fanciful manner they pleased the rest of the person of Yzpapalotle.

‡ Or of the morning.

§ Peter Martyr says that the women of Yucatan carefully covered their faces with veils, which was also customary with the Jewish women.

the witches assembled, and sacrificed there with their tongues; and joining hands with them, gave them the clothes which they wore, which they left behind*; and this was a sign that they left off sin. 2. Death. 3. Eve after she had sinned.

PLATE XXIII.

TAMOANCHA or XUCHITLYCACAN.

These words may be interpreted "*there is the mansion from which they fell, and where they gathered the roses.*" In order to show that this festival was not good, and that it was celebrated from fear, they painted this tree bloody and cracked in the middle, as if it were named the Festival of Toil by reason of that sin. This place, which is called Tamoancha or Xuchitlycacan, is the place where those gods were created whom they feared: it signifies the Terrestrial Paradise; and accordingly they relate that those gods being in that place, transgressed by plucking roses and branches from the trees; and that on this account Tonacateutli and his wife Tonacacigua became highly incensed, and cast them out of that place; and that thus some of them came to the earth, and others went to hell, and that these were those who excited their fears.

1. They believed that those who were born on Thirteen Eagles would be valiant men. 2. The Tree.

PLATE XXIV.

XOLOTLE.

Xolotle saved himself before the deluge; he presided over these thirteen days. They say that he was the god of twins, and of all things which grow double, which we call twins, or when Nature produces any monsters out of her common course †. They believed that he who was born in these days would be a tale-bearer ‡, or a rogue.

PLATE XXV.

TLALCHITONATIO.

Tlalchitonatio § signifies properly the world. The real passage of the rays of the sun lies between

* The putting off the old clothes seems to have been a sign of their putting off the old man, or former evil habits.

† Xolotle signifies in the Mexican language *play* or *sport;* and Clavigero says that the Axolotle, an ugly lizard of the Mexican lake, was so named on account of its ridiculous and monstrous shape. The European doctrine of the lusus naturæ seems to have traversed the Atlantic.

‡ It says in the sixteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people." Liars and tale-bearers were held in great abhorrence by the Mexicans. Quecalcoatle is said to have invented the custom of piercing the tongue and ears through with a sharp wooden skewer, as a remedy against the sin of lying and of listening to lies.

§ The Mexicans bestowed very sublime epithets on their supreme deity, Tonacatecutli, which name signifies the Lord of

light and darkness; and accordingly they painted the sun over his shoulders, and death beneath his feet. They say that is the warmth or heat which the sun communicates to the earth, and they therefore affirm that when the sun sets, it goes to give light to the dead.

1. They believed that he who was born on the sign of Six Winds would be rich and prudent. 2. The Sun. 3. The Earth. 4. Darkness.

PLATE XXVI.

CHALCHIUHTOTOLI.

Chalchiuhtotoli * is the same as the devil or Tetzcatlipoca before the deluge, whose name signifies a smoking mirror, or one that casts forth smoke. He was the lord of these thirteen days. This is the likeness of Tetzcatlipoca; they paint him in this manner, for they say that they never see the devil, but only the feet of a cock or of an eagle.

PLATE XXVII.

1. The sign of Seven Eagles was a day applied to the moon, and unlucky for all such as became ill on that day of diseases of the heart, which they affirmed would be incurable. Women who suffered from certain indispositions sacrificed to the moon on this day for the recovery of their health.

Flesh; viz. Tlaclitonatic, the Creator of Light; Teotl, God; Tloque-Nahuaque, the Self-existing; Ipalnemoani, the Giver of Life; Moyocayatzin, the Almighty; Titlacahua, the God whose servants we are; Tlacahuepan, the God of Sacrifice; Tetzcatlipoca, he who appeared on the smoking mountain of the mirror; Telpuctli, the Ever-young; which last appellation Torquemada compares with the following passage in the Psalms; "Todas las cosas se acaban, y como vestidura se envejecen, pero vos, Señor, permaneceis en un mismo ser, y vuestros años no descaecen;" and Yaoteotle, the God of Armies or of Hosts, which resembles the ineffable name Yah, or Ya, of Jehovah, for teotle simply signifies *God*, and is added to the proper name Yao, of which it does not form a part. It deserves to be remarked, that the Mexicans *likewise* applied the term *Ineffable* to their supreme god Tonacatecutli: and in the same way as the Jews were accustomed to represent the Deity by the symbol of a human eye within a triangle, so they appear to have typified the divine intelligence by a mirror or an eye placed upon three sticks transversely crossing each other. The Peruvians, whose religion was derived from the same source as that of the Mexicans, believed in one supreme Deity, the sole creator and governor of the universe, whom they named Viracocha, and Pachacamack or Pachayachachik, which signifies the creator of heaven and earth, and called Usapu, or Wonderful; and it is not a little singular, that the Ingas, as Acosta testifies, should have waged sanguinary wars to compel the surrounding nations to acknowledge Viracocha, and to embrace *a religion which God himself had revealed:* "Narrant porrò Ingarum reges, cum cæteras hujus orbis gentes bellis infestarent, hanc suæ expeditionis *unicam et palmariam causam* asseruisse, quod æquum esset mortales in universum omnes sibi subjici aut subjugari, ut ex quorum familiâ patriâque omnes orti essent, quibusque *vera et genuina religio a Deo patefacta vigeret.*"—*Acosta De Naturâ Novi Orbis,* lib. I. cap. xxv.

* Chalchiuhtotoli is a proper name compounded of *Tototl,* a bird, and *Chalchiutli,* a precious stone of penance, and signifies the bird that wears the precious stone of penance. The figure of this bird frequently occurs in the Mexican mythological paintings, where it is always represented with a chain of jewels round its neck. It is also sculptured on the top of the Latin cross which M. Dupaix discovered among the ruins of Palenque. It is more probable that this god was the same as Tlaloc, than that he was Tetzcatlipoca; at the same time it must be observed, that the symbol called the smoking mirror was common to three of the Mexican gods; to Tetzcatlipoca, Quecalcoatle or Huitzilopuchtli, and to Chalchiuhtotoli.

2. This painting shows their manner of sacrificing with their ears *, and the way in which they carried the bag containing the incense to offer to the Devil, corresponding to the sacrifices which they made to him.

PLATE XXVIII.

CHANTICO OR CUAXOLOTLE.

Chantico presided over these thirteen signs, and was the lord of Chile or of the yellow woman †. He was the first who offered sacrifice after having eaten a fried fish ‡; the smoke of which ascended to heaven: at which Tonacotle became incensed, and pronounced a curse against him that he should be changed into a dog, which accordingly happened, and they named him on this account Chantico, which is another name for Miquitlatecotle. From this transgression the destructions of the world ensued. He was called Nine Dogs, from the sign on which he was born. Chantico or Cuaxolotle is the symbol which the country people of Xolotle § wear on their heads.

1. They believed that he who was born on the sign of One Wind would be healthy by his nativity; but that if he grew ill, it would cause him severe pains of the side, and cancer, for those were the diseases applied to this day. 2. Fire. 3. Water.

PLATE XXIX.

QUECALCOATLE.

Quecalcoatle is here represented in a golden house. This sacrifice to Quecalcoatle accordingly corresponds with the preceding. The day of Nine Dogs was applied to magicians, who were such persons as transformed themselves into the shapes of various things, such as beasts, serpents, and other similar things; they therefore feared this day exceedingly, and shut themselves up in their houses, in order not to be witnesses of such metamorphoses occurring in the city ‖.

* Piercing the tongue and ears, which the Spaniards called sacrificing those parts of the body, because it was a religious austerity attended with great effusion of blood, was according to Mexican tradition a remedy invented by Quecalcoatle against the sin of lying. The Mexican laws punished liars with the greatest severity.

† The complexion of the Mexican women was naturally tawny; and in some paintings of the Collection of Mendoza their faces appear to be painted with yellow ochre. Perhaps by Chile, or the yellow woman, might be meant the Indian female race generally, in opposition to women inhabiting the other parts of the globe.

‡ It is said in the Vatican Manuscript that his crime consisted in his temerity in sacrificing without having previously fasted. It may here be observed that the Jews were not accustomed to offer sacrifices of fish. Compare Tobit, chap. viii. ver. 2.

§ The symbol of the city of Xolotlan in the Collection of Mendoça is the head of a dog.

‖ The following account of two of these magicians is taken from Torquemada. "The first and holy bishop of Mexico, Brother Juan de Zumarraga, seized one of these conjurors, whose name was Ocelotl, and put him on board a ship with the intention of sending him to Spain as a very mischievous person; but the ship was lost near the port, and nothing more was heard of him. That holy man Brother Andrew de Olmos seized another, a disciple of the before-mentioned, and kept him in jail; when the same Indian informing the said Father that his master could release him from prison, the Father told him that he might release him if he could; but he did not do it, as in fact he could not. It is true that some time afterwards, handing him over to the said holy bishop, and not being sufficiently attentive to his custody, he released himself and disappeared."

PLATE XXX.

XOCHIQUECAL.

Xochiquecal was the wife of Cinteutle, or the sin of the first woman *; she presided over these thirteen signs.

Women who employed themselves in washing, weaving, and spinning, celebrated a festival in her honour, for she was the first who spun and wove.

1. The day of One Eagle was applied to soldiers, for they said that on such a day many eagles came through the air and changed themselves into the figures of boys: this was to inspire them with courage to go to war and to die in it, which was what they most desired, for by this means they went to heaven. This festival lasted during these thirteen days. They affirm that the fall or descent of the demons from heaven occurred on the sign of One Eagle: they believed likewise that women who were born on this day would be prostitutes.

PLATE XXXI.

THE DEVIL TEMPTING EVE BEFORE SHE SINNED.

They also celebrated on the sign of Seven Cipactli the same festival of the coming of the eagles.

1. The Devil in the act of tempting Eve before she sinned. 2. The smoking Mirror.

PLATE XXXII.

YZTAPALTOTEC.

Yztapaltotec is a flint or the knife of the warrior, or of the unhappy or afflicted, or rather it signifies the bloody knife of the mournful † Yztapali. It signifies properly the soil or the surface of the earth. They paint the figures behind, which are twenty ‡, each different from the other; for as on each of these festivals, dances and sacrifices were celebrated, so they were obliged to appear dressed in the manner of the idol. Yztapaltotec presided over these thirteen days. They paint him here surrounded with knives, or within a large knife, which is the same as a sword or fear.

1. They believed that he who was born on the sign of One Rabbit would be long-lived.

* It would appear from this passage that Xochiquecal, besides being the proper name of the first woman who sinned, was a peculiar term in the Mexican language by which to express *original sin*.

† "Mournful" is not the precise meaning of the Spanish word *dolorido*, nor did any English word present itself entirely corresponding to it in signification; *dolorido* alludes to the painful austerities practised by Totec, who was accustomed to go about in a raiment of human skins, calling to the people to come to him and do penance on the Mountain of Thorns.

‡ These are the large figures represented in the Mexican calendar under the signs of the days of the year.

2. They thought that those who were born on the sign of Five Herbs* would be merchants, and rich.

3. Toil, to which the corresponding figure† is fire or purification immediately following. They here kept a fast in commemoration of the fall of the first of the human race. This idol is represented with his mouth open ready to devour.

The year of Six Canes commenced on the twenty-fourth of February.

PLATE XXXIII.

FIRE.

Heaven was created on the sign of One Cane ‡, animals on that of One Flint, and the earth on that of One Rabbit; the earth in the proper acceptation of the term, or its surface, which is full of trouble and affliction.

* The absurd sense in which some of the Jewish rabbis understand the twenty-second verse of the sixty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, "For as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands," affirming that when the restoration of the Jews shall take place, their lives will be lengthened in duration so as to equal that of trees, and that those who die at a hundred will die young,—makes it probable that if the Jews invented the signs of the Mexican calendar, the sign *Malinalli*, which is composed of the jaw-bone of a man with grass growing out of it, would refer to the fourteenth verse of the sixty-sixth chapter of Isaiah, which they say alludes to the resurrection, where it says, "Your bones shall flourish like an herb," which verse they commonly repeat at funerals.

† That is to say, the figure which accompanies it on the opposite page; for in the Mexican paintings two pages are seen at the same time, which from the flat manner in which they unfold appear to be only one.

‡ The Cane was dedicated to heaven, either on account of its being the symbol of Quecalcoatle, or because they kindled by means of it the new fire, by inserting the one end into a cylindrical hole bored in a plank, and turning the other round with extreme rapidity between the hands. This agrees with what is stated in the Vatican MS., that the first sign after the commencement of time began with the second figure, which was One Cane Chaos preceded the creation of heaven, and Yzpactli seems to have been the sign which presided over the elements when the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of it.

THE THIRD PART.

PLATE I.

THE eight tribes that proceeded from the seven caves, were the Chichimecas, the Nonoalcas, the Michiuacans, the Couixcas, the Totonacas, the Cuextecas, the Olmecas, and the Xicalangas.

a. Vichilupuchitl. 1. Tonanicaca*. 2. Tezuactepetl. 3. Ayaualulco. 4. Culhuacan. 5. Puchutla. 6. Tototepetl.

PLATE II.

1. Mechuaca. 2. Tlacauacaltepetl†. 3. Maxuquetepetl. 4. Tentutepetl. 5. Pantepetl. 6. Tlataltepetl.

PLATE III.

1. Hecatepetl. 2. Coacalco. 3. Tlacaxupantepetl. 4. Hulmetepetl. 5. Xilotepetl. 6. Çunpango.

PLATE IV.

1. Coatepetl. 2. Suchetepetl‡. 3. Tezalco.

PLATE V.

1. Tolpatlac. 2. Pantepetl. 3. Ayaualulco. 4. Yaualultepetl. 5. Tezcatepetl. 6. Viztepetl. 7. Tetepantepetl.

* The country of our grandmother.

† This name signifies *the mountain of sacrifice*. The pyramid, or temple of Cholula, was designated by the Indians, Tlachihualtepetl, in allusion to the sacrifices performed on it; and Tetzcatlipoca was named Tlacahuapan, or the God of Sacrifice, in whose honour a famous temple was erected in Tezcuco.

‡ Tecontepetl has been printed by mistake for Suchetepetl, in the Spanish text.

PLATE VI.

1. Coatepetl. 2. Tecontepetl. 3. Piazcontepetl.

PLATE VII.

1. Vixatitan. 2. Yxcuepaliztepetl. 3. Texcala. 4. Coaonepantepetl*.

PLATE VIII.

1. Tequepayuca.

* The place of reckoning the faggots.—The priests, whose office it was to burn the bodies of the dead, were named Coacuiles, whence *coao* came probably to signify *a faggot*. It may be inferred from certain passages in the Old Testament, that the Levites when about to prepare for the solemnity of a burnt sacrifice, laid the faggots in a certain order; and it would appear that this custom was observed by the Mexicans in their burnt sacrifices.

THE FOURTH PART.

PLATE I.

IN the year of Eleven Canes according to their computation, and 1399 according to ours, when the Mexicans had elected ACAMAPICHITLY *, and after the war of Chapultepec, in which they were rendered subject to Culhuacan, in which state of servitude they continued for the space of one hundred years, they determined to become their own masters; which resolution they put into execution, and marched under their leader, and, as they affirm, set fire to the temple of Culhuacan. And this was the first war which they waged against others.

1. Culhuacan. 2. ACAMAPICHITLY.

PLATE II.

In the year of Five Rabbits according to their calculation, and 1406 according to ours, ACAMAPICHITLY died, and VITZILIHUITLY was elected king. ACAMAPICHITLY had given two of his daughters in marriage; the one to the lord of Coatlichan, and the other to the lord of Culhuacan.

* The origin and history of the Mexican kings is enveloped in much obscurity. The Collection of Mendoza only mentions eight; while Gomara gives a long list of sovereigns who preceded Acamapichitly upon the throne. This difference may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that the Mexican kings became possessed through maternal inheritance of the state of Culhuacan, and that the sovereigns enumerated by Gomara were their ancestors in the female line,—kings of Culhuacan, but not of Mexico,—which would also explain why Cortes continually calls the Mexicans the people of Culhua, when he evidently does not mean to confound them with those of Acolhuacan. From the following passage of *Acosta's History of America* it will appear how much credit that learned writer thought was due to histories of their country written by the Indians themselves, and how little to accounts published by the Spaniards: "Postquam vero ab Hispanis in Indiâ diutius agentibus, Indi novis literis legendi et scribendi artem edocti fuissent, gestorum suorum multa commentaria edebant, cum singulari gaudio ac admiratione a magnatibus Hispanis plurimis lectitata: et quidem qui Mexicanorum historiam evolvit, is nullo labore facile deprehendit merum eam Hispanorum commentum esse, non ipsorum Indorum collectionem." Since these histories written by the Indians were read by many Spanish noblemen, it is evident that they must have been composed in Spanish; but numerous as they are said to have been, none of them have ever been published except the *Peruvian Monarchy*, by Garcilasso de la Vega, whose mother was an Indian of the royal race of the Ingas, but whose father was a Spaniard, and who cannot strictly speaking be called an Indian historian. Baron de Humboldt says, that some valuable works relating to the ancient history of Mexico, in the Mexican language, are still preserved in Mexico, especially one by Chimalpain, the publication of the original text of which, with an accompanying translation, would, at the same time that it removed all doubts as to its authenticity, throw much new light on the antiquities of America. With respect to the censure which Acosta has passed on the Spanish writers on the affairs of America, it may be observed that it cannot apply to the *Indian Monarchy* of Torquemada, which was not published when Acosta wrote his History, and which the author says he employed twenty years in composing.

And on the death of ACAMAPICHITLY, the Mexicans determined to go to Azcapucalco, which was one of the capital cities of that country, to request a king to govern them; but in the mean time agreeing to return home and to elect from among themselves a king, they acted in conformity with this resolution, and the election fell on a certain person named VITZILIHUITLY, who became their first king.

1. ACAMAPICHITLY.

PLATE III.

VITZILIHUITLY allied himself in marriage with a grand-daughter of ACAMAPICHITLY, the daughter of the princess of Coatlichan, by whom he had no sons: he therefore took two slaves; the one named the Painter, and the other the Embroideress, by whom he had sons.

1. They are supposed to go. 2. VITZILIHUITLY. 3. The Painter. 4. They return.

PLATE IV.

In the year of Thirteen Rabbits, and 1414, VITZILIHUITLY died, and CHIMALPOPOCA his son was elected king.

1. VITZILIHUITLY. 2. CHIMALPOPOCA, which name signifies A smoking shield. 3. The Smoking Shield.

PLATE V.

In the year of Twelve Rabbits, and 1426, CHIMALPOPOCA died, and YTZCOHUATL was elected king. During the reign of YTZCOHUATL the Mexicans revolted, as they no longer chose to obey the state of Azcapucalco, and they remained free and exempt henceforward from servitude to the two cities*. The general who captured Azcapucalco was named MAXTLE and ECLIPSE.

1. CHIMALPOPOCA. 2. YTZCOHUATL, the signification of which name is A serpent armed with knives. 3. MAXTLE and ECLIPSE.

PLATE VI.

In the year of Thirteen Flints, and according to our calculation 1440, YTZCOHUATL died, and HUEHUEMOUTEÇOMA was elected king. None of the sovereigns who ruled over Mexico, either before or after his time, placed on their heads a crown such as the God of Abundance wears and the

* Culhuacan and Azcapucalco.

Lord of Hell, except this MOTEÇOMA, and the other whom the Marquis found when he conquered the country. It was a sign of their being great lords.

1. YTZCOHUATL. 2. HUEHUEMOTEUCHCÇOMA.

PLATE VII.

In the year of Seven Canes, and 1447 according to our calculation, it snowed so heavily that lives were lost. In the year of One Rabbit, and 1404, so severe a famine occurred that the people died of starvation. In this year Tezcuco revolted, which had been a district subject to Coatlichan. This revolt was brought about by the intrigues of the Mexicans; and accordingly, in the same year, the Mexicans added to the confederacy the state of Tlacuba; and from this year, Tezcuco, Tlacuba, and Mexico, which had before been dependent states, remained in possession of the sovereign authority over all the cities of the lake; which said cities the Marquis found at the head of the rest on his arrival in the country.

1. Snow. 2. Famine. 3. NECAUALCUHUTLY.

PLATE VIII.

In the year 1456 the state of Guaxocingo seized on the province of Atlixo, and banished from thence the people of Guacachula, to whom this province and city had belonged.

1. They represent by this symbol the binding of their years, which occurred at the expiration of every period of fifty-two years. 2. The year of Two Canes, or 1455, was fertile, and is therefore represented by the symbol of green branches.

PLATE IX.

In the year of Five Rabbits, and according to our calculation 1458, after the Mexicans had acquired sovereign rule, they reduced to obedience the province of Chicoaque, which is situated to the north of Mexico, and is near Panico. This was the first province which they subdued. In the year of Seven Flints, and 1460, an earthquake occurred. It deserves to be remarked that, since, according to their belief, the world was again to be destroyed by earthquakes, they recorded in their paintings, each year, the omens which occurred.

PLATE X.

In this year the Mexicans subjected the province of Coatlaxtla, which is twenty leagues distant from Vera Cruz, leaving every city in their rear conquered. This was in the year of Eight Houses,

or in 1461, which province is the same as Guacacualco, which is in that district where the Spaniards found the Indian slave Malinale, whom they constantly name Marina. In the year of Nine Rabbits, or 1462, the Mexicans fought a battle with the Xiquipilcans, who inhabit a city in the valley of Matalcingo. This year an earthquake occurred.

PLATE XI.

In the year of Twelve Houses, or in 1465, whilst the Chalchese were absent on an expedition against the provinces of Tlascala and Guaxocingo, the Mexicans entered their province in their rear and conquered it, which from that year remained subject to them. All the old people say that from the year 1465, in which the war occurred between the Mexicans and the Chalchese, the custom of sacrificing prisoners taken in war commenced; for until that period they sacrificed animals, and only drew blood from the bodies of men.

PLATE XII.

In the year of One Cane, or in 1467, the Mexicans and the Tlaxcaltecas fought a great battle on the borders of Texcuco, on a mountain called Tliluquetepec, which signifies the black mountain. In the year of Three Houses, or in 1469, Huehuemouteuhçoma died, and Axayacatzin was elected king.

1. An earthquake. 2. Huehuemouteuheçoma. 3. Axayacatzin. 4. Face of Water.

PLATE XIII.

In the year of Six Flints*, or of 1472, the Mexicans commenced making hostile incursions into the valley of Matalcingo, which was their first entrance into Toluca.

* In this year of Six Flints, Nezahualcoyotl the celebrated king of Tezcuco died, who was succeeded by Nezahualpilli the father of Cacamatzin. This prince was a poet, a statesman, a philosopher, and a warrior, and his son resembled him; but a shade of cruelty seems to have pervaded the character of both. Torquemada (who considers Nezahualcoyotl the Solomon of the New World) likens him also to David, in the attachment which he formed for the wife of one of his bravest generals, Temictzin, and in the method which he devised of getting rid of him, by sending him to the army, and secretly desiring that he should be placed in the hottest part of the battle. It is impossible, on reading the following account of the stratagem on this occasion adopted by Nezahualcoyotl, not to fancy that the Mexicans might have had a tradition of that which ages before had been successfully practised by David.

"Despues que fueron creciendo, en numero, estas Poblaçones, y poder de los Reies Mexicanos, y Tetzcucanos, fue tambien tenido por grande autoridad casar los Unos con los Otros; y asi sucedia, que aunque acostumbraban tener muchas Mugeres, no legitimaban sino aquella, que avian recibido de una de estas partes, y el Hijo maior, que de esta Señora nacia, hacian Heredero de sus Estados; y aunque esto corriò en general, por la maior parte de esta Nueva-España, se guardò mas en particular en el Reino de Tetzcuco. Y aunque Neçahualcoyotl, que en esta saçon Reinaba en èl, tenia muchas Mugeres, en las quales avia avido los Hijos, que dejamos referidos, y otros algunos mas, no tenia por legitima ninguna de ellas, por ser Hijas de sus Vasallos, y Criados; y pareciendole ser yà tiempo de buscar Muger, de quien pudiese dejar legitima sucesion, començò à pensar el modo, que tendria, para averla. Sucediò, pues,

PLATE XIV.

In the year of Seven Houses, or in 1473, Mexico and Tlatelulco went to war, when the Mexicans proving victorious, the others remained in a state of subjection, and never again had a king.

que andando metido en estos cuidados, adoleciò de enfermedad de melancolia, y llegò à estàr de manera, que nada le daba gusto, ni contento, y viendole los Privados de su Casa, triste, y melancolico, y deseosos de que no lo estuviese, le persuadieron à que dejase la Ciudad, y los negocios de el Govierno, y se fuese à alguna parte, donde tomando placer, olvidase sus tristeças. Aceptòlo el Rei, y dijoles, que queria venirse à esta Ciudad, y parte de Tlatilulco, donde tenia uno de sus Famosos Capitanes, llamado Temictzin, de quien mas se fiaba, y que mucho queria; porque (como decimos en otra parte) desde el tiempo del Emperador Techotlala, avia en todos los Pueblos, y Ciudades grandes, Tetzcucanos, Mexicanos, y Chichimecas rebueltos, y mezclados, y mandòles, que le diesen aviso de esto, en secreto, y ocultamente, sin que el Rei Motecuhçuma, ni los Señores de la Ciudad lo supiesen, por escusar ruido, y cumplimientos publicos. Hiçose asi, y avisado este Capitan, adereçòle su Casa, y Jardines, para aver de recibirle. Vinose Neçahualcoyotl por Agua, y metiòse en Casa de Temictzin, con la poca Gente, que trajo de su servicio, y en su Compañia. Fue recibido de Temictzin, con grande reverencia, teniendose por dichoso, y bienaventurado, de que su Rei quisiese hacerle aquel favor, y merced.

" Este Temictzin, aunque era Vasallo del Rei Neçahualcoyotl, era tambien Descendiente de Sangre Real, por lo qual, y por ser grande Amigo de Totoquihuatzin, Rei de Tlacupan, le diò una de sus Hijas, por Muger, pero quando la recibiò, tenia la Niña solo siete Años, aunque yà en esta saçon era de diez y siete, à la qual Temictzin no avia tratado como à Muger, sino criado como à Hija; y asi la Moça se estaba Doncella, como quando de sus Padres la avia recibido, porque hasta entonces no le avia hecho falta, por tener otras, como tenia, las quales le servian en este ministerio. Llegòse la hora de comer, y para aver de servirle la hora de comer, y para aver de servirle la comida, le pareciò à Temictzin seria bien, que la Doncella, su Muger, fuese la que sirviese en el Combite, tanto por ser Hija del Rei, quanto por ser tan grande Rei, à quien servia. Saliò la Moça, con el primer servicio, y poniendolo delante Neçahualcoyotl, hiçole una mui grande reverencia: Puso el Rei los ojos en ella, y fuele mui agradable la honestidad de sus Ojos, la gallardia de su Cuerpo, y hermosura de su Rostro; y pareciendole ser cosa nueva, salir Muger à administrar la vianda (por ser costumbre, que los Hombres sirviesen à la mesa) preguntò, que quien era aquella Doncella? y fuele respondido, que Muger de Temictzin, su Criado, y Hija del Rei Totoquihuatçin, Comiò el Rei; pero ya otro del que à la mesa se avia sentado, por aver puesto los ojos en la Doncella, y aversele aficionado; y despues de aver comido, quedando solo, diò orden, con un Privado suio, que inquiriese de su Casamiento, lo que avia, porque queria saber lo cierto de aquel caso; y como Temictzin avia recibido esta Doncella, por Muger, y si lo estaba, ò ya se avia aprovechado della. Todo esto pasò en secreto, y con el mismo, le fue respondido, que hasta entonces Temictzin, la trataba, como à Hija, sin aver cuidado de mas.

" Estuvose el Rei algunos pocos Dias en esta recreacion, y mas por raçon de goçar de la vista de Matlalcihuatçin (que asi se llamaba esta Doncella) que ya le tenia robado el Coraçon, que por estar en este Jardin, y holgura (que para tenerlas mui à placer, mejores, y mas cumplidas, las tenia en su Casa) y aunque ya Matlalcihuatçin, era su maior pena, y cuidado, como era prudente, y Sabio, jamàs lo quiso dar à entender. Fuese à Tetzcuco, con el mismo secreto, que vino, y ya llevaba Neçahualcoyotl pensado de aver esta Doncella, por su Muger (pues por otra via, ni modo no le era licito, ni bien contado averla) y tambien llevaba traçada la manera, como entregarse de ella, si el Tiempo no le era contrario; y fue, que à pocos dias despues de aver llegado, ordenò de embiar Gente, contra una Provincia, que se le avia rebelado, y junta la Gente, embiò à llamar à Temictzin, y encareciòle lo mucho que le estimaba, la confiança, que de èl hacia, y el credito con que lo trataba, y que por esto avia determinado de embiarle contra los Rebelados, dandole el Exercito, que avia hecho, para que fuese à sujetarlos, y que le pedia acudiese en el caso, con las veras, que de èl esperaba. Temictzin, que no sabia el intento del Rei, y entendiendo que era por honrarle, aventajandolo à los otros Principales Capitanes de su Reino, agradeciòselo con la maior humildad, que pudo, ofreciendose de hacer lo que le mandaba. Dispuso su Gente, ordenò su Jornada, y fuese en seguimiento de ella. El Rei, que por este modo ordenaba su casamiento, llamò à dos de sus mui Fieles, y Leales, que iban en la Jornada, y llevaban cargo de Tlacateccas (que eran como acompañados de General) y dijoles, con grande encarecimiento, que quando estuviesen en lo mas fuerte de la Batalla, pusiesen à Temictzin en el maior riesgo de ella, para que los Enemigos le acometiesen, y viendole en el peligro, le dejasen, para que en èl muriese, y que succediendo asi, como pensaba, le embiasen luego à dar aviso de lo hecho. Prometieronlo asi los Tlacochcalcas, y llegando contra los Rebelados, dieronse la Batalla, y aunque quedaron vencidos, muriò en ella Temictzin, como el Rei lo avia ordenado: De lo qual tuvo aviso mui presto. El que huviere leido las Sagradas Escripturas, hecharà de vèr, ser este caso el mismo (ò poco menos diferenciado) que el que le succediò al Rei David, en el adulterio, que tuvo con Bersabè, Muger de el Fidelisimo, Leal Vasallo suio Urias; pues para encubrir el pecado, y adulterio que contra èl avia cometido, le embiò à la Guerra, y mandò al Capitan Joab, que lo pusiese en lo mas fuerte de la Batalla, y alli lo dejase morir, como sucediò, y despues de muerto, se casò con Bersabè, Muger que avia sido del Inocente Urias.

PLATE XV.

In the year of Ten Canes, or in 1475, the province of Coatlaxtla, which had been subdued by the Mexicans in former years, revolted, which they proceeded to reduce again to obedience.

In the year of Eleven Flints, or in 1476, the Mexicans conquered the province of Oquila. In this year there was an eclipse of the sun.

PLATE XVI.

In the year of Twelve Rabbits, or in 1478, the Mexicans conquered Xiquipilco.

PLATE XVII.

In the year of One Flint, or in 1480 according to our computation, an earthquake took place.

" Teniendo, pues, aviso el Rei Neçahualcoyotl, de lo hecho, y que esta muerte no se le podia atribuir à èl, por aver sido tan en secreto, embiò luego sus Embajadores al Rei Totoquihuatçin, pidiendole à su Hija Matlalcihuatçin, por Muger; pues aunque lo avia sido de Temictzin (ya Difunto) sabia, que estaba Doncella, y que mas la avia tratado, como à Hija, que como à Muger. Totoquihuatçin, que vido mejorado el Estado de su Hija, en esta ocasion, otorgò con la peticion de Neçahualcoyotl, y embiòle à decir, que no solo gustaba de recibirle por Yerno, sino tambien de estimarle por Señor. Trataronse las Bodas, y vinieron Embajadores al Rei Motecuhçuma, que era Tio, del Desposado, y à otros Señores Mexicanos, los quales, todos vinieron en el casamiento; y entregaron la Doncella à Neçahualcoyotl, la qual recibiò por su legitima Muger. Dicen sus Historias (como se vè en las Pinturas de sus Libros) que quando la llevò à Tetzcuco, le fueron acompañando los Reies de Mexico, y Tlacupan, cada qual, con los Señores de su Corte. Y que allà duraron las Fiestas, y Regocijos de las Bodas, espacio de quatro Meses. Y à un Año despues de averse casado con esta Señora, naciò de ella Neçahualpilli, que fue el que le succediò, en su Reinado.

" Estaba Neçahualcoyotl, en este tiempo, ocupado en hacer sus Casas Reales, y Palacios, que fueron llamados Hueitecpan (que quiere decir el Gran Palacio) porque aunque los Reies, sus Antecesores, avian tenido sus Casas mui cumplidas, y grandes, no eran de tanta Magestad, como el Señorio, que tenian, pedia; pero Neçahualcoyotl, que sabia la Grande Authoridad de un Rei, y èl en si la representaba, quiso, que las Casas de su asistencia, mostrasen con su grandeça, lo mismo que sentia de su autoridad. Acabadas las cosas, con muchos cumplimientos (como Yo las vide, antes que començaran à derribarlas los Españoles, para aprovecharse de los Materiales, en el Edificio de sus Casas) hiço llamamiento de todos los Señores, sujetos à su Imperio, y los de Mexico, y Tlacupan, para que se hallasen à la Estrena de ellas (porque asi era costumbre, entre ellos.) Fue mui de vèr, todo lo que en orden de esto huvo; los Gastos fueron mui grandes, las Fiestas, muchas, los Combidados, bien hospedados, y todos mui contentos, de vèr la Prudencia, y buen Govierno del Rei. Quando fue tiempo, de despedirlos, hiçoles à todos un Combite General, donde fueron servidos, mui conforme à sus Reales Estados, y Personas. Despues de aver comido, mandò à sus Cantores, que viniesen à regocijar los estremos, y finales de la Fiesta; y como era Hombre de grande Entendimiento, y mucha, y profunda Consideracion, viendo tanto Rei, y Señores, y Capitanes Valerosos juntos, y que las cosas de esta vida se acaban, quiso darselo à entender à todos, para que movidos de esta consideracion, usasen de ellas, como de Censo, que es al quitar, y mandò à sus Cantores, que cantasen un Cantar, que èl mismo avia compuesto, que començaba asi: *Xochitl mamani in huehuetitlan,* &c. que quiere decir: Entre las Coposas, y Sabinas, ai frescas, y olorosas Flores, y prosiguiendo adelante, dice: Que aunque por algun tiempo estàn frescas, y vistosas, llegan à saçon, que se marchitan, y secan. Iba prosiguiendo en decir, que todos los Presentes, avian de acabar, y no avian de tornar à Reinar; y que todas sus Grandeças, avian de tener fin, y que sus Tesoros, avian de ser Poseidos de otros; y que no avian de bolver à goçar de esto, que una vez dejasen, y los que avian començado à comer con gusto, fenecieron la Fiesta con lagrimas, oiendo las palabras del Cantar, y viendo ser asi verdad, lo que decia."

PLATE XVIII.

In the year of Four Canes, or in 1483, Axayacatzin died, and Tiçoçic was elected king. In this year the first stone was laid of the great Cu* which the Christians found on their arrival in the country. In the year of Five Flints, or in 1484, the city of Cinacantepec† revolted, which had been subject to the Mexicans, who marched against it, and caused such a massacre that scarcely a man was left alive ; for they dragged them all to the Cu‡ of Mexico, to sacrifice them upon the great Cu, which was not as yet finished. All the old people say that this was the first sacrifice of men which occurred in that country, for till that period they had only sacrificed animals and birds§. This

* Torquemada says that this temple was erected on the site of one more ancient; and as the temple founded by Solomon is said in the Old Testament to have been enriched out of the spoils taken in war, so the temple of Huitzilopuchtli in Mexico was rendered sumptuous in the same manner. The same historian says, in the forty-sixth chapter of the second book of the *Indian Monarchy*, that the first Montezuma, returning a conqueror from a war in which he had been engaged, enlarged and adorned this temple with the spoils. "Y de buelta de esta guerra ensanchò el templo, y casa de su major dios Huitzilopuchtli, y la adornò de muchas cosas de los despojos que trajò desta guerra." Bernal Diaz asserts, in the ninety-second chapter of his *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, that the foundations on which the greater temple of Mexico stood had been laid *more than* a thousand years before the arrival of the Spaniards in that country ; and that they found, on digging them up and partitioning for building the ground which they occupied, gold, silver, pearls, chalchiuitles, and other precious stones in considerable abundance amongst them, which gave rise to a law-suit between those who claimed this treasure on the part of the king, and some of the tenants of the soil ; which was decided in favour, as it would appear, of the king, and appropriated for the expenses of building the church of Saint James in Mexico, for the reason alleged by Bernal Diaz,—that the nobles of Guatemuz the last king of Mexico, who was still living, affirmed "that all the citizens of Mexico who lived at that period (the period of laying the first foundation of the temple,) threw those jewels and whatsoever else was found in the foundations into them ; *and that it was so recorded in the books and paintings of their antiquities.*" We shall extract the entire of this curious passage from the history of Bernal Diaz, because he gives a much greater antiquity to the city of Mexico than other historians assign to it, and fixes the epoch of its foundation at the beginning of the sixth century. Where so much is involved in mystery, much must also be doubtful ; but other Spanish writers have significantly remarked, that the temple of Huitzilopuchtli was twice rebuilt, like that of Jerusalem, which was in fact three times rebuilt, although some commentators on Scripture deny that the temple which Herod built was a new temple, because it does not agree with their interpretation of the prophecies. "Y porque ay muchos Cues pintados en reposteros de conquistadores, è en uno que yo tengo, que qualquiera dellos al que los ha visto, podra colegir la manera que tenian por de fuera ; mas lo que yo vi y entendi, è dello huvo fama en aquellos tiempos que fundaron aquel gran Cu, en el cimiento dèl avian ofrecido de todos los vezinos de aquella gran ciudad, oro è plata y aljofar è piedras ricas, è que le avian bañado con mucha sangre de Indios que sacrificaron, que avian tomado en las guerras, y de toda manera de diversidad de semillas que avia en toda la tierra, porque les diessen sus idolos victorias, è riquezas, y muchos frutos. Diran aora algunos lectores muy curiosos; que como pudimos alcançar á saber que en el cimiento de aquel gran Cu echaron oro y plata, è piedras de chalchiuis ricas, y semillas, y lo rociavan con sangre humana de Indios que sacrificavan, *aviendo sobre mil años que se fabrico, y se hizo?* A esto doy por respuesta, que desde que ganamos aquella fuerte y gran ciudad, y se repartieron los solares, que luego propusimos, que en aquel gran Cu aviamos de hazer la iglesia de nuestro patron è guiador Señor Santiago, è cupo mucha parte de solar del alto Cu para el solar de la santa iglesia, y quando abrian los cimientos para hazerlos mas fixos, hallaron mucho oro y plata, y chalchihuis, y perlas, è aljofar, y otras piedras. Y assi mismo á un vezino de Mexico, que le cupo otra parte del mismo solar, hallo lo mismo: *y los oficiales de la hazienda de su Magestad demandavanlo por de su Magestad, que le venia de derecho, y sobre ello huvo pleyto, è no se me acuerda lo que passò; mas de que se informaron de los caciques y principales de Mexico, y de Guatemuz, que entonces era vivo, é dixeron, que es verdad, que todos los vezinos de Mexico de aquel tiempo echaron en los cimientos aquellas joyas, è todo lo demás, é que assi lo tenian por memoria en sus libros, y pinturas de cosas antiguas, è por esta causa se quedò para la obra de la Santa Iglesia de Señor Santiago."—Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva-España*, cap. lxxxxii.

† The signification of Cinacantepec is *the mountain of bats.* The sculptured head of this animal is found among the monuments of M. Dupaix.

‡ Cu, pronounced Su, was a name which the Spaniards gave to the great temple of Mexico, or to the largest teocalli inclosed within its walls. They borrowed this word from the language of the island of Hayti or St. Domingo.

§ It deserves to be remarked, that although Peter de los Rios frequently refers to the traditions preserved in the recollections of the old inhabitants of the country, he never in a single instance appeals to the testimony of ancient Mexican paintings; from which omission

chastisement and slaughter was to strike terror, in order that, whilst prosecuting the conquest of the country, others might fear them.

1. Tiçoçic. 2. A Face of Water. 3. Axayacatzin.

PLATE XIX.

In the year of Seven Rabbits, or in 1487 according to our computation, Tiçoçic died, and Ahuitzotl was elected king. In the year of Eight Canes, or in 1487 according to our computation, the great Cu of Mexico was completed. The old people affirm that in this year four thousand* men were sacrificed, who were dragged from the provinces conquered by the Mexicans†. The number four hundred is signified by each of the branches painted above in black.

1. Tiçoçic. 2. Ahuitzotl, which is the name of an aquatic animal famous in Mexican mythology.

PLATE XX.

In the year of Nine Flints, or in 1498, the Mexicans conquered a city of Thiapa called Cabelilotepec, and the city of Cuxcaquatenango. In the year of Ten Houses, or in 1489, a very large comet, which they name Xihuitli, appeared.

1. The comet‡.

may be inferred their great scarcity, as well as from the fact of his having undertaken the laborious task of copying out an entire Mexican Calendar, together with so many other historical paintings. Acosta thus describes the proscription which these paintings underwent three hundred years ago in the province of Yucatan, which was equally carried into effect in all the other provinces of South America: "In provinciâ Yucatan quâ episcopatus Honduras est, libri sunt reperti, quorum folia certâ formâ complicata et colligata videbantur. In his Indi, tum divisiones temporum, tum planetarum motus, ut et animalium ac rerum naturalium aliarum naturas proprietatesque, unà cum rerum gestarum exemplis, operosâ diligentiâ descripserant. Cum vero concionatorum quispiam ad populum subinde vociferaretur, libros eos mere magicos et nigromanticos existere, adeoque ut universim collecti exurerentur, urgeret, facile quod voluit, impetravit. Quod tamen factum non Indi solum, sed ipsi quoque Hispani ut qui terræ illius secreta et abdita vehementer sciturirent, paulo post gravissime doluerunt."—*Acosta, Indiæ Occidentalis Historia*, lib. vi. cap. 7. It is not at all surprising that the Spaniards should have been curious to learn the secret history of Yucatan, where they found the cross adored, the doctrine of the Trinity known, and many rites analogous to those practised amongst Christians established.

* Pedro de los Rios, in estimating the number of prisoners sacrificed by Ahuitzotl at only four thousand, has omitted to reckon the two Mexican numerals in the painting, resembling in figure purses, each of which signifies eight thousand. These numerals were called Xiquipilli, which name means *a purse*. In the Ottoman dominions they reckon large sums of money by purses, which amount to a certain sum in specie, and bear a fixed value.

† Acosta says that the conquests of this king extended over New Spain as far as Guatimala, which province was 300 miles distant from Mexico; and Torquemada estimates the number of prisoners sacrificed by Ahuitzotl at the dedication of the great temple, at seventy-two thousand three hundred and forty-four. This enormous butchery of human victims some Mexican historians appear to have considered as an act merely of a religious nature, in accordance with the manners of that age and people; for Acosta says that Ahuitzotl was "mitis et humanus supra modum," and the interpreter of the Collection of Mendoza, that he was a man of "alegre condicion." If this was really the case, and superstition could so mar a naturally good disposition, how true is that line in Lucretius, by which his enemies have endeavoured to prove him an atheist, who only rejected the Roman mythology because he thought it contained fables unworthy of the gods.

‡ The comet is represented in the plate by the symbol of a caterpillar; in allusion, perhaps, to its supposed pernicious influence in causing blights.

PLATE XXI.

In the year of Twelve Canes, or in 1491, the people of Tlacuva sacrificed a lord of Huaxotzingo named Tototacaque, whom they had taken prisoner in war. In the year of One House, or in 1493, the Mexicans conquered the provinces of Atlicapa and Xicochimalco*.

PLATE XXII.

In the year of Two Rabbits, or in 1494, the Mexicans conquered the city of Mictla, which is in the province of Huaxaca. In this year an earthquake occurred. In the year of Four Flints, or in 1496, the Mexicans conquered the city of Cultepec, where, at present, are the mines. In this year there was a great eclipse of the sun†.

1. The sun.

PLATE XXIII‡.

This daughter of Mountecoma, after she had sons by the lord of Tequantepec, informed her husband that her father never would have given her to him as a wife, except for the purpose of

* Atlicapa y Xicochimalco is the right reading of the Spanish text. The latter name signifies a wasp on a shield, which symbol is found in the painting.

† Baron de Humboldt infers from this painting that the Mexicans were informed of the real cause of eclipses: which would not be at all surprising, considering the many other curious things with which they were acquainted, the knowledge of which they must have derived from the West. It is proper to observe, that in the 127th page of the Vatican MS., where a representation of the same eclipse occurs, the disk of the moon does not appear to be projecting over that of the sun. The Vatican MS. appears to have been copied from a Mexican painting similar to, but not the same as Pedro de los Rios copied, whose notes and interpretations the Italian interpreter had before his eyes, and strictly followed.

‡ Two paintings with their explanations, containing an account of the remarkable events that occurred during the last five years of the reign of Ahuitzotl, have been here torn out. Their loss is however supplied by the Vatican MS. These events appear to have been the inundation of Mexico, mentioned by Acosta, (who says that it was represented in a Mexican painting preserved in the Vatican library, and seen by a brother of his own Company of Jesus, who highly gratified the librarian by explaining the meaning of it to him,) and some triumph gained by Montezuma, as general of the Mexican armies, during the life-time of Ahuitzotl, who, it is singular, should be painted bearing two banners in the form of a cross, and wearing a human skin, which confirms what would otherwise be deemed an incredible account of Torquemada: "Este acto y manera de vestidura, dicen que usó aquel famoso y excelente rei Motecuhcuma en alguna fiesta, y no debió de ser él solo, sino que debió de venir corriendo la costumbre de mas atrás, de otros sus antepasados y reies comarcanos, para lo qual guardaban algun cautivo que fuese señor y principal, para que su piel ajustase en lo noble de la sangre con la del rei, que se la vestia, y bailaba con ella un rato, haciendo sus ademanes y contenencias reales en servicio de sus dioses, al qual espectaculo dicen que concurria todo el pueblo, y de muchas partes de la comarca, como á ver cosa particular y rara, que siempre lo son las acciones de los reies."—*Monarquia Indiana,* lib. vii. cap. 20.

The spectacle of a king performing a dance as an act of religion, was witnessed by the Jews as well as by the Mexicans; for it says in the sixth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel: "So David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David with gladness. And it was so, that when they that bare the ark of the Lord had gone six paces, he sacrificed oxen and fatlings. And David danced before the Lord with all his might; and David was girded with a linen ephod. So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet. And as the ark of the Lord came into the city of David, Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she

contracting ties of amity with him, and of having the opportunity of entering into his country and of subduing it; which when he became aware of, he took such precautions that no Mexican was in future admitted into his country until the arrival of the Spaniards, who conquered it. In the year of Ten Rabbits, or in 1502, AHUITZOTL died, and they elected MOUNTECOMA as king, whom the Marquis found on his arrival in the country. In the year of Eleven Canes, or in 1503, there were heavy falls of snow in Tlachquiaco, in the province of Mixteca. 1. MOTEUCÇOMA.

PLATE XXIV.

In the year of Thirteen Houses, or in 1505, there was a great famine in the Mexican province, and they went as far as the province of Pango for bread. In the year of One Rabbit, or in 1506, so many rats appeared in the province of Mexico, that they devoured the grain sowed in the fields, and the inhabitants were consequently obliged to get up by night and to carry torches through the fields. In this year MOUNTECUMA caused a man to be shot to death with arrows in this manner. The old people say that this was for to appease the gods; since, during a period of two hundred years, they had always been afflicted with famine in the year of One Rabbit. In this year they had been accustomed to bind their years, according to their mode of reckoning; but as it had always proved disastrous to them, MOUNTECUMA changed it to that of Two Canes.

PLATE XXV.

In the year of Two Canes, or in 1507, there was an eclipse of the sun and likewise an earthquake, and eighteen hundred soldiers were drowned in the river of Tucac, which is beyond Ytzuca on the road to Mixteca, whilst engaged on a military expedition against the provinces. In this year the temple of the New Fire was completed (for they always kindled new fire at the expiration of every period of fifty-two years). This temple was situated on the mountain Visasthl, four leagues distant

despised him in her heart." And in the twentieth verse of the same chapter: "Then David returned to bless his household; and Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said, 'How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself to-day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!'"

The early Spanish writers, many of whom believed that both the Mexican and Peruvian governments, laws, and commonwealths, were modelled after the Jews, (though the reason they assign for this being the case is absurd, viz. that Satan was jealous of the institutions which God had given to his chosen people, and therefore determined to imitate them in the New World,) have not failed to point out some curious traits of resemblance to Hebrew usages, in certain public acts performed by the king, or Inga, and in the external marks of reverence which those monarchs received from their subjects. These consisted in the king's presiding at sacrifices; in his dancing on great religious festivals; in his being consecrated to the regal dignity by the hands of the high priest with a pretended holy unction; in his being invested with a crown and bracelets, as the insignia of majesty; in his wearing a signet fastened to his arm; in his keeping, as a matter of state, many wives and concubines; in his rending his garments on receiving the intelligence of any national calamity, such as the defeat of his armies; in his saluting with a kiss the general who brought him tidings of a victory; in his employing regular couriers for the dispatch of news of a public nature; and in the ceremonies with which his subjects were accustomed to enter the palace, taking off their sandals as on approaching the temples of their gods; and when speaking to the king not presuming to look him in the face, but keeping their eyes fixed on the ground; and finally, in the ceremony of burning incense and precious perfumes at his funeral.

from Mexico: it was named Cabeculihuacan, whence the new fire was transported over the whole country; for they affirmed, that whosoever on that day kept in the old fire in his house would meet with a thousand misfortunes. In the year of Four Houses, or in 1509, they perceived a light by night, which lasted longer than forty days. Those who saw it say that it was discernible throughout all New Spain, and that it was very great and very brilliant; that it was situated in the East; and that, ascending from the earth, it reached the skies. This was one of the prodigies which they beheld before the arrival of the Christians; and they thought that it was Quecalcoatle, whom they expected *.

In this year the city of Cocola †, which is six leagues distant from Huaxaca, rebelled against the Mexicans, who marched against it, and left not a single inhabitant alive, as the old men say who chanced to be present on that occasion. 1. Mexpanitli ‡.

PLATE XXVI.

In the year of Five Rabbits, or in 1510, there was an eclipse of the sun: they take no account of the eclipses of the moon, but only of those of the sun; for they say that the sun devours the moon

* A slight transposition of the original text has here occurred.

† Cocola, or Zozola, was a province from which the Mexicans obtained gold, to which Cortes, shortly after his arrival in Mexico, dispatched, with the consent of Moteccuma, Spaniards, accompanied with many Indians, to make inquiries after that precious metal.

‡ The numerical reference has been omitted in the plate; but Mexpanitli was the name of that part of the sky where the light appeared. The sky itself is represented by the planets, and the light which they believed to ascend from the earth appears in the painting to proceed from a mountain. The signification of Mexpanitli is *the place of Mexi*, or Quecalcoatle. With respect to the number of days during which the light was visible, it must be observed that forty was a favourite number with the Jews, because Moses was forty days with God in the mountain, in remembrance of whose fasting they occasionally fast, eating very little, for forty days. A fast of this duration was also kept by the Mexicans, which was rigidly observed by Nezahualcoyotl the king of Tezcuco. In inflicting punishment the Jews also have regard to this number, which they take care never to exceed; and therefore stripes must be only thirty-nine. M. de Humboldt, noticing this curious passage of the manuscript of Le Tellier, which the extreme badness of the handwriting might in some places have prevented him from deciphering, says: "Cette lumière qui paroissoit s'élever de la terre même, étoit peut-être la lumière zodiacale, dont la vivacité est très-grande et très-inégale sous les Tropiques. Le peuple regarde comme nouveaux les phénomènes les plus communs, dès que la superstition se plaît à y attacher un sens mysterieux." The appearance of this light might otherwise be accounted for by the eruption of some of those volcanoes with which New Spain abounds.

It has been observed above that the great light which was visible to the Mexicans some short time previous to the destruction of their city, and which appearing to ascend from the earth reached the skies, and lasted, as the Spaniards pretend, for the exact space of forty days, was probably some volcanic eruption, which was afterwards converted into a prodigy, portending the approaching destruction of the Mexican empire. In order to show the probability of this supposition, the following account of the volcano of Masaya, situated in the province of Nicaragua, is here inserted, from the fourteenth book of *Torquemada's Indian Monarchy*. This province can hardly be considered a part of New Spain, although contiguous to it: but a traveller, in a recent narrative of a *Land Journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico*, states, that he observed in the whole progress of it indications that the soil of New Spain had been the frequent theatre of mighty volcanic eruptions, as the rocks themselves seemed in many places to be merely lava. Many other prodigies are related to have preceded the fall of Mexico, equal both in number, in magnitude, and in impossibility, to those declared by Josephus to have attended the destruction of Jerusalem. Strange voices are said to have been heard in the air, and the serene vault of heaven to have been disturbed by the mimic combats of armed hosts. The sister of Montezuma, who was dead and buried, is pretended to have come to life, and many other signs and wonders to have happened. In general, nothing is more easy than to relate a prodigy or to attest one, and nothing more rare than to witness one. If human virtue and excellence, which, according to the opinion of the most famous of the ancient philosophers, is the most moving spectacle that the Deity can behold, has never yet (except in the case of two Jews) been able to reverse the decree of death pronounced on all of human race; how absurd is the supposition that Providence would disturb the whole order of

when an eclipse of the moon takes place. In the year of Six Canes, or in 1511, the Mexicans conquered the city of Ycpaltepec: they employed ladders in the ascent, as the city was situated on

nature, in order to bring about some comparatively insignificant object, when it is admitted by all philosophers and theologists that Nature always proportions her means to the end. It is surprising that the author of *Salathiel* should attach credit to those omens of the fall of Jerusalem, which Greek and Roman authors would have recorded if they had not thought that the bare mention of them would disgrace the page of history, and tarnish the lustre of the philosophic age in which they lived. The following description of the volcano of Masaya will be interesting to naturalists, because its authenticity may be relied upon; nor is that portion of it least curious, in which mention is made of the birds which frequented its terrific crater, since it agrees with what ancient writers have said of Etna. These birds kept of course out of the reach of whatever could affect animal life, but still their nature must be very extraordinary: at the same time, we do not attach so much implicit credit to this account as Doctor Johnson, the most learned and credulous man of his age, did to the story of swallows at the approach of winter "conglomerating together," and flinging themselves into some pond, and there reposing in the mud till the genial solar rays again called them forth into life and activity. This was certainly a curious way of accounting for the absence of swallows in the winter; and the fable of the phœnix visiting Egyptian Thebes was not half so romantic.

"De las cosas, que se han dicho en los Capitulos pasados se conocen las maravillosas obras de la Naturaleça, que por secreto beneplacito de Dios, ha obrado, y obra cada Dia, en los estraños efectos de estos Volcanes; pero aunque estas cosas pueden causar espanto, dirè aqui de otro que parece, que excede su consideracion à todas las cosas, que de semejantes Lugares pueden decirse, que es el de Masaya, en la Provincia de Nicaragua; porque aunque hai muchos en esta grande, y estendida Tierra, excede à todos ellos, y aun entiendo, que à todos los que hasta el Dia de oi se han visto en el Mundo; porque pienso no haver otro su semejante, ni tan espantoso. A este Volcan llamaron à los principios, los Nuestros, el Infierno de la Provincia de Nicaragua, ò el Infierno de Masaya, porque lo situò Dios, en aquella Provincia, que despues, los que la moraron, la llamaron de Masaya. En una parte de esta Provincia, cerca de poblado, y tres leguas de dos mui grandes Lagunas (de que despues haremos mencion) està una Sierra levantada, no en mui alta distancia, aunque el Cerro es redondo, y todo el sitio de su contorno, es cabernoso, y retumba andando, por ella, como si estuviese hueca: La subida de esta Sierra es rasa, y no mui trabajosa, porque se puede ir hasta lo alto à Cavallo, y es poco mas de media legua, el camino, que hai desde lo llano, à su Cumbre. Esta Cumbre, ò Cabeça de Sierra està toda abierta, y su abertura es del mismo tamaño, y grueso de su Cabeça, y tiene esta abertura, en redondo, mas de mil y quinientos pasos; esta abertura, y hueco, con sus paredes, en lo alto, y en lo bajo, es tan patente, y manifiesto, como lo es una Plaça grande de una Ciudad de estas de las Indias, ù de España; porque sin ningun impedimento lo baña el Sol todo, como baña, y clarifica los Campos mui escombrados. Esta abertura, y hueco và casi à un peso hasta abajo, aunque, segun dice el Padre Frai Toribio, que la viò, que es de hechura, ò forma de sombrero, buelto lo de arriba à bajo; de manera, que lo extremo, y bajo de esta hoia, es un suelo, y Plaça, poco menos ancho, que el hueco de la abertura, por lo que và disminuiendo en la forma, que decimos de sombrero, buelta la falda àcia arriba. Hai desde lo alto de esta Sierra al suelo, que està dentro de ella, que hace manera de plaça, docientos, y mas estados (segun cuenta el Obispo de Chiapa, que lo viò, y se lo certificaron otros Compañeros) la Plaça es mui llana, como si de proposito la hicieran à mano; pero no hai que maravillar, pues es hecha de la Mano Poderosa de Dios, y aunque la baña el Sol, no tiene ierva verde, porque el calor del Fuego debe de abrasarla. Alli en aquello alto de aquel Volcan estàn unos Teocales, ò Altares, sobre los quales llamaban à sus Dioses, y ofrecian sacrificio los Indios, de aquellas Provincias; y quando les faltaba el Agua, para los Temporales, en Tiempo de secas, en lugar de los Sacrificios ordinarios, despeñaban por alli abajo Niños, y Muchachos, para que fuesen por Agua, y los moradores de aquella Provincia creìan, que luego que alli ofreciesen aquellos Niños havia de llover, los quales, antes de llegar à bajo, iban hechos muchos pedaços.

"Està quasi enmedio, aunque algo à un lado mas acostado de la Plaça, un poço redondo, como si fuera hecho à mano, y puedese andar todo à la redonda, y à todas partes, por el buen espacio, que hai de suelo; la boca de este poço tiene (segun dice el Padre Frai Toribio) de travès un buen tiro de Ballesta; y segun el Obispo de Chiapa, veinte y cinco, ò treinta pasos, que serà lo mismo, poco mas, ò menos; y lo que parece de hondo son mas de treinta estados. En este parejo de hondura està el Fuego, ò Metal, que se vè, y es de la misma manera, que Metal derretido, de que se funden los Tiros de Artilleria, ò las Campanas; desde lo alto de aquella Plaça se vè bien el Fuego, ò Metal, que abajo anda, y està treinta y cinco, ò quarenta braças de este suelo, que la hoia hace, y hai hasta arriba à la Cumbre, docientas y veinte: Està este Metal siempre moviendose, y hierve espantosisimamente, y anda un hervor, enmedio, que parece, que viene del profundo del Infierno, y en espacio, y tiempo, que puede decirse un Credo, se levanta una ola como una Torre, y repentinamente se deshace, y desbarata, y dà tan gran golpe, y hace tan grande ruido, como quando quiebran las olas de la Mar de tumbo, y nunca cesa aquel espantoso, y bravo hervor, y ruido tan furioso, y hecha de sì parte de aquel metal, como chispas, que se pegan por las paredes, dos, y tres estados en alto, las quales luego se apagan. Dentro de èste poço, andan muchos Pajaros, y Aves pequeñas, y à lo que parece, no mucha distancia apartados, que no hace poco espanto tambien esto. Todo lo dicho se vè desde arriba, tan claramente (dice el Obispo de Chiapa) como si estuviesen los que lo vèn, y ello, juntos en un llano; verdad es (dice luego) que como aquella hondura sea tan grande, y desde la abertura, hasta lo bajo, vaian las paredes casi por nivèl tajadas, no sin gran riesgo, y peligro de caer nos

a steep rock. In this year there were heavy falls of snow, and three earthquakes occurred. In the year of Seven Flints, or in 1512, the Mexicans conquered the cities of Quimichintepec and Nopala,

acercamos para verlo à la vera de la abertura. Los Indios Naturales, ni sus antepasados (dice el Padre Frai Toribio) que le dijeron, no haverle visto hacer mudança, salvo, que aquel Metal sube, y baja, y quando mas llueve, mas se inflama, como la Fragua del Herrero bien encendida, quando le hechan Agua; y hasta tanto acontece subir (prosigue luego) que hinchandose, como la Caldera, que le dan mucho Fuego, llega hasta aquella plaça, y suelo donde comiença la boca de este poço, y luego dice: Io vi esta boca del Infierno el año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y quatro, en principio del Mes de Agosto, y havia subido aquel Metal hasta la plaça, y aun vertiò un poquillo encima, àcia la parte de Oriente, y ià tornaba bajando dos, ò tres estados, y entonces estaba mui de vèr aquel espantosisimo Fuego, y vilo de Dia, y de Noche, que es mas de vèr, y està tan claro, como de Dia, y en una Noche, que dormi encima de la boca, como el ruido es tan grande, despierta muchas veces à los que alli duermen, y todas las veces, que despertaba, me paraba à mirarlo, y siempre me parecia cosa nueva, y mui espantosa.

"Lo que de todo esto parece ser mas admirable, es, que siendo aquel Fuego, ò Metal, no llama, sino brasa, y estando tan hondo, *solo el baho, ò resplandor, que de èl sale, se sube à las Nubes encima, por linea recta, y se vè, y resplandece treinta leguas la Mar adentro, y parece llama, que arde.* Y prosigue el Obispo de Chiapa en la Relacion, que hace de este Volcan, diciendo: Para goçar bien de verlo, y vèr quanta es su claridad, conviene subir, y dormir en lo alto de la Sierra una Noche, y asi lo hice io, porque con el Sol de Dia no se vè quanta es su claridad; estuvimos toda una noche ciertos Frailes, y io, y reçamos Maitines, sin otra lumbre mas de la que nos comunicò el resplandor del Volcan, y vimos ser tanta la claridad, que hacia, quanta hace el Dia en las mañanas nubladas; y estando mi Compañero, y io, en un Pueblo, que llaman los Indios Nindiri, legua y media del Volcan, y andandonos paseando, juzgabamos, que con nuestros Cuerpos haciamos tanta sombra de la parte contraria, donde teniamos el resplandor del Volcan, como la hicieramos, si tuvieramos la Luna de ocho Dias, por aquella parte. Esto dice este Apostolico Obispo; y à esto añade el Venerable Padre Frai Toribio: El estremado, y mucho Fuego, que siempre anda en aquella hoia, dà tanta claridad, *que de Noche se vè à leer una Carta cerca de una legua;* y otros quieren decir, que de mas lejos, y todo puede ser verdad; porque quando llueve, con el Agua, y con las Nubes, que se bajan, hacen reverberar el resplandor, y que repercuta àcia abajo, y con esto dà mas claridad en sus alderredores, mas io le vi casi en todo el Tiempo de las Aguas, y pareceme, que apenas se podia bien leer una Carta, mas de la distancia dicha. Està este Volcan cinco leguas de la Mar del Sur, *y vese su claridad veinte, ò veinte y cinco leguas la Mar adentro.* Para vèr aquel Fuego, que alli sale, ponense à mirarlo desde arriba encima de unas Peñas, y miran para abajo, como quien mira una profunda Cueva. Estas son palabras de este Bendito Padre.

"Visto lo que dejamos dicho, de las Causas Naturales, de que el Fuego se engendra, en los Volcanes, podemos creer, que aqueste se causa de los grandes movimientos de las Aguas de dos Lagunas mui grandes, que tiene en su vecindad, y cercania; porque desde medio Dia abajo, y algunas veces antes de medio Dia, hai en ellas ordinarios, y recios vientos, tanto, que se levantan tantas, y tan altas olas, como en la Mar quando hai Borrasca, y Tormenta. Estos golpes, y movimientos, como estèn dos, y tres leguas del Volcan, deben de entrar, por algunas Cuevas, ò Cavernas en èl, y esto engendrar Viento, y el Viento encender la Piedra-açufre, y haver alli mucho del Betun, ià dicho, que lo sustenta; y con esta agitacion, y permanencia hacerse Fuego continuo, que es el que en aquella hoia, ò poço permanece. Quando aquel Fuego rebienta (que debe de ser quando hai grandes lluvias, por las raçones dichas de los otros Volcanes, ò por otra alguna causa oculta) sube à lo alto, con grande estruendo, y furor, y lleva consigo grandisima cantidad de Piedra Pomez, y las mas livianas de ellas las avienta distancia de quatro leguas, poco mas, ò menos, y con ellas, y con la ceniça, que và à bueltas, que es à manera de rescoldo, quema la Tierra, que alcança en sus alderredores; en el Vallecillo, que hace en su contorno este Volcan, hai de esta Piedra liviana, ò Pomez, que parece como las escorias de las Fraguas de los Herreros, y esto en mas de un millon de carretadas, en tanta manera, que no se puede andar, sino sobre ellas; y porque quanto mas pesada es la Piedra, tanto menos la aparta de sì, de aqui es, que en lo alto de la Sierra està todo lleno de la Piedra mas pesada, y aspera, que son como la escoria, que decimos, que sale del Hierro purificado en la Fragua, y esto en tanta cantidad, y ella toda tan aspera, que casi en toda la Sierra apenas se halla Tierra desocupada de aquellas Piedras, donde se pueda facilmente acostar un Hombre. Esta Piedra, que està sobre esta Sierra, no es distinta una, de otra, como son las Piedras Pomez, que caen en el llano, ò Valle donde este Monte, ò Volcan està sentado, sino que estàn pegadas unas con otras, y hechas Peña asperisima, y no parecen arrojadas del Fuego, sino nacidas en los mismos lugares, donde parecen, como suelen estàr en los mal Paìses, y Sierras asperas las Peñas piçarreñas, que son como puntas de Diamantes, ù de Alesnas; y porque (como ià dije) quanto mas pesado es lo que de sì hecha, tanto menos lo avienta; de aqui es, que junto à la boca tiene grandes pedaços de Piedra, ò Metal (segun io no dudo que sea) no de la aguda, y piçarreña, sino casi lisa, y de color de Hierro, y mas parece Cobre, que Hierro; y para Argumento, que aquel Metal sale, ò sube mui tierno quando lo despide, es vèr, que aquellos pedaços estàn resquebrajados, como suele abrirse, ò resquebrajarse un gran pedaço de masa del

which are situated towards the province of Tototepec. In this year the stones apparently smoked to such a degree that the smoke reached the sky.

Pan, que comemos, quando la masa de mui levada, se avinagra, ò aceda, porque parece, que se resquebraja, embeviendose en sì, ò enjugandose poco à poco quando se iela; y esto hace mucha fuerça para creer, que aquel es Metal de Hierro, ò Cobre, del qual aquel Fuego se sustenta, si acà solo es, aunque es cosa mui dudosa. Concuerda con esto lo que arriba hemos referido de los demàs Volcanes donde sale Metal, ò cosa, que lo parece; y puedese creer, que la Tierra de esta Sierra es jugosa de jugo, que engendra esta materia, que produce este Fuego, y que se engendra en los poros de estas Piedras esponjosas, ò Pomez; y quando se acaba de consumir el humor, ò jugo de ellas, convirtiendose en aquel Metal, ò Fuego, entonces quedan livianas, y las puede arrojar tan lejos, y las que no estàn del todo gastadas, no tanto, sino mas cerca.

" Ignorando las raçones, y cosas naturales, arriba referidas, de como estos Fuegos se engendran, todo el Vulgo, de los Españoles, que aquel Volcan han visto, han tenido imaginacion, que aquel Metal, ò Fuego, que alli se sustenta, es Plata, ù Oro, ò otra cosa de valor; porque como dice San Ambrosio: Al codicioso todo lo que vè, y oie se le antoja Dinero; y por esta causa se ofrecieron algunas Personas al Rei, diciendo, que à su costa querian saber, è inquirir lo que alli havia, pidiendo las albricias de ser Minas de grande importancia; otros, de callada, trabajaron de hacer cierto instrumento, para entrar dentro, y se ocuparon un Año en hacerlo, y hecho, acordaron de entrar quatro juntos, y por curiosidad fue un Fraile, con ellos, y al tiempo de entrar en un Vaso de madera, que tenian hecho, para el efecto, viendo tanta hondura, y pareciendoles cosa mui peligrosa, temieron; pero el Fraile, con mas temeridad, que esfuerço, quiso entrar solo, y tomando una Cruz en la una mano, y un martillo en la otra, para quebrar alguna piedra, si la huviese por las paredes del poço, que le fuese estorvo, ò impedimento, para bajar abajo, hiçose bajar, y llegò sano, y bueno al suelo de la plaça, y paseòse por ella mui à su placer, con risa, y goço, escarneciendo de los que no havian osado ser sus compañeros; llevaba sus sogas largas, y al cabo una buena cadena, y en ella un Capacete de hierro para coger de aquel Metal lo que cupiese, y hechando abajo sus sogas, y en ellas la Cadena con el Capacete, llegò al Fuego, y todo lo que entrò de la Cadena, y vaso dentro de èl, lo cortò, como si fuera con cuchillo; no sacò nada el Fraile, pero considerò mui de espacio todas las cosas, que havia de este Metal, que ardia, y Fuego, hondura del poço, y lo demàs, que havia en èl; y lo que despues afirmò, fuè, que aquel Metal (ò lo que es) que alli parece estàr ardiendo, no està quedo, sino que es un rio de ello, que pasa de camino, como si lo fuese de Agua, y que aquel Rio de Metal, ò Fuego es tan ancho como una calle de las de esta Ciudad de Mexico, que son mui anchas, pero despues tornaron à entrar ciertos Españoles, con mas instrumentos de Hierro mas fuertes, para coger del Metal, y tambien los cortò, y derritiò el Fuego. El Padre Frai Toribio dice, que el Año de 1538, entraron diez, ò doce Españoles, en aquella Hoia, y Plaça, poniendo arriba un cabestrante, y bajaban uno à uno, metiendose en un cesto, y mui atados, y con otras muchas diligencias (y dice, que con todo fue una mui gran locura, y que se pusieron à mui grande riesgo, y peligro) y que desde aquella Plaça donde està la poça tornaron à poner otro cabestrante con una soga, y por remate una gruesa cadena de Hierro, con un servidor de Oro, para coger de aquel Metal, que en todo su seso pensaban, que era Oro, diciendo, que à ser otro Metal, lo gastàra, y consumiera el ardentisimo Fuego de aquella hornaça, porque el Fuego gasta todos los Metales, sino es el Oro. Durmieron allà bajo una noche, porque como ià diximos, hai por todas partes à la redonda de la boca donde anda el Fuego buen espacio; metieron su soga, y cadena, y en llegando la Cadena al Metal, luego la torciò, y cortò, y quedòse allà el servidor; y de creer es, que no tardò mucho en derretirse; y en la punta de la Cadena salieron pegados ciertos granos de aquel Metal, que alli hierve, y llevados à los Plateros, nunca conocieron, què Metal fuese, y puesto sobre una Vigornia, ò Iunque, y dandole con el martillo, que estaba acerado, no lo podian ablandar; antes el Metal entraba por el Acero, como si se metiera por cera, que es mucho de considerar. ' Esto dice el Padre Frai Toribio.' Mas Animo parece, que mostrò (segun dicen algunos) el otro condenado à muerte, que entrò en el Monte Etna, que estos que bajaron à esta Plaça, del qual dicen los que escriven sus maravillas, que cierto Rei de Sicilia, queriendo inquirir lo que havia dentro de aquel Volcan, obligò à un condenado à muerte, à que entrase dentro, y que si saliese, con vida, lo dejaria ir libremente; el qual alentado, con la vida, que se le prometia, saliendo con ella, de aquella boca, se metiò en un cesto, con comida dentro, y con cierto artificio, que para ello hicieron, bajò hasta increìble hondura, la qual no se presumia; y estando todo el Dia dentro, al poner del Sol lo sacaron, y dijo, que en los lados, y paredes del Monte havia muchos nidos de Aves, y que por toda aquella hondura por donde bajò, nunca vido cosa, mas de que oiò grandes ruidos, y estruendos de Aguas, que por lo mas bajo corrian; y esta es la verdad de aquel Fuego, que las Aguas de la Mar, que por alli estàn cerca (como sea Isla) con sus golpes, y movimientos continuos engendran el Viento, y el Viento enciende la Piedra-açufre, y asi se hace aquel Fuego; pero digo, que aunque fue mucho el Animo de este condenado à muerte, lo fue maior el de estos, que entraron en este de Masaya, porque eran libres, y se ponian voluntariamente al peligro, y esotro era condenado, y asi, como asi, estaba sentenciado à muerte, y mas cierta la tenia por otra via, que entrando en aquella boca de aquel Monte.

" Por lo dicho vemos no haverse conocido nada de este Fuego, ò Metal, y asi quedan todos hasta oi, con la duda, ò sospecha,

PLATE XXVII.

In the year of Eight Houses, or in 1513, the Mexicans conquered Tototepec, a province eighty leagues distant from Mexico, situated on the coast of the South Sea. In this year there was such an earthquake, that the people who witnessed it say, that so great was the number of birds which flew from the east to the west, that they darkened the sun; and that some of them having been taken, they were found to have no entrails, and the entire cavity of their bodies to be full of feathers and dirt. In the year 1514, or of Nine Rabbits, the Mexicans conquered the province of Hayocingo, which is that which so long defended itself against them; they pretended accordingly that they came to serve them, bringing chains of gold. In the year of Ten Canes, or in 1515, the Mexicans conquered Ytzlaquetlaloca.

PLATE XXVIII*.

PLATE XXIX.

In the year of Eleven Houses, or in 1529, Nuño de Guzman set out for Yalisco on his march to

que de antes tenian, si es Plata, Oro, Çobre, ò Hierro, ò otra cosa de valor aquella materia, que por alli corre; y estàn mui engañados, en esta imaginacion; porque no debe ser otra cosa, sino que aquel Fuego se enciende, y arde, y conserva naturalmente, con la Piedra-açufre, y jugo, ò betun de aquellas Piedras-pomez, y con ella especie de Metal, que tiene color de Cobre, ò Hierro, y no de otra manera: y todo esto se puede colegir de lo que de los otros Volcanes havemos dicho. Lo que me podia à mi ser de maior admiracion, era lo que el Religioso havia dicho, que era Rio que pasaba de camino, y se pudiera dudar de esto, sino concertarà con ello, lo que los Autores escriven à cerca de los Volcanes, arriba nombrados; y siendo aquello verdad, lo puede ser esto; porque no hai mas raçon para creer lo uno, que lo otro: que por probar esta verdad en este, he traìdo à consequencia esotros; y estàn tan mal acreditadas las cosas de las Indias, que como se digan, y presenten desnudas, y sin camisa, las tienen por sueño, ò por patraña, y por esto es menester vestirlas, con otras cosas, que hai en las otras partes del Mundo, que son sus semejantes, para que con vestido, que en otros se ha visto, se conozcan estas, à las quales tambien les viene: y se debe creer, que aquel Rio de Fuego, y Metal encendido, và à parar por sus caños, y venas por debajo de Tierra à otros Volcanes, que hai muchos por aquella Tierra, cerca, ò lejos, y por ventura, và à dàr à la Provincia, donde tienen los Españoles poblada la Villa de San Miguèl, quarenta leguas de este sitio, donde hai Volcàn, y Volcanes, y debe correr adelante otras cinquenta, à la de Guatemala, donde estàn los otros dos, que digimos; aunque todos estos son de la manera del de la Isla de Sicilia, obscuros, y con bocas estrechas, por las quales hechan humo, y de quando en quando rebientan, y hechan Fuego, y desparcen, y derraman la ceniça, por mucha distancia de Tierra. Podemos colegir de lo dicho, que los Volcanes de que hablaron los Antiguos, y oi aun viven, como los de Sicilia, tienen su Fuego, y Metal, ò betumen, de que se mantienen, como aqueste de Masaya, salvo que como estàn cerrados, y no tienen mas de aquellas bocas estrechas, no se vè, por ellas, el Metal, o Fuego, que tienen, y asi este nos enseña lo que en los otros hai, aunque en ellos no lo vemos. Tambien se debe colegir no ser maravilla, que crien Aves, y tengan sus nidos en las paredes dentro del Monte Etna, pues en este se vèn bolar tan cercanas al Fuego: cierto se debe tener aquesto por una de las maravillas de el Mundo, obrado con particular Mano de la Omnipotencia de Dios: y podemos tambien colegir, para confirmacion de nuestra Fè, un Christiano argumento, y es, que pues la Naturaleça obra un Fuego, asi tan perpetuo, que es cosa mui creedera haver Fuego infernal, para punicion, y tormento de los dañados, como la Fè expresamente nos lo dice, y enseña, el qual ha de ser eterno, constituìdo por la Divina Justicia, è infalible Providencia de Dios. De este argumento trata el Glorioso Padre San Agustin, en los Libros de la Ciudad de Dios. Un quarto de legua de la boca de este, algo mas bajo, en la misma Sierra està otro Volcàn ià ciego de la Tierra, que ha caìdo en èl, que antiguamente (segun afirman los Indios) ardia, como este; y tendrà de hondo en lo que ha quedado por cegar, hasta seis, ò ocho estados, segun de arriba parece."

* The explanation of Plate xxviii. is wanting, the MS. having lost some leaves; but it appears from the painting that Nezahualpilli the king of Tescuco died in the year 1516, or Eleven Flints. His successor is omitted in this history.

subdue that territory: they pretend that a serpent descended from the sky, exclaiming that troubles were preparing for the natives, since the Christians were directing their course thither *.

In the year of Twelve Rabbits, or in 1530, three earthquakes occurred. In the year of Thirteen Canes, or in 1531, there was an eclipse of the sun.

* Superstition and credulity abounded in Europe in the sixteenth century amongst all orders; but as ignorance is the soil in which those noxious weeds best thrive, it may be presumed that the Spanish settlers in America, who were composed of illiterate soldiers and the dregs of the people, were nearly as credulous and superstitious as the Indians themselves. If Cabeza de Vacca, a military adventurer, could take credit to himself, and persuade his countrymen to believe, that he had raised a man from the dead; if other Spanish soldiers, with hands dripping with blood and hearts thirsting after gold, could profess to cure the sick, "rezando, soplando, y santiguando," by praying, blowing upon them, and making the sign of the cross,—what attention ought to be paid to all the prodigies which grave historians state on the authority of the Spanish soldiers and natives, to have preceded and followed the destruction of the Mexican empire, some of which must be rejected from the conflicting evidence of those who if the alleged facts had really taken place must have witnessed them, and others on account of their great absurdity? To the first class belongs the apparition of Saint James, who according to Gomara saved the Spanish army from annihilation, by dealing death and destruction amongst the Indian foe. The saint is said to have appeared on a grey steed, and therefore must have been conspicuous to the whole army, or at least to a part of it: but Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a distinguished officer who served under Cortes, who many years after the conquest of Mexico wrote a history of that event, says, remarking on the relation of Gomara: "I acknowledge that all our exploits and victories are owing to our Lord Jesus Christ; and that in this battle there was such a number of Indians to every one of us, that if each had thrown a handful of earth they might have buried us, if by the great mercy of God we had not been protected. It may be that the person who Gomara mentions as having appeared on a mottled grey horse, was the glorious apostle Saint James or Saint Peter; and that I, as being a sinner, was not worthy to see him. This I know, that I saw Francisco de Morla on such a horse, but as an unworthy transgressor did not deserve to see any of the holy Apostles. It may have been the will of God that it was so as Gomara relates; but until I read his Chronicle, I never heard among any of the conquerors that such a thing had happened." To the second class, the extraordinary circumstances which accompanied the destruction of Quauhtemallan by a hurricane, in which six hundred persons perished, and which Gomara (disbelievingly it must be confessed) relates, must be referred: "They beheld a cow pacing through the squares and streets with one horn broken, and a rope hanging from the other, which attacked those who went to carry help to the house of Donna Beatrix, and twice threw down a Spaniard who persisted in the attempt, who with difficulty escaped from being trampled in the mire. Another Spaniard and his wife had fallen on the ground, and over them lay a large beam. A strange negro chanced to pass by, whom they entreated to lift up the beam, and to assist them to rise. The negro inquired whether the man who had fallen was Morales, who, on hearing that he was, lifted up the beam, assisted the husband, left the woman to be suffocated, and scampered away through the water and the mud. They also speak of strange and fearful things that they saw and heard in the air. It is possible: but fear distorts every thing. Many believed that the negro was the Devil, and the cow a woman of the name of Augustina, the wife of Captain Francisco Cava, and the daughter of one who had been whipped for witchcraft and lewdness in Cordova, who had bewitched and caused the death of Don Pedro Portocarrero in Quauhtemallan, because he forsook her for another mistress." The miracles performed by the Spanish soldiers are thus related by Gomara; and it would be wrong to omit that they received credit not only in America, but in Spain. In *Barcia's Collection of American Historians,* an entire treatise is found, the object of which is to prove that Cabeza de Vaca did really raise a man from the dead. "En tierra de Avavares curo Alonso del Castello muchos Indios a soplos, como Saludador, de mal de cabeza por lo qual le dieron Tunas, que son buena fruta, y carne de venado, y arcos y flechas. Santiguo assi mesmo cinco tullidos que sanaron, no sin grande admiracion de los Indios, y aun de los Españoles: Ca los adoravan como a personas celestiales. A fama de tales curas acudian a ellos de muchas partes, y los de Susola le rogaron fuesse con ellos a sanar un herido. Fue Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, y Andres Dorantes, que tambien curavan. Mas quando llegaron allá era muerto el herido, y confiados en Jesu Christo que obra sanidades, y por conservar sus vidas entre aquellos barbaros lo santiguo, y soplo tres vezes Alvar Nunez, y revivio, que fue Milagro. Assi lo cuenta el mismo." "Alonso del Castillo cured many Indians of the headache in the province of Avavares, by breathing on them like the Saviour; in return for which they presented him with Tunas, which are a good fruit, and with venison, and bows and arrows. He made the sign of the cross likewise over five cripples, who recovered, to the great astonishment of the Indians, and even of the Spaniards; for they (the Indians) adored them as celestial personages, and through the fame of such cures, flocked to them from many parts. The people of Susola requested him to go with them to heal a wounded man. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, and Andres Dorantes, who also wrought cures, went; but when they arrived at the place, the wounded man was dead; confiding, however, in Jesus Christ, who works cures, and in order to preserve their own lives amongst those barbarians, Alvar Nunez made the sign of the cross over him, and breathed three times, when he came to life, which was a miracle. It is related in this manner by himself."—*La Istoria de las Indias,* fo. xxiv.

PLATE XXX.

In the year of One Flint, or in 1532, the first bishop of Mexico, Brother Don Juan de Çumarraga, arrived. In the year of Two Houses, or in 1533, an earthquake occurred; and they pretend that the star which they name Sitlal-choloha smoked, which is that which we call Venus, of which they make great account. In the year of Three Rabbits, or in 1534, Don Antonio de Mendoça arrived as Viceroy of New Spain. They say that the star smoked.

PLATE XXXI.

In the year of Four Canes, or in 1535, the star smoked. In the year of Six Houses, or in 1537, the negroes of the city of Mexico meditated an insurrection, the chief conspirators of whom were hung. The star smoked, and an earthquake occurred; the greatest that I have seen, although I have seen many in these parts.

PLATE XXXII.

In the year of Seven Rabbits, or in 1538, many of the people died of the small-pox. In the year of Eight Canes, or in 1539, they commenced entrusting the wands of the magistracy to the Indians of Mexico. The star smoked. In the year of Nine Flints, or in 1540, Don Antonio de Mendoça made a part of the aqueduct which comes from Capultepec to the city *. He caused the fountain to be cleared out, in order to convey the water from a deeper spring, and inclosed it in the manner in which it at present is.

PLATE XXXIII.

In the year of Ten Houses, or in 1541, the Indians of Yalisco revolted, and were reduced to obedience by Don Antonio de Mendoça. Don Pedro de Alvarado †, whom the Indians named Tonatihu, which signifies the Sun, died in retreating from the Indians. In this year of Eleven Rabbits, or in 1542, an earthquake occurred.

1. Pedro de Alvarado. 2. Tonatihu.

* The hill of Capultepec, or of grasshoppers, which was so named from its extreme verdure, was the site of the country palace of the kings of Mexico. Ancient cypresses of excessive growth, and the recollections of past times, still contribute to give an interest to the spot. Acosta says, that in his days two statues, the one of Montezuma and the other of his son, were still standing by the side of the fountain.

† Gomara, describing the character of Pedro de Alvarado, says, that he was cruel to the Indians, gallant to their wives, and faithless to his friends: and that dying from contusions which he had received by falling from a steep rock, being asked where he suffered pain, he always replied in his soul, "Preguntado que le dolia, respondia siempre que la alma." He nevertheless adds, that he died "con buen sentido, y juyzio de Christiano."

PLATE XXXIV.

In 1544 and 1545 there was a great mortality among the Indians. 1. Violent tempests which blew down the trees.

PLATE XXXV.

In the year of Five Houses, or in 1549, the first bishop of Mexico, Brother JUAN DE ÇUMARRAGA, died*. The year 1549, when the bishop died, was the year of Atamal, when they ate unleavened† bread: for it should be observed, that every eight years on the year of the Flint the people all fasted four days, during which period they ate nothing but bread steeped in water and without salt: the fast was accordingly always, as I say, on this sign; but although it always fell on the four signs of the Flint, still it sometimes occurred in the year of Four Flints, and sometimes in that of Nine Flints, and again in that of One Flint‡, which was when the bishop came to the country.

PLATE XXXVI.

In the year of Six Rabbits, or in 1550, many Indians died in New Spain of the measles.

PLATE XXXVII.

In the year 1555, according to the computation of the Mexicans, three hundred and sixty-four years had elapsed since they quitted their own country; when in the year thirteen hundred and seventy-six they arrived at Mexico, I mean at the site which their city at present occupies.

PLATE XXXVIII.

The year Twelve Tecpatl, or 1556, was that of the fast (of Atamal). If this calculation is duly considered, it will be found that in the year of One Rabbit, whenever this year occurred, famine and mortality followed: and accordingly, in the year 1558 the greatest frost that the natives recollect

* The death of the bishop is not signified by the skull placed near him, but this symbol seems to refer to the first syllable of his name; for *zon*, or *tzom*, is a *skull* in the Mexican language, by which abbreviation the Indians might have intended to express the proper name Zumarraga.

† *Unleavened* must here be understood to mean, bread differing from that in common use, and which was only eaten on festivals. Salt seems to have been the chief thing omitted in the preparation of it.

‡ Reference to any Mexican painting in which the four signs of the year follow each other in their proper order, will show that four, nine, one, and twelve, are the years of the Flint, which succeed to each other at intervals of eight years.

occurred, and scarcity in many places; they consequently regarded the year of One Rabbit, whenever it chanced to be that year, as very ominous. It is for able astrologers to consider whether certain conjunctions of the stars and planets may not take place on such years;—with such precision do they compute the period of a day from the middle of one day to another day at mid-day; and their year, like ours, contains three hundred and sixty-five days.

PLATE XXXIX.

They here (in the year of Two Canes) bind their years and commence their reckoning of another cycle of fifty-two years: this year began always on the twenty-fourth of February; I mean the new year. In the year of Five Rabbits, on the day in which the sign of One Rose entered, they celebrated the festival; and in the year 1562, on the twenty-third of July, this festival occurred. They record a prodigy, that on the day in which this sign of One Rose entered, a rose appeared in the province of Mixteca, which was called after this highly-valued name.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS.

In the year 1547, in the month of April, on the first day of Easter, the Çapotecas of Coatlan and Tetapa revolted: they were reduced to submission on the twenty-third day of January of the same year.

In the year 1549 the Capotequillas and Uijes took up arms: they marched against the city on the nineteenth of November, on the day of Saint Isabel; and on the same day the Indians were defeated.

The bridge on the road going from Ycuan to Mixteca was built in the year 1554.

The bridge on the royal road going from Mexico to Puebla was built in the year 1540.

In the year 1550, on the twenty-sixth of February, the Contreras assassinated the bishop of Nicaragua.

In the year 1551, on the thirteenth of August, Don Luis de Velasco entered as viceroy. Don Antonio de Mendoça departed at the same time as viceroy to Peru, having governed New Spain for the space of seventeen years. The said Don Antonio died in Peru, in the city of Lima, in the year 1552, on the second of July of the said year.

In 1552, on Saint Lawrence's day, (which is in August,) the Lord of Tezcuco was created a Knight: he was knighted by privilege, and not on account of any act of valour which he had performed.

In the year 1551, in the month of December, the first bishop of Yalisco died.

In the year 1552, in the month of August, water proceeded in such abundance from the volcanoes in New Spain, that inundations took place in many parts, and numbers of people were drowned, especially in Villarica and in the port of Saint Juan de Lua; as the water rose thirty feet above the island. At this same time and month, a similar disaster happened in the island of Saint Domingo, which did much damage in the port of Saint Juan de Lua. Sixteen ships were

lost. They say that the number of those which were lost in the port of Saint Domingo was thirteen, besides the others which were lost.

In the year 1541, on Sunday, on the twenty-fifth of July, at eleven o'clock in the day, the Marquis Ferdinand Pizarro was assassinated in the city of Lima.

In the year 1519 Don Ferdinand Cortes entered New Spain in the month of October of the said year.

In the year 1521, on the day of Saint Hypolitus, which is the thirteenth of August, the city of Mexico was taken.

In the year 1547, on the fourth of December, Don Ferdinand Cortes, Marquis of the Valley, died in Castille.

In the year 1555 a mule belonging to the bishop of Mechuacan foaled, and another belonging to a factor; and another mule was born with six feet.

In the year 1553, on the twenty-fourth of November, a person was saved for the first time by the brotherhood of the city of Mexico *.

In the year 1554, on the twenty-third of July of the said year, the entrance of the first archbishop into Mexico took place. On the twenty-third of March, on the day of Saint Peter the Martyr, three ships were lost on the coast of Florida; all on board perished except Brother Mark and Brother Dominic.

In the year 1555, on the tenth of September, the first bishop of Guaxaca died.

In the year 1557 the second bishop of Tlaxcala died, on the fourteenth of October, at seven o'clock at night.

* The "hermandad," or brotherhood of the city of Mexico, probably signified the members of the Inquisition, who were styled the Holy Brotherhood. The Inquisition was not established in the city of Mexico at so early a period as in the West Indian Islands; that is to say, a separate office was not allotted to it in Mexico till some years after; but since delegates from the office at Madrid took cognizance in the mean time of offences that came within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, its absence could scarcely have been felt. That the Inquisition was very active immediately after its establishment in Mexico, we learn from the following passage of the twenty-fourth chapter of the fifth book of *Torquemada's Indian Monarchy:* "El año de 1571, llegó á esta Nueva-España y Ciudad de Mexico el Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion con sus oficiales, y vino por inquisidor Don Pedro Moia de Contreras, que despues fue Arçobispo de esta metropolitana, y hombre de gran govierno, como parecera en su lugar. Ha sido este santo tribunal en esta Nueva-España de grandisimo bien y provecho; y ha limpiado la tierra, que estaba contaminadisima de Judios, y hereges, en especial de gente Portuguesa, ó á lo menos de Judios mezclados con ellos de los tiempos que fueron admitidos en el reino de Portugal." "In the year 1571, the Holy Office of the Inquisition, with its familiars, arrived in New Spain and the city of Mexico; Don Pedro Moia de Contreras, who was afterwards archbishop of this metropolis, and a man skilled in the affairs of government, (as will appear in its proper place,) came as inquisitor. This holy tribunal has been of the greatest utility and advantage in New Spain, and has purified the soil which was most contaminated with Jews and heretics, especially Portuguese, or at least with Jews mixed with them, from the time when permission was given to them to enter the kingdom of Portugal." It is very extraordinary how the Jews, who on the discovery of America were forbidden by an express law to proceed thither, should have become so numerous in New Spain in half a century; or that they should have had the temerity, having already had experience of the severity with which the Spanish laws were put in force against them, to infringe those laws; or that it should have been possible for them so long to escape detection from the vigilance of the Spanish clergy, to whose hands such large power was entrusted in the New World, and to whom confession, as they well knew, revealed all kinds of secrets. Neither is it likely that the Jews discovered in New Spain were of the number of those who had been previously expelled from Spain, and who it is said were received into Portugal; since the greater part of those Jews sought an asylum at Constantinople, where their descendants still remain; or that they would so soon again have trusted themselves to the mercy of a nation by whom they had been so barbarously treated. It is more probable that these Jews had been long settled in America, and that they formed a part of the native population.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE EXPLANATION OF THE MEXICAN PAINTINGS OF THE CODEX VATICANUS*.

HOW truly Saint Paul, in his First Epistle to the Romans, observes that men, by the light of reason, attain a partial knowledge of the invisible things of God, is demonstrated in the natives of New Spain, who, although so barbarous a people and of such inferior understandings, believed, according to their paintings, in the existence of nine superior causes, which we call heavens†, to which they attributed all the effects of the universe, in which they placed the First Cause, the cause of all the rest. These nine causes or heavens they distinguished by the comets‡ which they observed; and from the colour of the comet each cause or heaven received its appellation.

* The paintings of the Vatican Codex, No. 3738, resemble, by being merely copies of ancient Mexican paintings, those of the Collection of Mendoza: the outlines of the figures are done with a pen, and the extremely coarse style of the original drawing is not at all exaggerated in the plates. From the method which has been adopted in every instance in copying the Mexican paintings contained in the present work by means of transparent paper, the greatest correctness has been the result; and the minute hieroglyphics of the Dresden MS. have been no less closely imitated in this manner than the larger figures of the paintings of Veletri, &c.

It is singular that Acosta should have mentioned, in the nineteenth chapter of the second book of his *Natural History of the Indies*, this Vatican Codex, describing the inundation which befell Mexico in the reign of Ahuitzotl, in consequence of that king's having introduced water into the city by a new aqueduct. He says: "Et hæc imago hodie quoque in fastis Mexicanis quos Romæ in consecratâ Vaticani bibliothecâ ostendunt depicta visitur. Hanc ac similes historias quidam e societate Pater, isti qui horum librorum curator est, aliquando ita percensuit; qui quidem re istâ suaviter afficiebatur, ut qui pridem illorum explicationem certam desiderasset." It deserves likewise to be noticed, that the only paintings to which Acosta can refer are those which are contained in the Third Part of this Codex, which are of an historical nature, and not accompanied, as the others are, with any interpretations, and which therefore the librarian might have wished to have had explained. The inundation above alluded to is represented in two of these paintings, one of which, since it interrupts the order of the years, and differs from the rest in the signs of the years being placed *under* instead of over the historical events to which they refer, was probably afterwards inserted, perhaps by the Father of the Society to whom the librarian showed the Codex. The explanation alluded to was also, it is to be presumed, of a verbal nature, as it no where occurs in the pages of the MS. This defect is however supplied by the interpretation which accompanies a similar series of historical paintings in the manuscript of Pedro de los Rios, which is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, under the title of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

† It is singular that the Mexicans should have believed that there was this precise number of heavens: that such was their opinion may be further proved from Boturini, who says that king Netzahualcoyotl built in Tezcuco a tower of nine stories, emblematical of the nine heavens, in which to worship the Creator of the universe.—*Idea de una Nueva Historia*, page 79. The solemn dance of the Mexicans described by Clavigero seems likewise connected with astronomical notions as well as with religion, and intended to represent the motion of the heavens as imagined by the ancients, and explained by Aristotle in his treatise *De Mundo*, cap. ii. The old idea of a firmament, and of the possibility of heaven's falling, and involving the earth in a common destruction, was also entertained by the Mexicans, as is evident from the questions put by Nicaragua to Gil Goncalez: nearly similar accounts of which are given by Gomara, and by Peter Martyr in the fourth chapter of his Sixth Decade, page 396, vol. v. of *Hakluyt's Early Voyages*. To this notion the Mexican sign Nahuiollin, or the sun in the sign of Four Earthquakes, may refer. This sign occupies the centre of one of the two large stones discovered in the principal square of Mexico in the year 1790, and described by Don Antonio de Gama, in a short treatise published in Mexico in 1792.

‡ The Mexicans and Peruvians entertained the same notions of the baneful influence of comets as were formerly prevalent in Europe. The appearance of a comet was recorded in the Mexican paintings by the symbol of a worm or caterpillar placed under the sign of the year in which these phenomena occurred, to denote blights and famine.

PLATE I.*

1. Homeyoca, which signifies the place in which exists the Creator of the universe, or the First Cause, to whom they gave the other name of Hometeuli, which means the God of threefold dignity, or three

* Since the interpretation of the first painting in the Vatican Codex is very brief, and it does not appear to have been the intention of the interpreter to have done more than merely to affix the names of the nine heavens to the corresponding number of symbols contained in the first page,—without offering any explanation of those which follow in the second, we may be permitted to attempt to supply by conjecture what is here wanting, and also to suggest a slight alteration in the interpretation. The referring the nine symbols contained in the first page to the nine heavens involves some difficulties; since in this case the entire number of heavens would be eleven, as two symbols designated *Ylhuicatl*, or *heaven*, occur in the next page. On the supposition, however, that the first heaven, signified by the blank space immediately surrounding Hometeuli [1], or Tonacatecutli, in which that supreme deity of the Mexicans is represented as dwelling, *has been omitted*, that the symbols of the four ages *have been inserted* between Homeyocan and the inferior heavens; and that the seven symbols named Ylhuicatl, together with Tlalticpac, the last in order of the heavens, *are to be reckoned along with Homeyocan, the highest heaven*,—these difficulties would be removed, the number of

[1] Hometeuli, perhaps, instead of being the name of the supreme god of the Mexicans, may signify the heaven to which the two leaders of the Aztec migration, Mexi and Tecpactzin, were translated after death; since *ome* means in the Mexican language *two*, and *teuli* is *a chief*. The signification of Trinity cannot be given to the proper name Ometeuli; and it would be interesting to discover the exact epithet by which the Mexicans designated the god whom they believed to be "unus trino" and "trinus uno." The doctrine of the Trinity has been impugned, not only by the modern Unitarians, but by the Arians of old; the co-existence of the Son with the Father from all eternity was opposed to the prejudices of the latter, who contended that to believe, it was necessary first to be able to comprehend, and who were too well versed in the school of Aristotle not fully to understand the difference which exists between that which is above reason, and that which appears to contradict it, which to deny priority in time to a cause in relation to an effect, or to declare that to be begotten does not imply a subsequent to a prior existence, they maintained to be the case. They also asserted, citing the words of Christ himself in the New Testament, in reply to the person who called him "good Master," "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God;" that he disclaimed the perfect equality with God which the Athanasian Creed lays down as an article of faith, and that that equality and co-existence were the invention and doctrine of the centuries which immediately succeeded to the establishment of Christianity. What reply can Protestants make to this last objection of the Arians, who themselves affirm that so vital a doctrine of the Catholic religion as that of transubstantiation was an error which crept into the church in the early days of Christianity? The worst argument that has been used to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, and one that displays the greatest ignorance, is that by which reasoners, like Doctor Warburton in his "*Divine Legation of Moses*," seek to address common-place arguments to unreflecting minds: viz. that if this doctrine had not been revealed to man by divine inspiration, it would never have entered human contemplation; since, laying aside the consideration of whether such a belief was entertained by the Indians, who on this admission cannot be supposed, from the rude state of science amongst them, to have been the inventors of it, but rather to have derived it, with the knowledge of many other Christian mysteries, from some more civilized region of the globe. It is allowed that the Hindoos have for ages believed in the doctrine of the *Trimurti*, or of *a Trinity;* and to this belief they were probably led by those speculations on the divine nature and essence in which the Brahmins loved to indulge, who, considering the many attributes inseparable from the essence of the Deity, and necessary to his perfection, which they typified by the many arms with which they represented his image, contemplated with superior veneration the three great powers which more immediately control the destiny of the universe, his creating, preserving, and destroying energies, which they therefore symbolized by three majestic heads or countenances combined and united to one body with many arms: and hence it is probable that the Asiatics derived their notion of three persons in one God, and that the doctrine of the Indian Trimurti originated. Since the signification of Ometeuli is literally *the two chiefs*, or *two lords*, who in all probability were supposed by the Mexicans to reside in the highest heaven, or Homeyocan (so named, perhaps, after them), with Tonacatecutli or Tetzcatlipoca; it may be curious to know (the Jews disbelieving in the doctrine of the Trinity) in what sense they understand, or who they suppose are alluded to, by the *two* anointed ones mentioned in the fourteenth verse of the fourth chapter of Zechariah: "Then said he, These are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth."

Gods, the same as Olomris. They call this place in which he resides Zivenavichnepaniucha* which signifies . . . . . †; and by another name, Homeiocan, that is to say, the place of the Holy

* Pedro de los Rios says that Quecalcoatle was born in Zivenavitzcatl, which name has some resemblance to Zivenavichnepaniucha.

† As the passage which is omitted is curious, and the original letters could not be deciphered, a fac-simile of the entire context is here given, in order that the right signification of it may be ascertained.



heavens would be complete, and each would have its corresponding symbol. The remaining eight symbols in the second page, it is to be supposed, refer to the Mexican notions of a place of suffering or purgatory, and the troubles which awaited them in its eight different states. The insertion of the symbols of the four ages between Homeyocan and the inferior heavens, is perhaps emblematical of the existence of Tonacatecutli, being prior to time as well as to the heavens. That these symbols denote ages and not heavens, may be further proved from their names and their nature: *Teotl* signifies, in the Mexican language, both *the sun* and *an age*, and the image of the sun surrounded with rays was the symbol of the latter; two pointed rays of light, substituted for the image of the sun, accordingly enter into the composition of the three first symbols; the fourth differed, both in name and character, from the others. Since these paintings illustrate the religious opinions of the Mexicans, and the person who copied them appears to have prefixed them to the calendar, with the view of explaining their notions on the subject of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, and also their historical traditions respecting the four ages or epochs of the world, with their belief in Quecalcoatle, and some other circumstances connected with his history,—this note will not perhaps appear unnecessarily long if we again notice in a summary manner the contents of the first plate. Homeyocan, the heaven of heavens, or the highest heaven, in which the Mexicans supposed Tonacatecutli to reside, occupies the upper part of this plate; next follow the four symbols of the four ages of the world, the last of which is that of Quecalcoatle, or the age of Flints and Roses, which with the Mexicans would be the present age. It should also be observed, that they entertained the singular notion of a fifth age, the commencement of which was to date from the re-appearance of Quecalcoatle, or from the destruction of the world for the fourth time by earthquakes, which they supposed would occur on the sign Nahuiollin. The age of Quecalcoatle is not named Teotl, the appellation by which the three preceding ages are distinguished, nor is it symbolized like them by a ray of the sun, because in this age no destruction of the world, no extinction of the sun or creation of a new one, were supposed to have taken place. The catastrophe which befell the province of Tulan was that which gave rise to a new epoch; this age was called Yztapal Nanazcaya, which is here interpreted *the heaven of roses;* the signification of Yztapal is *a flint:* the symbol of this fourth age was characterized by two flints encompassed with branches, or inserted in a cane, between which the head of Miquitlantecotli, the God of Hell or of the Dead, is placed; and in a following plate, representing the fourth age, it will be observed that these two flints, decorated with flowers or branches, again occur, alluding perhaps to the commencement of penance by Quecalcoatle, or indicating the epoch of some remarkable event in his life. The heaven next in order to Homeyoca was the green or light azure heaven, to which succeeded the green and black or dark azure heaven. The names of the five heavens following are unaccompanied with any explanation. The symbol distinguishing the fifth heaven is the head of the goddess Chalchiuitlicue, the mother of Quecalcoatle; this goddess may always be recognised by the symbol of Atl, or *water*, upon her head, denoting that she presided over that element. Ylhuicatl Tunatiuh, the name of the sixth heaven, signifies *the heaven of the sun.* The name of the seventh heaven is perhaps Ylhuicatl Citlalicoe, instead of Tetlalicoe, and its signification would then be *the heaven of the stars;* since *citlal*, in the Mexican language, is *a star.* Ylhuicatl Tlalocaypanmeztli, the name of the eighth heaven, signifies *the heaven of the God Tlaloque and of the moon,* or *of Paradise and of the moon.* The ninth and last heaven was called Tlalticpac, which is here interpreted *the earth,* because the earth is contained immediately within its compass; Tlalticpac was likewise an epithet which the Mexicans bestowed on their supreme deity Tonacatecutli, which signified creator generally, although its etymology refers more immediately to the creation of light, or the work of the first day. The symbol of the ninth heaven resembles in its square form those of the superior heavens. The eight remaining symbols contained in the lower part of the plate, it has already been observed, refer to the Mexican notion of a place of hardship and toil where departed souls went immediately after death.

The following description[1], from Clavigero's *History of Mexico*, of the funeral rites of the Mexicans, may enable us to guess

[1] This description is borrowed from the *Indian Monarchy* of Torquemada, which writer Clavigero chiefly consulted in composing his *Ancient History of Mexico.*

Trinity*, who, according to the opinion of many of their old men, begot, by their word, CIPATENAL and a woman named XUMIO; and these are the pair who existed before the deluge, who begot

their signification in part, which the names attached to them will serve further to indicate. "However superstitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they observed at funerals they exceeded themselves. As soon as any person died, certain masters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper with which they dressed the dead body, and took a glass of water with which they sprinkled the head, saying that that was the water used in the time of their life. They then dressed it in a habit suitable to the rank, the wealth, and the circumstances attending the death of the party. If the deceased had been a warrior, they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Iacateutli; if an artist, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade: one who had been drowned was dressed in the habit of Tlaloc; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteotl; and a drunkard, in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl the god of wine. In short, as Gomara has well observed, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living. With the habit they gave the dead a jug of water, which was to serve on the journey to the other world; and also, at successive different times, different pieces of paper, mentioning the use of each. On consigning the first piece to the dead, they said, By means of this you will pass without danger between the two mountains which fight against each other. With the second they said, By means of this you will walk without obstruction along the road which is defended by the great serpent. With the third, By this you will go securely through the place where there is the crocodile Xochitonal. The fourth was a safe passport through the eight deserts; the fifth through the eight hills; and the sixth was given in order to pass without hurt through the sharp wind; for they pretended that it was necessary to pass a place called Itzehecajan, where a wind blew so violently as to tear up rocks, and so sharp that it cut like a knife, on which account they burned all the habits which the deceased had worn during life, their arms and some household gods, in order that the heat of this fire might defend them from the cold of that terrible wind. One of the chief and most ridiculous ceremonies at funerals was the killing a techichi, a domestic quadruped, which we have already mentioned, resembling a little dog, to accompany the deceased in their journey to the other world; they fixed a string about its neck, believing that necessary to enable it to pass the deep river of Chiuhnahuapan, or New Waters. They buried the techichi, or burned it along with the body of its master, according to the kind of death of which he died: while the masters of the ceremonies were lighting up the fire in which the body was to be burned, the other priests kept singing in a melancholy strain. After burning the body they gathered the ashes in an earthern pot, amongst which, according to the circumstances of the deceased, they put a gem of more or less value, which they said would serve him in place of a heart in the other world. They buried this earthen pot in a deep ditch, and fourscore days after made oblations of bread and wine over it."—*Clavigero's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 322. On reference to the plate, after the perusal of this description by Clavigero, and on examining the symbols above alluded to, it will appear probable that that marked 4. represents the river of New Waters, named Chiuhnahuapan, and the dog; that 5. signifies the passage of the two mountains which fought against each other; that 7. means the sharp wind, called by Clavigero *Itzehecajan*, or *The place of the wind of razors or flints*, and here named Yee Hecaya or *the place of the three winds*, which consists of the usual Mexican hieroglyphic for wind, although badly copied with the pen, and knives or flints to denote its sharpness. The other symbols do not exactly agree with Clavigero's account. That called Teocoylqualoya, *the divine wolf devouring a heart*, might also be the place of the crocodile Xochitonal. 8. resembles the stone lancets with which the Mexicans, in imitation of Quecalcoatle, offered their own blood to propitiate the gods.

* Amongst the many arguments which might be brought forward to show that Christianity had in very early ages extended itself to America, one of the strongest and most convincing is the fact that the doctrine of the Trinity was known in Peru, New Spain, and Yucatan. This fact rests on the authority of very respectable writers. Acosta, in his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, distinctly asserts it[1]; and the celebrated Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, as cited by Torquemada, says that he had

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[1] Acosta repeats the assertion in the following passage of the last chapter of his *History*: "Certissimum siquidem est, Indos occidentales ideò potissimum doctrinam Evangelicam promptius agnovisse, quod anteà multis tributorum ac servitutum, ut et superstitiosorum cultuum oneribus ferendis assueti essent. Jugi enim Sathanici jam pridem certum fastidium cæperant: ideo de mitioribus et placidioribus diis quærendis dudum apud se consilium inierant. His ita hærentibus et nutantibus, cum sana de Deo religio offerretur: ejus leges illicò æquas, tolerabiles, ac gratiosas esse, facile ex collatione videre poterant. Eosdem etiam res persæpè arduas ac gravissimas facile captare ideo potuisse certum est, quod antè à Diabolo de multo gravioribus instituti essent. Qui ex Evangelica quoque doctrina plura suffuratus, pro suis venditârat Indis: cujusmodi sunt, cœna Dominica, Confessio, *adoratio trium in uno, et unius in trino*, et similia alia. Hæc cum anteà in mendacio suscepissent: multo facilius

Tocatiutle, as we shall presently relate*. 2. Hometeuli. 3. Teotl Tlatlaucha, which signifies the Red Heaven. 4. Teotl Cocaucha, the Yellow Heaven. 5. Teotl Yztaca, the White Heaven.

* No further mention is made of Tocatiutle.

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heard it from a person worthy of credit whom he had charged to make inquiries into the religion of the inhabitants of the Peninsula of Yucatan. A distinguished writer also of the present age, the Baron de Humboldt, says that the Muyscas, the ancient inhabitants of the plains of Bogota, likewise believed in the existence of a Trinity. The words of Acosta are these: "Hoc vero loco id ante omnia attendendum est, stygium Plutona pro cultus sui majestate cumulandâ, ipsâ quoque sanctâ Trinitate introductâ veteratorie abuti voluisse. Tribus enim superius dictis solis simulachris hæc nomina Indi indiderant, Apointi, Churiunti, et Intiquaoqui, quod est, pater et dominus solis, filius ipse sol, et frater solis. Hæc eadem nomina tribus simulachris, Chuquûlla, id est, isti deo qui in plagâ seu regione aëris, ex quâ tonitrua, pluviæ et nix prodeunt, agere credebatur, quoque imponebant. In Chuquisacâ idolum *nobis* aliquando monstrabatur, ante quod Indi preces funderent. Id Tangatanga dicebatur. *Hoc credebatur deus, qui in uno trinus, et in trino unus existeret.*"—*Acosta*, lib. v. cap. xxviii. The passage alluded to in Torquemada is the following, which is taken from the forty-ninth chapter of the Fifteenth Book of his *Indian Monarchy:* "The Bishop of Chiapa, brother Don Bartholomew de Las Casas, relates in his *Apology*, which is preserved in manuscript in the convent of Saint Dominic in Mexico[1], that when he disembarked on the coast of Yucatan, for on that occasion

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eadem in veritate amplecti poterant. Sic Deus plerumque hostem suum armis propriis jugulat, et caput ei præcidit. Sic Deus Sathanam nolentem quoque compulit, ut de vero Christi et salvifico verbo, testaretur, vaticinareturque, ex signis illis, quæ in Peru aliisque locis apparuerant: sicut id ipso magorum ore proditum scimus. Sed et hoc notum universis est, non commodè in iis locis versari Sathanam, in quibus sinceram Christi Ecclesiam collectam pernovit. Cessarunt hodiè omnia oracula, *linguæ*, visiones ac apparitiones, aliàs apud incredulos frequentes ac solennes." The reason which this learned writer assigns for the Indians more readily allowing themselves to be converted to Christianity, reminds us of the argument which the Apostles chiefly used with the Jews to induce them to accept the new covenant and to become Christians: viz. that the burthen imposed upon them by the old law *was intolerable*. With respect to the dreams, visions, and apparitions which are said to have been so frequent amongst the Indians, they furnish strong evidence of what hold Jewish superstitions had taken of their minds; for what nation ever dreamed like the Jews, or beheld such numerous visions? It cannot either be doubted that if the Jews had succeeded in establishing their institutions in America and reviving the old law, reducing at the same time a great portion of the Indian population under their domination, and thus restoring the sceptre to Judah, that their rabbis would have taken care that this new order of things should be accompanied with all the signs which the prophet Joel had foretold in his second chapter should mark the Jewish millennium. "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and *your* sons and *your* daughters shall prophesy, *your* old men shall dream dreams, *your* young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit. And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come." It is remarkable that the figure of the sun and moon turned into blood frequently occurs in the Mexican paintings. A material difference in sentiment prevails between Jews and Christians, as to the period when this gift of prophecying and seeing visions was to be conferred; the Jews affirm that it will be in the latter days, and that it is to come; Christians, that it was in the apostolic age, and is past; the latter relying upon many passages in the New Testament, and amongst others on the fifth verse of the eleventh chapter of Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, where that Apostle seems to speak of women prophesying as a very common thing in his days, although we may fairly demand why have not those prophecies been transmitted to posterity,—since to suppose that they were either unimportant, or that, proceeding from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they did not possess as much authority as those uttered by the Apostles themselves, would be to contradict all received doctrine. The following are the words of Saint Paul: "But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head."

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[1] This account is so curious that it is here inserted in the original Spanish, together with some other passages of the *Indian Monarchy*, in which mention is made of paintings and even of books discovered amongst the Indians, which the Spanish missionaries supposed treated of Christian doctrines.

"El Obispo de Chiapa Don Fr. Bartolomè de las Cases, en una su Apologia, que escrita de Mano, se guarda en el Convento

6. Yztapal Nanazcaya, the Heaven of Roses. 7.* Ylhuicatl Xoxoucha, the Green Heaven. 8. Ylhuicatl Yayaucha, the Green and Black Heaven. 9. Ylhuicatl Mamaluacoca. 10. Ylhuicatl Huixtutla†. 11. Ylhuicatl Tunatiuh.

he passed through that kingdom on account of its vicinity to his own diocese, he found there a respectable ecclesiastic (un clerigo honrado) of mature age, who understood the language of the Indians; and as he himself was hastening to the capital of his diocese, he requested and charged this ecclesiastic, in his name, to proceed into the interior of the country, visiting the Indians, taking with him a certain plan of instruction which he gave him, in order to preach to them. And he says that at the end of a year or thereabouts, this ecclesiastic wrote to him that he had met with a principal lord, who, on his questioning him respecting the faith and ancient religion which prevailed in that country, informed him that they knew and believed in God who resided in

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* The Mexicans seem to have confounded together, in their tradition of four ages and four destructions of the world, the fictions of Greece respecting the four ages; the traditions of the Hebrews relating to the fall of man, the loss of paradise, and the deluge; the belief of Christians in the accomplishment of prophecy in the downfall of the four great empires of antiquity, and the Jewish accounts of the destruction of Jerusalem.

† Huixtutlan appears to be compounded of *huey* old, *ix* rays or splendour, *tu* or *to* our mother, and *tlan* place or residence; and to signify *the heaven of our ancient mother surrounded with glory*. *Yz* or *yx* seems peculiarly to mean rays of light or of the sun, which may have been thus named from their pointed shape and their resemblance to the knives or razors which the Mexicans formed of the stone which they called *yztli*, which possesses one affinity to light in being perfectly transparent, and was the substance of which the ancient Mexicans formed their mirrors. Yzpatli is another word compounded of *yz*, which is elsewhere explained to be the moon surrounded with splendour, and to be emblamatical of the creation as regards the work of the first day or *the production of light*. It is the first of the twenty signs of the Mexican days, and is represented by the head of a serpent surrounded with rays. This sign is sometimes called Cipactli and *Teocipactli*. Tlaltiçpaque is also compounded of *iz*, and was an epithet which the Mexicans bestowed on their supreme deity, Tonacatecutli; believing that light had been created at his word. *Yz* or *yx* also signifies the eyes, undoubtedly from their relation to light, as in the proper name Yznextli, which is interpreted *eyes blind with ashes*.

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de Santo Domingo de Mexico, cuenta, que desembarcando èl en la Costa de Yucatàn (porque à la saçon entrava aquel Reino por cercanìa en los Terminos de su Obispado) hallò alli un Clerigo Honrado, de madura edad, que sabia la Lengua de los Indios; y porque èl pasava de paso à la Cabeça de su Obispado, dejò rogado, y encargado à este Clerigo, que en su Nombre anduviese la Tierra adentro, visitando los Indios, con cierta forma, è instruccion, que le diò, para que les predicase. Y al cabo de un Año, poco menos, dice, que le escriviò este Clerigo, como avia hallado un Señor Principal, que inquiriendole de su creencia, y Religion Antigua, que por aquel Reino solian tener, le dijo, que ellos conocian, y creìan en Dios, que estava en el Cielo, y que aqueste Dios era Padre, y Hijo, y Espiritu Santo; y que el Padre se llamava Yçona, que avia criado los Hombres, y todas las cosas; y el Hijo tenia por Nombre, Bacab, el qual naciò de una Doncella Virgen, llamada Chibirias, que està en el Cielo con Dios, y que la Madre de Chibirias, se llamava Ischel; y al Espiritu Santo llamavan Echuah. De Bacab (que es el Hijo) dicen, que lo matò Eopuco, y lo hiço açotar, y puso una Corona de Espinas, y que lo puso tendidos los Braços en un Palo, y no entendian, que estava clavado, sino atado, y alli muriò; y estuvo tres dias muerto, y al tercero tornò à vivir, y se subiò al Cielo, y que allà està con su Padre; y despues de esto, luego vino Echuah, que es el Espiritu Santo, y hartò la Tierra, de todo lo que avia menester. Preguntado, què querian significar aquellos tres Nombres, de las Tres Personas? dijo, que Yçona queria decir, el Gran Padre, y Bacab, Hijo del Gran Padre, y Echuah, Mercader. Y à la verdad, buenas Mercaderias bajo el Espiritu Santo, al Mundo; pues hartò la Tierra, que son los Hombres Terrenos, de sus Dones, y Gracias tan copiosas, y Divinas. Y preguntado tambien, como tenian noticia de estas cosas? Respondiò, que los Señores lo enseñavan à sus Hijos; y asi decendia, de mano, en mano, esta Doctrina. Y afirmavan aquellos Indios, que en el tiempo Antiguo vinieron à aquella Tierra veinte Hombres, y el Principal de ellos se llamava Cocolcan, y que traìan las Ropas largas, y Sandalias, por Calçado, las Barbas grandes, y no traìan Bonetes sobre sus Cabeças; y que estos mandavan, que se confesasen las Gentes, y que aiunasen. Esto escrive el Obispo de Chiapa; Pero añade luego: Si estas cosas son verdad, parece aver sido en aquella Tierra nuestra Santa Fè, sabida; pero como en ninguna parte de las Indias, avemos tal nueva hallado, puesto que en la Tierra del Brasil, que poseen los Portugueses, se imagina hallarse rastro de Santo Tomàs Apostol; pero como aquella Nueva no volò adelante, ciertamente la Tierra, y Reino de Yucatàn dà à entender cosas mas especiales, y de major antiguedad, por las grandes, admirables, y exquisitas maneras de

PLATE II.

1. Ylhuicatl Tetlalicoe. 2. Ylhuicatl Tlalocaypanmeztli. 3. Tlalticpac, the Earth. 4. Apano Huaya, the Passage of the Water. 5. Tepetli Monanamycia, the Mountains which join. 6. Yztepetl,

Heaven; and that this God was the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that the Father was named Yçona, who had created men and all things; and that the Son was called Bacab, who was born of a virgin named Chibirias, who was in heaven with God; and that the name of the mother of Chibirias was Ischel; and that the Holy Ghost was called Echuah. Bacab the Son, they said, was put to death by Eopuco, who scourged him and put a crown of thorns upon his head, and placed him with his arms stretched out upon a beam of wood, to which they believed that he had not been nailed but tied: and that he died there, and remained during three days dead; and that on the third day he came to life and ascended into heaven, where he is with his Father: and immediately afterwards Echuah came, who is the Holy Ghost, and filled the earth with whatsoever it stood in need of.

Edificios antiquisimos, y Letreros de ciertos Caractères, que en otra ninguna parte. Finalmente, secretos son estos, que solo Dios los sabe. Estas son Palabras formales del Obispo de Chiapa; y lo cierto es, que aquello, no se tuvo por cierto.

"Otra cosa contò un Religioso, mui conocido, por verdadero Siervo de Dios, y Fraile de S. Francisco, llamado Fr. Francisco Gomez, que por ser todavia vivo, y mui viejo, pierde la Memoria, que en esta Historia se debia à sus fieles, y largos trabajos, en esta Viña del Señor; y es, que viniendo èl, de Guatemala, en compañia del Varon Santo Fr. Alonso de Escalona, pasando por el Pueblo de Nexapa, de la Provincia de Guaxaca, el Vicario de aquel Convento, que es de la Orden de Santo Domingo, les mostrò unos Papeles pintados, que avian sacado de unas Pinturas antiquisimas, hechas en unos Cueros largos, rolliços, y mui ahumados, donde estavan tres, ò quatro cosas, tocantes à nuestra Fè; y eran la Madre de Nuestra Señora, y tres Hermanas, Hijas suias, que las tenian por Santas; y la que representava à Nuestra Señora, estava con el Cabello cogido, al modo que lo cogen, y atan las Indias, y en el nudo, que tienen atràs, tenia metida una Cruz pequeña, por la qual se dava à entender, que era mas Santa; y que de aquella avia de nacer un Gran Profeta, que avia de venir del Cielo, y lo avia de parir sin ajuntamiento de Varon, quedando ella Virgen; y que à este Gran Profeta, los de su Pueblo, lo avian de perseguir, y querer mal, y lo avian de matar, crucificandolo en una Cruz. Y asi estava pintado Crucificado, y tenia atadas las Manos, y los Pies en la Cruz, sin Clavos. Estava tambien pintado el Articulo de la Resurreccion, como avia de resucitar, y subir al Cielo. Decian estos Padres Dominicos, que hallaron estos Cueros, entre unos Indios, que vivian àcia la Costa del Mar del Sur, los quales contavan, que sus Antepasados les dejaron aquella Memoria.

"Otro Religioso, llamado Fr. Diego de Mercado, Padre Grave, y que ha sido Difinidor, de esta Provincia del Santo Evangelio, y uno de los mas egemplares, y Penitentes de este tiempo, contò, y diò firmado de su Nombre, que en Años atràs, platicando con un Indio Viejo Otomi, de mas de setenta Años, sobre las cosas de nuestra Fè, le dijo aquel Indio, como ellos, en su Antiguedad, tenian un Libro, que venia sucessivamente, de Padres, à Hijos, en las Personas Majores, que para lo guardar, y enseñar tenian dedicadas. En este Libro tenian escrita Doctrina en dos Colunas, por todas las Planas del Libro, y entre Coluna, y Coluna estava pintado Christo Crucificado, con rostro como enojado; y asi decian ellos, que reñia Dios; y las hojas bolvian, por reverencia, no con la mano, sino con una Barita, que para ello tenian hecha, y guardavanla con el mismo Libro. Y preguntandole este Religioso, al Indio, de lo que contenia aquel Libro, en su Doctrina, no le supo dar cuenta en particular, mas de que le respondio: Que si aquel Libro no se huviera perdido, viera como la Doctrina, que èl les enseñava, y predicava, y la que alli se contenia, era una misma; y que el Libro se pudrio debajo de Tierra, donde lo enterraron los que lo guardavan, quando vinieron los Españoles. Tambien le dijo, que tuvieron noticia de la Destruccion del Diluvio, y que solas siete Personas se salvaron en el Arca, y todas las demàs perecieron, con todos los Animales, y Aves, eceto las que alli se salvaron. Tuvieron tambien noticia de la Embajada, que hiço el Angel, à Nuestra Señora, por una Metafora, diciendo, que una cosa mui blanca, como Pluma de Ave, caiò del Cielo, y una Virgen se abajò, y la cogiò, y metiò en su Vientre, y quedò preñada; pero no sabian decir, què se hiço, lo que pariò. Lo que estos digeron del Diluvio, atestiguaron tambien en Guatemala, los Indios Achies, afirmando, que lo tenian pintado, entre otras sus Antiguallas, las quales todas los Frailes, con el Espiritu, y Celo, que llevavan de destruir la Idolatrìa, se las quitaron, y quemaron, teniendolas por sospechosas.

"Tambien se hallò, que en algunas Provincias, de esta Nueva-España, como era en la Totonaca, esperavan la Venida del Hijo del Gran Dios (que era el Sol) al Mundo: y decia, que avian de venir, para renovarlo en todas las cosas. Aunque esto no lo tenian, ni interpretavan en lo Espiritual, sino en lo Temporal, y Terreno: como decir, que con su Venida, los Panes avian de ser

the Mountain of Razors. 7. Yee Hecaya. 8. Pacoecoe Tlacaya. 9. Temimina Loya, the Place of shooting with arrows. 10. Teocoylqualoya. 11. Yzmictlan Apochcaloca.

Being asked what the significations were of the three names of the three persons, he said, that Yçona signified the great Father, and Bacab the Son of the great Father, and Echuah the merchant; and in truth the Holy Ghost brought precious merchandize into the world, since he filled the earth, that is to say, mankind who inhabit it, with his gifts and graces, which are so abundant and divine. Being questioned also as to the manner in which they became acquainted with these things, he replied, that the lords instructed their sons in them, and that thus this doctrine descended from one to the other. These Indians likewise affirm, that in ancient times twenty men came to that country, the principal person of whom was called Cocolan; and that they wore long vests, and sandals as shoes, had large beards, and wore no covering upon their heads; and that they enjoined these people to practise confession, and to fast. The Bishop of Chiapa thus writes, but he immediately afterwards adds: If these things are true, it would appear that our holy faith had been known in that country; but as we have not found this to be the case in any part of the Indies,—except that in the kingdom of Brazil, which is in the possession of the Portuguese, traces are supposed to have been found of Saint Thomas the Apostle, the tidings of which however have flown no further,—certainly the land and kingdom of Yucatan gives us reason to hope more especial things, on account of the large, wonderful, and exquisite fashion of its ancient edifices; together with inscriptions in certain characters which have no where else been discovered. Finally, these are secrets which God alone knows. These are the formal words of the Bishop of Chiapa. That which is certain is, that these things are uncertain." In further confirmation of the truth of a portion of this curious relation, the testimony of Stephen de Salaçar may be adduced: and although his account may appear in some measure to contradict that of Las Casas, where he says that the doctrine of the Trinity was known in Chiapa; still, if the proximity of Chiapa to the peninsula of Yucatan be taken into consideration, and the great extent of the former province, it will neither appear singular if the doctrine of the Trinity was known in Yucatan, that it should also have been known in the province of Chiapa; or that the Bishop of the diocese might have remained ignorant of the fact. The words of De Salaçar are these: "*The chiefs and men of rank in the province of Chiapa were acquainted with the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity.* They called the Father Icona, the Son Vacah, and the Holy Ghost Estruach: and certainly these names resemble the Hebrew; at least Estruach, that of the Holy Ghost, does, for *Ruach* in Hebrew is *the Holy Ghost*[1]."—*Garcia: Origen de los Indios*, p. 122.

The similitude of many words of the Indian idioms to Hebrew had also struck Las Casas, and induced him to believe that

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mas purificados, y substanciales, y las Frutas mas sabrosas, y de major virtud; y que las Vidas de los Hombres avian de ser mas largas; y todo lo demàs, segun esta mejoria. Y para alcançar esta Venida del Hijo del Gran Dios, celebravan, y ofrecian à cierto tiempo del Año, un Sacrificio de diez y ocho Personas, Hombres, y Mugeres, animandolos, y amonestandoles, que tuviesen à buena dicha ser Mensageros de la Republica, que los embiava al Gran Dios, para pedirle, y suplicarle, tuviese por bien de embiarles à su Hijo, para que los librase de tantas miserias, y angustias: majormente de aquella obligacion, y cautiverio, que tenian de sacrificar Hombres: que (como en otra parte se dijo) lo llevavan por terrible, y pesada carga, y les era intolerable tormento, y dolor, y lo hacian, cumpliendo el mandato de sus falfos Dioses, por el temor grande, que les tenian.

"Estos Casos ultimos, cuenta el Padre Fr. Geronimo de Mendieta; *pero aunque èl, con las Personas, que se lo contaron, son de grandisima opinion, y credito,* es lo cierto, que todos estos Hombres, Moradores de esta Nueva-España, estavan ignorantes de los Misterios altos de nuestra Santa Fè, de los quales carecian, *no por falta de averlos, en el Mundo, y ser yà su Predicacion hecha, en èl;* sino porque, por culpas que cometian, les avia hecho Dios indignos de tan grandes Mercedes; y lo mui cierto, y averiguado es, que la noticia del Verdadero Dios Nuestro, entro, con la entrada de los Españoles, que profesan su Santa Lei, y Evangelio, como dejamos dicho, y probado en los Capitulos atras referidos."

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[1] Cogolludo in the sixth chapter of the fourth book of his *History of Yucatan* corroborates in the following words the relation of Las Casas. "No se sabe con certidumbre, que la predicacion evangelica huviesse passado à dar luz à las gentes de esta America, antes que à nuestros Españoles fuesse manifiesta. Si alguna cosa pudo, y causo admiracion, fue la credencia particular, que entre todas las demàs naciones de estos dilatados reynos tenian los Indios de Yucathan, que por lo menos haze dificil entender, como pudo ser, sin averseles predicado los misterios de la ley evangelica, y para prueba de esto dirè lo que refiere el Padre Remesal en su *Historia*. Dize pues, que quando el Obispo Don Fr. Bartolomè de Las Casas passò à su obispado, que como se dixo en el libro tercero, fue el año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y cinco, encomendò à un clerigo, que hallò en Campeche, llamado Francisco Hernandez (y es de quien queda hecha memoria en la fundacion de la Ciudad de Merida, y otros capitulos) que sabia la lengua de los Indios, que los visitasse con cierta instruccion de lo que les avia de predicar, y à poco

PLATE III. & IV.

The second place in which these unfortunate people believed was Hell, where they affirmed that the souls of those who died by the hands of justice, or by disease, or by any other kind of natural or

some of the tribes of New Spain were descended from the Jews, as Torquemada asserts in the ninth chapter of the first book of his *Indian Monarchy*, where he says that, examining some papers containing clauses of the will of that prelate, he found a long train of argument on this curious subject, concluding with these remarkable words: "*Loquela tua manifestum te facit*," "Your speech betrays you." The following account is also taken from Torquemada; which in some of its circumstances tends to corroborate the relation of Las Casas. "Another fact is stated by an ecclesiastic well known as a true servant of God, and brother of Saint Francis, named Brother Francis Gomez, who on account of his being still living and very old, does not receive that place in this History to which he is entitled by his faithful and long-continued labours in this vineyard of the Lord. It is, that returning from Guatemala in company with that holy man Brother Alonzo de Escalona, and passing through the town of Nexapa in the province of Guaxaca, the vicar of the convent belonging to the order of Saint Dominic showed them some sheets of paper containing drawings which had been copied from some extremely ancient paintings, on long pieces of leather rolled up and much smoked, wherein were contained three or four matters appertaining to our faith, namely the mother of Our Lady with three sisters, her daughters, whom they reputed saints. She who represented Our Lady had her hair tied up in the manner in which the Indian women tie and fasten their hair, and in the knot behind was inserted a small cross, by which it was intended to show that she was the most holy, and that a great prophet would be born of her, who would come from heaven, whom she should bring forth without connection with man, still remaining a virgin; and that his own people would persecute that great prophet, and meditate evil against him, and would put him to death, crucifying him upon a cross;—and accordingly he was represented in the painting as crucified, with his hands and feet tied to the cross and without nails. The article of the resurrec tion, how he had to return again to life and to ascend into heaven, was likewise painted. The Dominican Fathers said that they had found these skins among some Indians who inhabited the borders of the coasts of the South Sea, who stated that they had received these memorials from their ancestors."—*Monarquia Indiana*, lib. xv. cap. xlix. It may here be observed, that the province of Chiapa bordered, with a very extensive line of coast, on the South Sea. With respect to the belief of the Muyscas in a Trinity, which has been already mentioned, it is noticed by Baron de Humboldt in the following curious passage, which is extracted from his celebrated work, entitled *American Monuments*: "Le commencement de chaque indiction étoit marqué par un sacrifice dont les cérémonies barbares, d'après le peu que nous en savons, paroissent toutes avoir eu rapport à des idées astrologiques. La victime humaine étoit appelée Guesa, *errant, sans maison*, et Quihica, *porte*, parce que sa mort annonçoit pour ainsi dire l'ouverture d'un nouveau cycle de cent quatre-vingt-cinq lunes. Cette dénomination rappelle le Janus des Romains placé aux portes du ciel, et auquel Numa dédia le premier mois de l'année, *tanquam bicipitis dei mensem*. Le Guesa étoit un enfant que l'on arrachoit à la maison paternelle. Il devoit nécessairement être pris d'un certain village situé dans les plaines que nous appelons aujourd'hui les Llanos de San Juan, et qui s'étendent depuis la pente orientale de la Cordillère jusque vers les rives du Guaviare. C'est de cette même contrée de l'Orient qu'étoit venu Bochica, symbole du soleil, lors de sa première apparition parmi

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menos de un año le escriviò el clerigo, que avia hallado un señor principal, que preguntandole de su religion antigua que observaban, le dixo: que ellos conocian, y creian en Dios que estaba en el cielo, y que aqueste Dios era Padre, Hijo, y Espiritu Santo, y que el Padre se llamaba Yzòna, que avia criado los hombres, y el Hijo tenia por nombre Bacàb, el qual naciò de una doncella virgen, llamada Chiribirias, que està en el cielo con Dios, y que la madre de Chiribirias se llamaba Yxchel, y al Espiritu Santo llamaban Echvah. De Bacab, que es el Hijo, dizen que le matò, è hizo açotar, y puso una corona de espinas, y que lo puso tendido los braços en un palo, y no entendian que estaba clavado, sino atado, y alli muriò, y estuvo tres dias muerto, y al tercero dia tornò à vivir, y se subiò al cielo, y que està allà con su Padre. Y despues de esto luego vino Echvah, que es el Espiritu Santo, y hartò la tierra de todo lo que avia menester. Preguntado, que queria significar aquellos tres nombres de las Tres Personas, dixo, que Yzòna queria dezir el Gran Padre, y Bacàb, Hijo del Gran Padre, y Echvah, Mercader. Chiribirias suena Madre del Hijo del Gran Padre. Añadia mas, que por tiempo se avian de morir todos los hombres, pero de la resurreccion de la carne no sabian nada. Preguntado tambien como tenian noticia de estas cosas, respondiò, que los señores lo enseñaban à sus hijos, y assi decendia de mano en mano esta doctrina. Afirmaban, que en el tiempo antiguo vinieron à esta tierra veinte hombres, y el principal de ellos se llamaba Cozas, y que estos mandaban que se confessassen las gentes, y que ayunassen. *Por esto algunos ayunaban el dia que corresponde al Viernes, diziendo avia muerto en èl Bacab.*"

violent death, were conducted; the souls of those who perished in war excepted, which passed to heaven. In this region of hell they supposed that there existed four gods, or principal demons, one

les Muyscas. Le Guesa étoit élevé avec beaucoup de soin dans le temple de soleil à Sogamozo, jusq'à l'âge de dix ans: alors on le faisoit sortir pour le promener par les chemins que Bochica avoit suivis, à l'epoque où, parcourant les mêmes lieux pour instruire le peuple, il les avoit rendus célèbres par ses miracles. A l'âge de quinze ans, lorsque la victime avoit atteint un nombre de sunas égal à celui que renferme l'indiction du cycle Muysca, elle étoit immolée dans une de ces places circulaires dont le centre étoit occupé par une colonne élevée. Les Péruviens connoissoient les observations gnomoniques. Ils avoient surtout de la vénération pour les colonnes érigées dans la ville de Quito, parce que le soleil, à ce qu'ils disoient, 'se plaçoit immédiatement sur leur sommet, et que les ombres du gnomon y étoient plus courtes que dans le reste de l'empire de l'Inca.' Les pieux et les colonnes des Muyscas, représentés dans plusieurs de leurs sculptures, ne servoient-ils de même pour observer la longueur des ombres équinoxiales ou solsticiales? Cette supposition est d'autant plus vraisemblable que, parmi les dix signes des mois, nous trouvons deux fois, dans les chiffres *ta* et *suhuza*, une corde ajoutée à un pieu, et que les Mexicains connoissoient l'usage du gnomon filaire. Lors de la celebration du sacrifice qui marquoit l'ouverture d'une nouvelle indiction ou d'un cycle de quinze années, la victime, Guesa, étoit menée en procession par le Suna, qui donnoit son nom au mois lunaire. On la conduisoit vers la colonne qui paroît avoir servi pour mesurer les ombres solsticiales ou equinoxiales, et les passages du soleil par le zénith. Les prêtres Xeques, suivoient la victime: ils étoient masqués comme les prêtres Egyptiens. Les uns representoient Bochica, que est l'Osiris ou le Mithras de Bogota, *et auquel on attribuoit trois têtes, parceque, semblable au Trimurti des Hindoux, il renfermoit trois personnes qui ne formoient qu'une seule divinité:* d'autres portoient les emblêmes de Chia la femme de Bochica, Isis, ou la lune; d'autres étoient couverts de masques semblables à des grenouilles, pour faire allusion au premier signe de l'année, *ata;* d'autres enfin représentoient le monstre Fomagata, symbole du mal, figuré avec un œil, quatre oreilles, et une longue queue. Ce Fomagata, dont le nom, en langue Chibcha, signifie *feu* ou *masse fondue qui bouillonne*, étoit regardé comme un mauvais esprit. Il voyageoit par l'air, entre Tunja et Sogamozo, et transformoit les hommes en serpens, en lézards, et en tigres. Selon d'autres traditions, Fomagata étoit originairement un prince cruel. Pour assurer la succession à son frère, Tusatua, Bochica l'avoit fait traiter, la nuit de ses noces comme Uranus l'avoit été par Saturne. Nous ignorons quelle constellation portoit le nom de ce fantôme; mais M. Duquesne croit que les Indiens y attachoient le souvenir confus de l'apparition d'une comète. Lorsque la procession, qui rappelle les processions astrologiques des Chinois et celle de la fête d'Isis, étoit arrivée à l'extremité du Suna, on lioit la victime à la colonne dont nous avons fait mention plus haut: une nuée de flèches la couvroit, et on lui arrachoit le cœur pour en faire offrande au Roi soleil, à Bochica. Le sang du Guesa étoit recueilli dans des vases sacrés. Cette cérémonie barbare presente des rapports frappans avec celle que les Mexicains celebroient à la fin de leur grand cycle de cinquante-deux ans." Further proofs of the doctrine of the Trinity having been known in America, and of Christianity having been established in that continent before the arrival of the Spaniards, may be found in the fifth book of Acosta's *Natural History of the Indies*, and especially in the twenty-eighth chapter, the title of which is "De festis nonnullis Cuscanorum solennioribus et *quod Sathanas festum sacrosanctæ Trinitatis æmulari sategerit.*"

"It is not known with certainty that the annunciation of the Gospel had crossed over to enlighten the people of America before that continent became known to the Spaniards. If any thing is calculated to produce astonishment, it is the particular belief which the Indians of Yucathan, above all the other nations of these extensive kingdoms, entertained; which renders it at least very difficult to comprehend how that was possible, without the mysteries of the evangelical law having been preached to them; in proof of which I shall cite what Father Remesal relates in his History. He affirms then, that when the Bishop Don Bartholomew de las Casas proceeded to his bishoprick, which as has been observed in the third book was in fifteen hundred and forty-five, he commissioned an ecclesiastic whom he found in Campeche, whose name was Francis Hernandez, (who is the person who is mentioned in the chapter which treats of the foundation of the city of Merida and in other chapters,) who was well acquainted with the language of the Indians, to visit them, carrying with him a sort of catechism of what he was about to preach to them; and that nearly at the end of a year the ecclesiastic wrote to him that he had met with a principal lord, who, on being questioned respecting the ancient religion which they professed, told him that they knew and believed in the God who was in heaven, and that this God was the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that the Father was named Yzona, who had created men; and that the Son was called Bacab, who was born of a virgin of the name of Chiribirias, and that the mother of Chiribirias was named Yxchel; and that the Holy Ghost was called Echvah. Of Bacab, the Son, they said that he was put to death, and scourged and crowned with thorns, and placed with his arms extended upon a beam of wood, to which they did not suppose that he had been nailed, but that he was tied, where he died, and remained dead during three days, and on the third day came to life and ascended into heaven, where he is with his Father; and that immediately afterwards Echvah, who is the Holy Ghost, came and filled the earth

of whom was superior, whom they called Zitzimitl, who is the same as Miquitlamtecotl, the great god of hell. Yzpuzteque, the lame demon, was he who appeared in the streets with the feet of a cock. Nextepehua* was the scatterer of ashes. Contemoque signifies he who descends head foremost; an allusion being made to the etymology which learned men assign to the name of the Devil, which signifies "deorsum cadens," which mode of descent after souls they attributed to him from this name and Zon †. Yzpuzteque is he whose abode is in the streets, the same as Satan, he who on a sudden

* Tepehua signifies a scatterer or disperser, and was an epithet which the Mexicans applied to Tonacatecutli.

† Contemoque is derived from *con* or *zon* the head, and *temoque* falling or descending. Διαβολος is the name to the etymology of which allusion is here said to be made, which some learned men may derive from διαβαλλω in the sense of motion, and not of accusation.

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with whatsoever it stood in need of. Being asked what signification he assigned to the three names of the three persons, he said, that Yzona signified the great Father, and Bacab the Son of the great Father, and Echvah the Merchant. Chiribirias he understood to mean the mother of the son of the great Father. He further added, that all mankind would in course of time perish; but they knew nothing of the resurrection of the flesh. Being questioned likewise as to the manner in which they became acquainted with these things, he replied that the lords instructed their sons in them, and that thus the doctrine was handed down from generation to generation. They declared that in ancient times twenty men had come to that country, the chief of whom was named Cozas, who commanded the people to use confession, and to fast, for which reason some of them fasted on the day corresponding to *Friday*, affirming that Bacab had been put to death on that day." Cogolludo further observes in the same chapter of his *History of Yucatan*, that other circumstances besides their religious creed induced the Dominicans to believe that Christianity had been preached to the inhabitants. "No solo lo referido parece denotar aver tenido noticia de nuestra fè los Indios de Yucathan, sino lo que supieron de ellos los religiosos de nuestro Padre Santo Domingo, quando estuvieron en Campeche, passando con el obispo à Chiapa, como se dixo, porque les dixeron, como los primeros Españoles hallaron entre estos Indios bautismo, con vocablo en su lengua, que en la nuestra significa, *nacer otra vez;* y oy dia el santo bautismo se les dà à entender con aquel nombre. Creian que recibian en èl una entera disposicion para ser buenos, no recibir daño de los demonios, *y conseguir la gloria que esperaban.* Dabaseles de edad de tres años, hasta doze, y ninguno se casaba sin èl, porque segun afirma el Padre Lizana, dezian que el que no avia recibídole estaba *endemoniado,* y que no podia hazer cosa buena, ni ser hombre ò muger de buena vida. Elegíanle para darle dia que no fuesse aciago, y los padres ayunaban tres dias antes, y se abstenian de las mugeres." —*Cogolludo, Historia de Yucathan,* lib. iv. cap. vi. It is to be regretted that the same writer has to record in the following terms the extensive destruction of ancient monuments and paintings which immediately followed the arrival of the first Spanish missionaries in Yucatan, which it is to be presumed would have thrown some light on the history of its ancient colonization by Cozas and his companions, whose name bears some resemblance to Cozoi, the epithet by which the four divine personages of whom the Mexicans entreated rain were designated, from whom he might have received that appellation. "The ecclesiastics of this province, whose care accelerated the conversion of these Indians to our holy Catholic faith, animated with the zeal which they felt for their interests, not only destroyed and burned all the idols which they worshiped, but likewise all the books (todos los escritos) which they possessed, composed after their peculiar style, by which they were enabled to preserve the memory of past events, and whatsoever else they imagined might furnish occasion for the practice of superstition or any pagan rites. This is the reason why some particular facts which I wished to notice in this work cannot be ascertained; but even the knowledge of their historical annals has been denied to posterity, for nearly all their histories were committed to the flames without any attention being paid to the difference of the matter of which they treated. Neither do I approve of that suggestion, nor do I condemn it: but it appears to me, that secular history might have been preserved in the same manner as that of New Spain and of other conquered provinces has been preserved without its being considered to be any obstacle to the progress of Christianity. I shall, however, in consequence, be able to say little more than that which has already been written of their religious usages in the time of paganism."—*Historia de Yucathan,* lib. iv. cap. vi. If more of the historical paintings and monuments of Yucatan had been preserved, we should probably have been able to have determined whether Bacab and Quecalcoatle were only two different names for the same deity, who was worshiped alike by the Mexicans and the people of Yucatan. Torquemada informs us, on the authority of Las Casas, that Quecalcoatle had been in Yucatan, and was there adored. The interpreter of the *Vatican Codex* says, in the following curious passage, that the Mexicans had a tradition that he, like Bacab, died upon the cross, and he seems to add, according to their belief, for the sins of mankind: "E certo da condolersi della cecità di questa miserabile gente, sopra la quale, dice St. Paolo, che s' ha da rivelare l' ira di Dio, perchè la sua verità eterna fù intervenuta per tanto tempo nell' ingiuz-

appears sideways. It appears that they have been acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, although clearer arguments in proof of this fact are adduced in the course of the following pages. They say

tizia d'attribuire a questi demoni quello che è suo; perchè essendo lui il vero Creatore del universo, e quello che ha fatto la divisione dell' acque, che adesso attribuiscono questi poveretti al demonio; che quando è piaciuto a lui mandò il celeste ambasciatore ad annunziare alla Vergine, che aveva ad esser madre del suo Verbo Eterno, il quale, come trovasse il mondo corrotto, lo reformò, facendo penitenza, e morendo sulla croce per li peccati nostri, *e non il misero Quetzalcoatle, al quale questi miseri attribuiscono quest' opera.*" This tradition, which rested solely upon the authority of the anonymous interpreter of that MS., acquires the most authentic character from the corroboration which it receives from several paintings in the *Codex Borgianus*, which actually represent Quecalcoatle crucified and *nailed* to the cross. These paintings are contained in the fourth, seventy-second, seventy-third, and seventy-fifth pages of the above-mentioned MS.; the article of his resurrection, burial, and descent into hell, appears also to be represented in the seventy-first and seventy-third pages of the same MS.

As in the tradition current in Yucatan of Bacab and his crucifixion (which both Remesal and Torquemada have recorded, the latter on the authority of Las Casas himself, and which it deserves particularly to be noticed, each author has accompanied with some new circumstance in his relation, Remesal informing us that the name of the respectable ecclesiastic who gave the information to Las Casas was Francis Hernandez, and Torquemada that it was Eopuco who scourged and put to death Bacab), so in these Mexican paintings many analogies may be traced between the events to which they evidently relate, and the history of the crucifixion of Christ as contained in the New Testament. The subject of them all is the same,—the death of Quecalcoatle upon the cross, as an atonement for the sins of mankind. In the fourth page of the Borgian MS., he seems to be crucified between two persons who are in the act of reviling him, who hold, as it would appear, halters in their hands, the symbols perhaps of some crime for which they were themselves going to suffer. It is very remarkable that, although Quecalcoatle strictly enjoined honesty, temperance, and chastity to the Mexicans, he still should have been esteemed by thieves as their patron god, as we learn from the following passage of the twenty-second chapter of the fourteenth book of *Torquemada's Indian Monarchy:* " Entre las cosas de abuso que estas gentes usaban, era una, que en su falsa ciencia judiciaria havia un signo, que se llamaba Ceacatl, del qual decian, que los que nacian en èl, si eran nobles, havian de ser mui inquietos; y si gente comun y baja, havian de dar en ladrones, por arte supersticiosa y mala de los que entre ellos llamaban Temacpalytotique. Estos en numero solian ser quince, ò veinte; y quando querian robar alguna casa, hacian la imagen de Ceacatl, ò la del Dios Quetzalcohuatl, y iban todos juntos bailando adonde querian hacer el hurto, y ibalos guiando el que llevaba la figura, ò idolo de este falso dios (que bien falso era, pues iba guiando à gente tan mala como esta) y otro que tambien llevaba un braço de alguna muger, que havia muerto de el primer parto." " Amongst the abuses which these nations practised, one was, they had a sign in their false judicial astrology which they named Ceacatl, of which they said that those who were born on it, if they were nobles, would be turbulent, and if they were low and common people, would become thieves, addicting themselves to the superstitious and wicked art of those whom they called Temacpalytotique: these were generally fifteen or twenty in number, who, when they wished to rob any house, made an image of Ceacatl, or one of the god Quetzalcohuatl, and went in a body dancing to the place where they intended to commit the robbery; and he who carried the figure or the idol of this false god (who assuredly was false, since he led such a worthless band as these) preceded them leading the way, and likewise another who carried the arm of a woman who had died in her first childbed." Torquemada in recording this superstitious practice of the Mexicans, does not attempt to explain in what it might have originated; regarded simply in the light of a superstition, the Mexican belief that one of their principal gods favoured and protected thieves is not more open to the keen shafts of satire than those fables of classical antiquity, against which the early fathers launched all their wit and learning, and often sullied with exceptionable passages their otherwise pure and spotless pages. In the seventy-second page of the Borgian MS., Yztapal Nanazcaya, or the fourth age of the Mexicans, that of Flints and Canes, memorable for being the era of the birth of Quecalcoatle and of the destruction of the province and city of Tulan, seems to be represented. Quecalcoatle is there painted in the attitude of a person crucified, with the impression of nails both in his hands and feet, but not actually upon a cross, and with the image of death beneath his feet, which an angry serpent seems threatening to devour. The skulls above signify that the place is Tzonpantli, a word which exactly corresponds with the Hebrew proper name Golgotha. The body of Quecalcoatle seems to be formed out of a resplendent sun, and two female figures with children on their backs are very conspicuously presenting an offering at his feet. The Mexicans sometimes added the epithet of *Tlatzolli* to Tzonpantli, when the signification of both names became, The place of precious death or martyrdom; tlatzolli meaning in the Mexican language, precious or desired. The seventy-third page of the Borgian MS. is the most remarkable of all: for Quecalcoatle is not only represented there as crucified upon a cross of the Greek form, but his burial and descent into hell are also depicted in a very curious manner; his grave, which is somewhat in the shape of a cross, and strewed with bones and skulls symbolical of death, resembles likewise that kind of building which the Indians of New Spain constructed in the courts of their temples, which they called tlacho, and in which they played the religious game of the ball, instituted perhaps in commemoration of him. The head of the devouring monster on the left signifies his descent into hell, and that he had been swallowed up in death, which could only dismember, but could not cause his body wholly to corrupt or decay away, since he reassumes his perfect form in hell, and seems to compel Mictlantecutli, the lord of the dead, to do him homage. Mictlantecutli, it may be observed, was a different personage from Zontemoque,

that these four gods or demons have goddesses, and they affirm the same of all the gods of heaven; that each has a goddess—not as a wife but as a companion: perhaps there may be some allusion to

the former presiding over hell, the region of the dead, and the latter over hell, the place of punishment for the wicked. The Mexicans, like the early Christians, seem sometimes to have personified death and hell; and Milton has followed their example, unwisely gilding error with poetry. Quecalcoatle is again represented as crucified in the seventy-fifth page of the Borgian MS., and one of his hands and both his feet seem to bear the impression of nails; he appears from the phonetic symbol placed near his mouth to be uttering an exclamation, and his body is strangely covered with suns. If the Jews had wished to apply to their Messiah the metaphor of the sun of righteousness, they would perhaps have painted him with such emblems; and perverting in like manner another expression of Scripture,—"I am alpha and omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end;" have painted the signs dedicated to Quecalcoatle *before* and *after* the signs allotted to the twelve tribes of Israel, as seems to be the case in the seventy-fourth page of the Borgian MS., where the skull or symbol of death placed over the other signs may signify *that he had redeemed them from it.* The two signs dedicated to Quecalcoatle were Ehecatl, or the wind, and the green feathered serpent which occupy *the first and the last places* amongst these signs. The seventy-first page of the same MS. seems to represent a cross overshadowed by the wings of a cherub, beneath which Quecalcoatle is reclining, whilst the figures on the sides and the mutilated human limbs around, may bear some allusion to the punishment of his enemies. The eagles which are represented in the same page, remind us that that bird is sometimes mentioned in the Old Testament as an instrument of divine wrath, as in the eleventh verse of the forty-sixth chapter of Isaiah,—"Calling a ravenous bird from the East, the man that executeth my counsel from a far country: yea, I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it." Since the Jews interpret the Old Testament in so very different a manner from Christians, and contend that the Messiah is spoken of under innumerable types which the latter refuse to recognize, because they have not been noticed by the Apostles, we may reasonably demand whether the eagle was one of them, and whether the representation of Quecalcoatle, borne upon the wings of an eagle, which occurs in the fourth page of the Borgian MS., may not allude in some manner to the fourth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Exodus,—"Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself." It is remarkable that in these Mexican paintings the faces of many of the figures are black, whilst the nails on the hands and feet of others are long, and more like the talons of birds than human nails, and that the visage of Quecalcoatle is frequently painted in a very deformed manner. Even here Jewish absurdity and the perversion of ancient prophecy seem to betray themselves. The Jews esteemed long nails as the symbol of the divine ordinance, "Be ye fruitful and multiply;" and it is therefore probable from this as well as from other reasons which are enumerated in the following passage, taken from a little work treating of their religion, that they would have added them to the representations of their heroic or mythological personages. "They look so attentively to their nailes, because of their great fruitfulnesse, for though they cut them every Friday, yet they quickly grow againe. Some say, they doe it by reason of the garments which God gave to Adam in Paradise, which were naile coloured. Some say they doe it by reason of the wonderfull difference which is between the nailes and the flesh, of which wonderfull difference a wonderfull consideration proceeded from the first man. For when Adam saw the world covered with darknesse, he cryed out, 'O miserable man that I am, for whose sin the world is become darke.' Here God put a most clear minde into man, that he should strike two flints one against the other, by the stroke whereof fire came forth, and he lighted a candle by it; and when he saw himselfe stark naked, but onely upon the ends of his fingers that were covered with nailes, falling into a wonderfull admiration he praised God therefore, as it is found in a book, called *Rabi*, cap. 41." The verse in the Old Testament, "All faces shall gather blackness," may explain the reason why figures with such faces often occur in Mexican paintings: and as regards the deformity of features which the Mexicans attributed to Quecalcoatle, the words of Isaiah in the fifty-second chapter of his Prophecies, which the Jews believed to refer to their Messiah, and which they might have understood in an exaggerated sense, must also be recollected: "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high. As many were astonished at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men: so shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider:" and the prophecy contained in the fifty-third and following chapter, which is more frequently cited: "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him." If some persons, recollecting that Christ disproves in the twenty-second chapter of Saint Matthew the Messiah to he David's son, by putting the question to the Pharisees,—"If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?" should contend that the passage first quoted from Isaiah cannot refer to the Messiah, because God would not call his son and equal his servant; this objection may be answered by citing the eighth verse of the third chapter of Zechariah,—"Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, thou, and thy fellows that sit before thee: for they are men wondered at: for, behold, I will bring forth *my servant* The BRANCH." By *the branch* the Messiah is here signified, as is unequivocally declared in the twelfth and thirteenth verses of the sixth chapter of the same Prophet,—"And speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is The BRANCH; and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord: Even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne: and the counsel of peace shall be between them both." Notwithstanding the reserve which the early Spanish historians imposed upon themselves in treating of Quecalcoatle, (whose name in fact would scarcely have been handed

the four fates*, or goddesses of hell, that the poets feign, Alethio, Megara, Thesiphonte, and Proserpine.

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the Furies are here confounded with the Fates; that the latter were but three in number, and that Proserpine was the wife of Pluto and the queen of hell.

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down to us but for the preservation of a chance copy of the first edition of the *Indian Monarchy* of Torquemada, from which a second edition was printed at Madrid in 1723,) we are still enabled to give some description of his busts, some of which, it may be supposed, were very deformed and others much less so. Herrera says: " En Chulula, republica cerca de Mexico, adoraban un famoso idolo, que era dios de las mercaderias, porque eran grandes mercaderes, i oi dia son dados à tratos. Llamabanle Quatzalcoatl: i estaba en una gran plaça, en un templo mui alto; tenia al rededor de sì oro, plata, plumas, ropas de valor, en figura de hombre, la cara de pajaro, con el pico colorado, i sobre èl una cresta, i berrugas, con unas rengleras de dientes: i la lengua defuera: en la cabeça una mitra de papel puntiaguda; i pintada una hoz en la mano, i muchos adereços de oro en las piernas, porque hacia ricos à los que queria: i su nombre significaba culebra de pluma rica."—*Historia de las Indias Occidentales,* dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. xv.

" In Chulula, a republic in the neighbourhood of Mexico, they worshiped a famous idol, who was the god of merchandize; for they were great merchants, and at present they are addicted to traffic. They called him Quatzalcoatl. He was placed in a large square, in a very lofty temple. He was surrounded with gold and silver, feathers, and precious apparel, and was of the shape of a man, with the face of a bird with a scarlet bill, over which was a crest, with warts and rows of teeth: he had a protruding tongue: on his head he wore a mitre, terminating in a point; a sickle was painted in his hand, and many golden ornaments were fastened to his legs, for he enriched those whom he pleased. The signification of his name was, ' the serpent of rich plumage.' " In Yucatan, Echuah was probably the god of merchants, although Quecalcoatle was revered in that character in Mexico. The sickle mentioned by Herrera seems to have been distinguished by the Mexicans by the appellation of Xiuhatlatli, erroneously supposed elsewhere to have been a warlike weapon for impelling darts; because the representation of it as if employed for that purpose frequently occurs in the mythological paintings of the Mexicans, but which (since no Spanish authors notice such a military weapon as customary amongst the Mexicans or any other Indian tribes) it is to be presumed was rather a symbol of divine than civil warfare. It may be interesting to compare Herrera's description of the bust of Quecalcoatle with the following account transmitted to us by Acosta of the three principal images of Tezcatlipoca, Huitzilopuchtli, and Tlaloc, which were adored by the Mexicans: " Primarium Mexicanorum idolum, ut diximus, Vitzlipuzli erat, ex ligno cælatum forma viri, in sella, quæ supra arceram seu lecticam fundabatur, considentis. Ex hujus utrisque lateribus, baculus, colubrino capite præeminens, porrigebatur. Per sellam autem, significabatur, eum eo gestu in cælo residere. Idoli præputium undiquaque livescebat. Per transversum nasum livida macula ab una aure usque ad alteram ducta erat. Caput ejus crista pretiosissima, *rostro avium simili,* tegebatur. Hujus apex aut extremitas levigato auro obducta erat. Ipsum idolum læva manu rotundam candentemque parmam, quinque albis pennis *in crucis morem* decussatis, gerebat: ex cujus summitate *palmæ ramulus* ex auro factus, prominebat. In latere ejus quatuor tela conspicua erant, quæ Mexicani ipsi cælitus missa prætendunt, ut iis *facinora illa,* de quibus suo loco dicemus, designaret. Ad dextram fulcrum quoddam, anguis forma statutum erat, granis ac striis cæruleis undiquaque exsculptum. Omnibus et singulis his ornamentis, quorum adhuc multò plura erant, suæ peculiares interpretationes conveniebant, quæ apud Mexicanos tales erant. Vitzliputzli nomen idem est, ac inversa, et conspectu pulchra crista seu penna. De templi verò insigni ornatu, ac sacrificiis, jejuniis, et ceremoniis, idolo exhibitis, in sequentibus mentio fiet. Dictum idolum in aram editiorem locatum pannis integebatur, et insuper ornamentis variis, ex auro, pennisque, ac pennatis clypeis, opera exquisitissima et ingeniosissima fabrefactis, cingebatur. Cujus quidem veneratio ut esset illustrior, *ante ejus faciem perpetuò Gordiin suspendebatur.* Juxta hujus sacellum, aliud quoque aditum, non usqueadeò excultum erat. Hoc aliud idolum Tlaloc vocatum condebatur, quod Vitzliputzli semper proximum statuebatur, ut quod ejusdem cum illo potentiæ particeps esset. Præter hæc etiam tertium quoddam idolum colebatur apud Mexicanos, quod remittendis peccatis destinabatur. Hoc Tezcathlipuca vocabatur. Id ex nitente nigro saxo exculptum, vestibus pretiosis habitu Mexicanorum sartis tegebatur. Aures ejus aureis, labra verò inferiora argenteis annulis transmissis, conspicua erant. His interdum virides, nonnunquam cæruleæ pennæ, externa facie Smaragdos aut cyanos referentes, inserebantur. Capilli pars inferior filo aureo innexa erat: in cujus extremitate auris aurea, fumo quodam volitante (is autem idea precum, à peccatoribus fusarum, ac ab idolo exaudiendarum erat) insignis, figebatur. Intra verò aures geminas Clenodiorum magna vis conspiciebatur. Ex collo etiam clenodium, totum pectus anterius integens, suspensum erat," &c. &c.

Both a fan and a sickle were sometimes placed in the hands of Quecalcoatle, as it would appear from a bust which is preserved in the British Museum, the countenance of which is mutilated though not deformed, and the curve of the sickle in the right hand broken off. Reasons are given in another place for assuming this bust to be one of Quecalcoatle; but it would seem that the Mexican artist intended to give an expression of youth and beauty to the face; nor is it surprising that his image should not always have been sculptured with a deformed visage, according to the description of Torquemada: " Su imagen tenia la cara mui fea, y la cabeça larga, y *mui barbado.*" " His image had a very ugly face, a large head, and a thick beard:" since the same motives which induced some Spanish writers, whilst openly reviling the other Mexican gods, to speak almost in respectful terms of Quecalcoatle,—viz. a regard for the excellence of his

1. Miquitlantecotli*, the god of hell, otherwise called Tzitzimitl, who is the same as Lucifer. 2. Miquitecacigua. 3. Yxpuzteque, the lame demon who appeared in the streets with the feet of

* The infernal gods of the Mexicans, or those who according to their notions presided over hell, may be immediately recognized in their paintings by a kind of spike projecting from the back of their heads, and usually painted of a red colour to represent perhaps the point of a lance bathed in blood; this symbol is common to Miquitlantecotli and the other gods of hell.

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moral precepts, and the exemplary conduct of his life,—might have inclined the Mexicans occasionally to represent him with a sweet and benignant expression of countenance. Torquemada, in the sixth book of his *Indian Monarchy*, thus eulogizes Quecalcoatle: " A la verdad el señorio de este Quetzalcohuatl fue suave, y no les pidiò en servicio sino cosas ligeras, y no penosas, y les enseño las que eran virtuosas, prohibiendoles las malas, nocivas, y dañosas, enseñandoles tambien à aborrecerlas." " In truth, the dominion of Quetzalcohuatl was sweet, *and he exacted no service from them but easy and light things*, instructing them in such as were virtuous, and prohibiting such as were wicked, evil, and injurious, teaching them likewise to abhor them." The passage in the New Testament, " Come unto me, ye that are heavy laden," &c. seems to have occurred to the recollection of Torquemada when writing these lines, if he did not borrow them from the writings of some of the more ancient missionaries, many of whose works he acknowledges came into his hands. He has, however, fallen into the same inconsistency as several other Spanish authors, such as Gomara and Herrera, who sometimes praise and at other times speak in terms of execration, of Quecalcoatle, whose name seems, by the tacit consent of the Spanish historians, to have been allowed speedily to sink into oblivion, without any attempt being made to clear up his most mysterious history. In Mexico, it is probable that great pains were taken by the monks and clergy to root out the remembrance of him, and that legendary tales relating to his life were not allowed to be inserted in books published either in that city or in Spain. It is certainly very remarkable that Bernal Diaz, who wrote a circumstantial account of the conquest of New Spain, and whose memory seems scarcely ever to have failed him, should, in describing the city of Cholula and its famous temple, have declared that he had forgotten the name of the idol to which it was dedicated; although it appears, from what he says a few chapters afterwards, that he had not forgotten the number of steps of which the staircase leading to the upper area of that temple consisted: " Dirè que en Cholula el gran adoratorio que en èl tenian, era de mayor altor que no el de Mexico, porque tenia ciento y veinte gradas."—*Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva-España*, cap. lxxxxii. pag. 72. Since Bernal Diaz could not have been really ignorant of a fact which was so notorious to all Spaniards at all conversant with the history of the Mexicans,—that both the city and the temple of Cholula were dedicated to Quecalcoatle,—it is possible that what has been asserted by a Spanish author, who wrote in Mexico in the seventeenth century, may be true; that he possessed a MS. copy of Bernal Diaz's History which differed materially in many passages from the printed edition. If, however, the printed edition be in this place correct, it is probable that Bernal Diaz dissimulates his knowledge, either in compliance with the wishes, or in obedience to the commands, of others, of some portion of the religious history of the New World. The passage in which he professes to have forgotten the name of the idol to which the temple of Cholula was dedicated is the following: " Tenia aquella ciudad en aquel tiempo sobre cien torres muy altas, que eran cues, è adoratorios, donde estavan sus idolos, especial el cu mayor era de mas altor que el de Mexico, puesto que era muy suntuoso y alto el cu Mexicano, y tenia otros cien patios para el servicio de los cues, y segun entendimos, avia alli un idolo muy grande, *el nombre dèl no me acuerdo, mas entre ellos tenia gran devocion*, y venian de muchas partes à le sacrificar, y tenia como á manera de *novenas*, y le presentavan de las haziendas que tenian."

M. Dupaix discovered in the province of Tlascala, which bordered on Cholula, a bust which so exactly corresponds with the description given by Herrera of the image of Quecalcoatle, which was adored in that city, that we cannot refrain from referring to the 53rd plate of the Second Part of his *Monuments*, which contains a representation of it under the number 123. The bird's face was perhaps only a mask or vizor, symbolical of his absence; or it might have been the bill of the Huicilan, and have alluded to the proper name Huitzilopuchtli, and to the bird which invited the Mexicans out of the bush to set out on their pilgrimage from Aztlan. It deserves to be remarked, that both the hands of this figure seem to be pierced by nails, the heads of which are visible. The tradition current in Yucatan, that Eopuco crowned Bacab with thorns, appears also to be preserved in its head-dress. A crown of thorns of another fashion may perhaps be recognized on the head of another piece of ancient sculpture discovered by M. Dupaix. This figure, in relievo, is represented in the 9th plate of his *Monuments*, Part the Third, No. 13; and the crown seems to be formed out of the thorny leaves of the aloe. If such testimony as that of Las Casas, Remesal, De Salaçar, and Torquemada, may still, from the importance of the subject, stand in need of further corroboration before belief can be yielded to the traditions of Yucatan, which even went so far as to affirm that Bacab had been crucified by Eopuco, it is afforded by the discovery which M. Dupaix made of a cross in a temple, when investigating the ruins of the ancient city of Palenque, which was situated on the borders of Yucatan. Although, in anticipation of the objection which some persons may be inclined to make, that the finding of a cross on the confines of Yucatan, was no proof that the people of that province believed as a matter of faith in the crucifixion of an individual, we shall insert a passage from *Cogolludo's History of Yucatan*, which is very remarkable, as the cross there mentioned had the image of a person crucified sculptured upon it: " En medio del patio, que haze el claustro de nuestro Convento de la Ciudad de Merida, ay una cruz de piedra, que serà del

a cock as he is here represented; he is the same as Satan, or the adversary. 4. Nexoxocho. 5. Nextepeua, the scatterer of ashes. 6. Micapetlacoli. 7. Contemoque, he who descends head foremost from the sky. The signification of this name is the same as that of Diabolus, viz. deorsum cadens, falling downwards; for they say that he descends for souls as the spider lowers itself with its head downwards from the web*. 8. Chalmecaciuatl.

* The following is a curious passage extracted from the forty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of *Torquemada's Indian Monarchy*: "Otros dijeron que Tezcatlipuca avia decendido del cielo, descolgandose por una soga que avia hecho de tela de araña, y que andando por este mundo, desterró á Quetzalcohuatl que en Tulla fue muchos años señor." "Others relate that Tezcatlipuca descended from heaven, letting himself down by a rope which he had formed of spiders' webs, and that directing his course through the world, he banished Quetzalcohuatl who had been many years king in Tulla." In another chapter Torquemada makes Quecalcoatle joint king of Tula with Huemac. The daughter of Huemac, according to Sahagun, fell likewise a victim to the temptation and fraud of Tetzcatlipuca. If the Mexicans imputed the temptation and persecutions of Quecalcoatle to an evil spirit, it is more probable that they believed Contemoque to have been the cause of them than Tezcatlipoca, who was one of their supreme deities; and who if not the same as Tonacatecutli, was supposed to reside with him in the ninth or highest heaven. It is evident from the plate, that Tezcatlipoca was not one of the infernal gods of the Mexicans, although some authors have confounded him with Miquitlantecotli, since their symbol was the head of a lance, whilst his was a smoking mirror, as it is explained by the interpreter, which was likewise common to Quecalcoatle and Chalchiuhtotoli; they inhabited hell, and he appears to have presided *over limbo*[1].

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[1] Assuming this to be the case, as the plate seems clearly to indicate, the belief of the Mexicans, that children were more immediately under the protection of Tezcatlipoca, must seem very extraordinary; as it would almost imply some acquaintance with the tenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Saint Matthew, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

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gruesso de una sesma por cada parte de los quatro lados, y como una vara de largo, y se echa de vèr estàr su longitud quebrada, y faltarle algun pedaço. Tiene sacado de medio relieve en la misma piedra una figura de un santo crucifixo, como de media vara de largo. Entiendese aver sido una de las que en el tiempo de la infidelidad de los Indios se hallaron en la Isla de Cozumel. Avia muchos años que estaba en lo superior de la iglesia, y se dezia, que desde que la pusieron alli, no daba casi rayo alguno, y que de antes solian caer muchos en el Convento. Cayòse con algun temporal, y la baxaron à la iglesia, dònde algun tiempo la vimos arrimada al pie del altar de la capilla de el Capitan Alonso Carrio de Valdès, con poca decencia. Aviendo sido electo Provincial el Reverendo Padre Fr. Antonio Ramirez, por dezirse lo que se dezia de esta santa cruz, y colocarla mas decentemente; hizo labrar un assiento de piedra de silleria, y sobre èl unas gradas, en medio una coluna de altura competente, en cuyo remate hizo fixar el de la cruz, quedando derecha, y la efigie del santo crucifixo à la parte Oriental; dorados los remates de la cruz, que son labrados de vistosas molduras. Por la voz comun, asi de religiosos como seculares, y por no afirmar cosa de que no ay total certidumbre, se puso à las espaldas de ella un rotulo, que dize: *Esta cruz se hallò en Cozumel sin tradicion.* Aviendo sabido Don Eugenio de Alcantara (que muriò beneficiado del partido de Hoctun, y fué de los ministros doctrineros, que mas lengua han sabido de estos Indios; curiosissimo en averiguar antiguallas suyas, grande eclesiastico, y zelosissimo de que fuessen verdaderamente Christianos,) que andaba yo ocupado en estos escritos, me dixo no una vez sola, que podia escrivir con seguridad, que esta santa cruz la tenian los Indios en Cozumel en tiempo de su infidelidad, y que avia años, que se llevò à Merida, porque aviendo oido à muchos lo que se dezia de ella, avia hecho particular inquisicion con Indios muy viejos de por allà, y se lo avian afirmado assi. Podia hazer dificultad la efigie del santo crucifixo que tiene; pero considerado lo que se ha dicho en este libro, que creìan estos Indios, que el Hijo del Dios à quien llamaban Bacàb, avia muerto puesto en una cruz, tendidos los braços, no parece tan dificil de entender le tuviessen figurado, segun el credito de religion que tenian."—*Historia de Yucathan,* lib. iv. cap. ix. "In the middle of the court formed by the cloister of our convent in the city of Merida, there is a stone cross, the thickness of the four several sides of which is about six inches, and their length a yard; its length has evidently been diminished by a part having been broken off. The figure of a saint crucified, of about half a yard in length, is sculptured in mezzo-relievo on the same stone. It is understood to have been one of the crosses which in the times of Indian paganism were discovered in the island of Cozumel. Many years ago it stood in the upper part of the church; and it is reported that, from the period when it was placed there, scarcely any flashes of lightning struck the convent, although it had often been struck before that time. Being blown down in a storm, they carried it into the lower body of the church where we saw it for some time leaning against the foot of the altar of the chapel of captain Alonso Carrio de Valdès, with little decency. The reverend father, brother Antonio Ramirez, on being elected Provincial, both on account of that which was rumoured of this cross, and in order to place it in a more decent situation, caused a foundation, composed of stones, to be

PLATE V.

This was the third place for souls which passed from this life, to which the souls alone of children who died before attaining the use of reason went. They feigned the existence of a tree from which milk distilled, where all children who died at such an age were carried; for the Devil, who is so inimical to the honour of God, even in this instance has wished to show his rivalry: for in the same way as our holy doctors teach the existence of limbo for children who die without baptism, or without the circumcision of the old law, or without the sacrifice of the natural man, so he has caused these poor people to believe that there was such a place for their children; and he has superadded another error—the persuading them that these children have to return from thence to re-people the world after the third destruction which they suppose that it has to undergo, for they believe that the world has already been twice destroyed.

1. Chichiualquauitl*, which signifies the tree of milk which nourishes children who die before attaining the use of reason.

* The interpreter of the *Codex Vaticanus* seems to be here guilty of some inadvertence, in saying that the Mexicans believed that the world had been only twice destroyed. A reason may be assigned for an apparent contradiction which occasionally occurs in the course of the following pages, respecting the precise number of destructions which they supposed that the world had undergone, since the destruction of the province of Tulan may sometimes be reckoned, and sometimes omitted as a catastrophe which did not affect the entire world: but even this supposition would not explain a difference of two in the estimate of the total number of these destructions; as in other places it is said that the world had undergone four destructions, and would again be destroyed; except we admit that the destruction of the world by fire may have been represented *prospectively* instead of retrospectively in the Mexican paintings; and that hence may have originated a mistake on the part of those who did not understand the right interpretation of these paintings in computing this number, and the occasion of confounding the fifth age, which the fourth destruction of the world was to usher in, with the fourth destruction itself. The Mexicans certainly believed that the world would again be destroyed by fire, that it had been inundated by water; and the age of wind probably refers to the first great catastrophe which befel the earth in consequence of the sin and disobedience of our first parents. The curse pronounced against Adam, which is supposed to have operated so great a change in its state, and to have converted it from a garden into a wilderness, seems to be alluded to in the Peruvian tradition of Con, and of the people he created, which is thus related by Gomara: "Inchó la tierra de ombres y mugeres que crió, y dió les mucha fruta y pan con lo demas á la vida necessario. Mas empero por enojo que algunos le hizieron, bolvió la buena tierra que les avia dado, en arenales secos y esteriles, como son los de la costa, y les quitó la lluvia, ca nunca despues aca llovio alli. Dexóles solamente los rios de piadoso, para que se mantuviessen con regadio y trabajo." "He filled the earth with men and women whom he had created, and gave them fruits and bread in abundance, with every other necessary of life. But notwithstanding, on account of some offence which they were guilty of towards him, he changed the good soil which he had given them into dry and barren sands, like those situated on the sea-coast, and deprived them of rain; for never from that period did rain fall again in that country: out of compassion alone he left them the rivers, that they might support life by means of irrigation and toil." On the supposition that the destruction by winds was the first in order of the destructions which the Mexicans conceived that the world had undergone, and that it referred to some great change operated in the soil of the earth, affecting vegetation and its productive powers, Ehecatl, or the sign of wind, which is generally the forerunner and cause of blights and famine, was a not ill-chosen symbol of the diminished fertility of the earth, and the sterility inflicted upon it by a divine malediction.

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constructed for it, with steps up to it, and a pillar in the middle of sufficient height, on the top of which was fixed the cross in an upright position, with the image of the crucified saint turned towards the East, its extremities being gilt and worked with beautiful mouldings. With the general consent both of the ecclesiastics and of the laity, and in order not to affirm aught which was not entirely certain, an inscription was placed on the back of it, which says, 'This cross was found in Cozumel, without tradition.' Having become acquainted with Don Eugenio de Alcantara (who died possessing the benefice of Hoctun, and was one of those teachers of the Gospel

PLATE VI.

Tezcatlipoca*, here represented, was one of their most potent deities: they say that he appeared in that country on the top of a mountain called Tezcatepec, which signifies the Mountain of Mirrors. They paid him great reverence and adoration, and addressed him in their prayers with the appellation of Titlaclahuan, which means, Lord, whose servants we are. They paint in his hands a certain sort of weapon†, together with a shield and a quiver of arrows; and at his feet a serpent and a heap of fire, denoting that he is the creator of the elements: alluding, perhaps, to the error of the Manicheans, who considered these wretched portions of matter as the principle of visible things. They believed him, likewise, to be the originator of wars; as they affirm that he was one of those who fell from heaven. The old people of the country say, that those who entered where his idol stood, "cecidebant in facies suas," fell on their faces and thus adored him; and that they took a little earth from the ground, which they swallowed with the greatest reverence, and addressed him "Lord, since we are thy servants, grant us all which we may stand in need of ‡."

2. Tezcatlipoca. 3. Serpent. 4. Water. 5. Fire.

PLATE VII.

This is the first age which they record, in which Water reigned, till at last it destroyed the world which these two first of the human race had peopled, whom the great triune God had in the

who was most versed in the languages of these Indians, and very curious in verifying their antiquities, a great ecclesiastic, and most desirous of their becoming true Christians,) when engaged in the composition of this History, he told me, not once only, that I might safely write that the Indians of Cozumel possessed this holy cross in the time of their paganism, and that some years had elapsed since it was brought to Merida: for having heard from many persons what was reported of it, he had made particular inquiries of some very old Indians who resided there, who assured him that it was the fact. The image which it bears of the crucified saint may cause some difficulty: but if that which is said in this book be considered, that these Indians believed that the Son of God, whom they called Bacab, had died upon a cross, with his arms stretched out upon it, it cannot appear so difficult a matter to comprehend that they should have formed his image according to the religious creed which they professed."

* This proper name is compounded of the following words, *Tezca* the name of the mountain on which this god is said to have appeared to the Mexicans, *tlil* dark, and *poca* smoke, with reference no doubt to the manner in which he manifested himself.

† The name of this weapon was Xiuatlatli, which appears to have been used to propel a spear with greater force: it was peculiar to the New World. The Mexicans displayed much ingenuity in their warlike weapons, but they did not employ poisoned arrows against their enemies like many other Indian tribes. They used, in the diversion of the chase, a weapon called by the Spaniards a *cerbatana,* which was a kind of tube through which they blew with the breath a ball, and hit a mark with great exactness. Cortes, in his letter to Charles the Fifth, says that Montezuma gave him some of these tubes painted so exquisitely with birds and flowers, that he could not describe to the Emperor their perfection. This appears to have been an invention of African origin.

‡ Torquemada, describing the adoration which the Mexicans paid to Tezcatlipoca, says, "quien de los que saben algo de historia, y leen en ella los errores de los antiguos, no dira que este es Jupiter tan celebrado de todos ellos?" "who at all conversant with history, and who has read the errors of the ancients, will not say that this was Jupiter so celebrated by them?" He has preserved a prayer which the Mexicans addressed to this God, which commences, "O Almighty God, who givest life to those who invoke thee by the appellation of Titlaclahua, deign to grant me all that is necessary for my maintenance, both meat and drink." "O Dios todo poderoso, que dais vida á los hombres que os llamais Titlaclahua, hacedme esta tan señalada merced, de darme todo lo necessario para el sustento de la vida, asi del comer, como del beber."

beginning placed in it. This age, according to their computation, lasted four thousand and eight years; and on the occurrence of that great deluge, they say that men were changed into fish: these large fish they named Tlacamichin, which signifies Men-fish. Most of the old people of Mexico say that a single man and a single woman escaped from this deluge, from whom, in course of time, mankind multiplied. The tree in which they saved themselves was called the Ahuehuete*; and they say that this deluge happened in the tenth sign, according to their computation, which they represented by Water, which on account of its clearness they place in their calendar. They say that during the first age men ate no bread, but only of a certain kind of wild maize which they call Atzitziutli. They name this first age Çoniztal†, which signifies the White Head; others say that not only did these two who were preserved in the tree escape, but that seven others remained hid in a certain cave, and that the deluge having passed away, they came forth and restored the population of the earth, dispersing themselves over it; and that their descendants in course of time worshiped them as gods, each in his own nation; and thus the Tepanechi adored one whom they called Hulhueteotli‡; and the Chishimeche, Quetzalcouatl; and the Culhue, Tzinacouatl,—for from these their generations had descended§. For this cause they held lineage in great account, and wherever they chanced to be, they said "I am of such a lineage‖." They likewise worshiped their first founder, and offered him sacrifice, and called him the Heart of the People, to whom they made an idol, which was preserved in a very secure place, and covered with vestments; and all their descendants deposited in that place rich jewels, such as gold and precious stones. Before this idol, which they called their Heart¶, wood was always burning, with which they had mixed copal or incense.

In this first age, giants, of whom the accompanying figure is the representation, existed in that country, who were those whom they called Tzocuillicxeque, of such vast stature that a monk of the order of Saint Dominic, named Brother Peter de los Rios, who is the person who copied the greatest part of these paintings, relates that he beheld with his own eyes a molar tooth** from the jaw

* Ahuehuete is the Mexican name for the fir. The manner in which this man and woman escaped is not very clearly explained in the text, but the plate shows that it was in an ark or boat.

† In allusion perhaps to its great antiquity, or because silver is of that colour.

‡ If this proper name were written Huehueteotli, it would signify *the ancient God.*

§ Those missionaries who, as Torquemada informs us, supposed that Quecalcoatle was an Irishman, because he was called Cuculcan in Yucatan, and wore a hood and a vest covered with red crosses, and ate raw flesh,—a practice which they seem to think was common amongst the ancient Irish, (although Ireland was a country renowned for its learning and the resort of scholars from all parts of Europe, when Spain under the Goths had actually forgotten the use of letters,)—might as well attempt to prove that he was a Carthusian monk, because the Carthusians were originally so named from the paper covering which they wore on their heads: the Italian word *cartoccio* being defined by Facciolati in his *Lexicon* to be "involucrum chartaceum quo a pharmacopolis aliisque institoribus pulveres ac similia clauduntur;" and Quecalcoatle is said to have worn a pointed paper mitre, and is so represented in Mexican paintings.

‖ The Jews were great genealogists.

¶ Clavigero mentions a very precious emerald with a bird carved upon it, and worshiped by the Indians as the Heart of the People, which was destroyed by a missionary. The signification of the name of Votan, who was the Quecalcoatle of the Chiapanese, was a *heart.*

** The science of geology, which has made such considerable advances in England during the brilliant reign of His present Majesty, seems destined to promote the cause of truth. The bones of elephants and of unknown species of animals, which for thousands of years have ceased to exist, are no longer considered even by the common people as indubitable proofs of the existence of giants in days of yore; and although Torquemada says, "Se dice que huvo gran noticia en el Peru de unos gigantes que vinieron á aquellas partes, cuios huesos se hallan oi dia de disforme grandeça cerca de Manta y de Puerto Viejo; y en

of one of these giants, which was discovered by the Indians of Amaquemecam whilst repairing the streets of Mexico in the year 1556, which he himself weighed, and found to be three pounds wanting one ounce: he presented it to the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco; and other persons saw it; whence an opinion may be formed of the size of these giants, and likewise from other bones which have been found in those countries. They relate of one of the seven, whom they mention as having escaped from the deluge, that the earth becoming populous he went to Chululan, and there began to build a tower, which is that of which the brick base is still visible. The name of that chief was Xelua; he built it in order, should a deluge again happen, to escape upon it; its base is eighteen hundred feet in circumference*. When it had already reached a great height, lightning from heaven fell and destroyed it. This event struck terror into the Mexicans, whose chief was named Quemoque†; and on this they deliberated together, whether they should ask advice of their god Toseque, who commanded them to fast eight years, the four first on bread and water, and the other four on bread of the seed of Bledos; and many of them completed this fast, and at its termination the earth swallowed them up; and those who remained, availing themselves of this history, have recorded it, together with the destruction of Tula, which happened shortly afterwards‡. They still sing, in their dances and festivals, the song which commences with Tulanianhululaez§, in which they recite the history.

1. Apachihuilliztli. 2. Each of these circles stands for a mita, or year. 3. Each of these branches equals four hundred years, and the sum of all is four thousand and eight years. 4. Chalchiuitlicue. 5. Water. 6. Tzocuillicxeque, which means a giant.

PLATE VIII.

Ecacocoe. They paint in this manner the second age, which they say lasted four thousand and ten years, at the conclusion of which they record that the world ended by the force of very violent winds, and that men were changed into apes. They say that one man and one woman escaped from this deluge‖ within a stone. This deluge happened in the sign which they name One Dog, which is

proporcion avian de ser aquellos hombres mas que tres tanto majores que los Indios de aora. Dicen que aquellos gigantes vinieron por mar, y que hicieron guerra á los de la tierra, y que edificaron edificios sobervios, y muestran oi un poço hecho de piedras de gran valor. Dicen mas que aquellos hombres haciendo pecados enormes, y especialmente usandolo contra natura, fueron abrasados, y consumidos con fuego que vino del cielo,"—we may be permitted to doubt the fact.

* M. Dupaix gives a drawing of this pyramid, or Teocali, in its present state, with an accompanying scale of measurement. Clavigero says that he had ascended it on horseback, and that it was half a mile in circumference at the base; and according to M. de Humboldt it is hollow. There can be little doubt that the principle of the arch was understood by those who constructed this vast monument, and that it was built on the same plan as the other Teocalis of New Spain.

† The first syllable of Quemoque was probably *hue*, signifying *old* or *great*, of which the reduplication, forming the superlative of the adjective, is found in the proper name Quequecoyotl. This name, as well as that of Moquihuix, has some resemblance to Moses; the symbol of the latter was the head of a man with a remarkable ornament or memorial attached to the nose, of very frequent occurrence in the Mexican paintings. This symbol is represented in the nineteenth plate of the Collection of Mendoza, under the number 20.

‡ The original text is difficult to be understood in this place.

§ Tulanianhululaez seems to be a metrical line resembling in measure the *Antiphonaria*, accustomed in ancient times to be sung in convents.

‖ Deluge is the literal translation of the Italian, which means *destruction* in a general sense.

found in their calendar; for from such an accident they took occasion to invent those figures which preside over all the days of the month and of the year, as will presently be seen. In this age, as in the first, they ate no bread, but only forest fruits, called Acotzintli. This age they named Coneuztuque, that is the Golden Age.

1. The sign of One Dog. 2. Citlaltotonametle.

PLATE IX.

Tlequiyahuilli, the third age, they say took its origin from a man and woman who escaped in a subterraneous cavern* when the world was destroyed for the third time by fire. This age lasted four thousand eight hundred and one years. The fire happened in the sign which they name Nine Earthquakes, which they place in their calendar. In this age they ate no bread, but only the fruit of the Izlucoco. They call this age Tzonchichiltuque, which means the Coloured or Red Age.

1. The sign of Nine Earthquakes. 2. Xiuitecotle. 3. Tlequiyahuilli.

PLATE X.

The fourth age, according to their calculation, is that in which the destruction of the province of Tulan took place, which they say was destroyed on account of the vices of the inhabitants; and accordingly they represent in their paintings men occupied in dances: and in consequence of these vices a very severe famine befel them, and in this manner the province was destroyed. They say that this famine continued five thousand and forty-two years†. They add, moreover, that it rained blood, and that many died of terror. They call this age the age of Black Hair‡. The entire people were not destroyed, but only a considerable portion of them.

1. Sochiquetzal §; that is to say, the Holding up of Roses ‖.

These miserable men hence invented certain dreams, the result of their own blindness, relating that a god of the name of Citlallatonac, which is the sign seen in heaven called Saint James's or the Milky Way, sent an ambassador from heaven on an embassy to a virgin of Tulan called Chimal-

* The stone or rock, in the hollow of which a remnant of the human race was saved when the world was destroyed by winds, would have afforded no security against fire; this pair therefore retreated into a subterraneous cavern.

† A slight mistake has been here made in reckoning up the Mexican symbols of number.

‡ In opposition, perhaps, to that of White Hair, the name by which the first of the four ages was distinguished. As by the metaphor of white hair age and antiquity were denoted, so black hair may have been the symbol of youth and of that which was modern.

§ This proper name is more probably the same as Suchiquecal. This goddess of the New World seems to have had many epithets bestowed upon her; and being called Chimalman, it becomes also a matter of conjecture whether she might not have been Tocateutle mentioned above, which latter name bears much similarity to the Greek appellation of Θεοτοκος, which was assigned to the Virgin Mary, because she was the mother of the Messiah.—The signification of *teutle* in the Mexican language exactly corresponds with that of Θεος.

‖ This plate refers to the fourth age of the Mexicans, or that of Quecalcoatle, and was probably designated Yztapal Nanazcaya, or the Age of Roses. Yztapal signifies a flint knife; and two knives of this description, partly concealed by branches of the rose-tree, are represented in the plate: these symbols denote the commencement of penance which began with Quecalcoatle. The subject of the painting seems to be the annunciation to Chimalman, who is here named Sochiquetzal, that she should be the mother of Quecalcoatle.

man*, (which name signifies a shield,) who had two sisters, the one named Tzochitlique, and the other Conatlique; and that the three being alone in the house, two of them on perceiving the ambassador of heaven died of fright, Chimalman remaining alive, to whom the ambassador announced that it was the will of this god that she should conceive a son†; and having delivered to her the message, he rose and left the house: and as soon as he had left it, she conceived a son, without connection with man, who was called Quetzalcoatle, who they say is the god of air; and his temples are round in the manner of churches‡, although till that time such was not the fashion of their temples: he was the inventor of temples of this form, as we shall show. He it was, as they say, who caused hurricanes, and in my opinion was the god who was called Citaladuali, and it was he who destroyed the world by winds§. This painting is here wanting‖, together with another, which represented that as soon as this son of the Virgin was born he possessed the use of reason. The son of the Virgin, Topilcin Quecalcoatle, knowing that the vices of men were necessarily the cause of the troubles of the world, determined on asking the goddess Chalchiuitlicue¶, who is she who remained after the deluge with the man in the tree, and is the mother of the god Tlaloque, whom they have made goddess of water, that they might obtain rain when they stood in need of it; and accordingly Quecalcoatle commenced offering sacrifices to obtain rain, as a period of four years had elapsed since

The proper name Sochiquetzal is here interpreted *the lifting up of roses.* A curious tradition of the Mahometans respecting the birth of Christ may here be noticed: they say that he was the last of the prophets who was sent by God to prepare the way for Mahomet, and that he was born of the Virgin by the smelling of a rose. The interpreter of the *Codex Vaticanus* has made a mistake in calculating the number of years signified by the Mexican symbols; these symbols added together amount exactly to five thousand two hundred and six years. It is singular that this famine, by which may be meant generally a state of suffering and affliction, from which, according to the belief of the Mexicans, mankind were relieved by the coming of Quecalcoatle, should have nearly corresponded in its duration with the period of time which, according to the Septuagint, intervened between Adam and the birth of Christ. Boturini, commending the exact chronology of the ancient Mexicans, says, "No pagan nation refers primitive events to fixed dates like the Indians. They recount to us the history of the creation of the world, of the deluge, of the confusion of tongues at the time of the Tower of Babel, of the other epochs and ages of the world, of their ancestors' long travels in Asia, with the years precisely distinguished by their corresponding characters. They record in the year of Seven Rabbits the great eclipse which happened at the crucifixion of Christ our Lord; and the first Indians who were converted to Christianity, who at that time were perfectly well acquainted with their own chronology, and applied themselves with the utmost diligence to ours, have transmitted to us the information, that from the creation of the world to the happy nativity of Christ, five thousand one hundred and ninety-nine years had elapsed, which is the opinion or computation of the Seventy."—*Idea de una nueva Historia general de la America Septentrional,* p. 6.

* Gomara says that Chimalmatlh was the mother of Quecalcoatle.—*La Conquista de Mexico,* fol. cxx.

† The painting represents the ambassador or angel announcing this message to Suchiquecal, who was Eve, or the *woman* whose seed was to bruise the serpent's head, which prediction seems to be alluded to in the seventy-fourth page of the lesser Vatican MS., which immediately follows another, representing Quecalcoatle slaying the beast whose power was in its tail. It is singular that Suchiquecal should appear to be receiving a nosegay from the ambassador; since the Mahometans have a tradition that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary by the smelling of a rose. This age was called the Age of Roses.

‡ This style of ecclesiastical architecture must have been extremely ancient. Irish antiquarians have doubted whether the round towers near several of the old cathedrals in Ireland were not the remains of pagan superstition.

§ Perhaps the order in which the Mexican ages should follow each other, which seems to have been inverted, should be this, viz. the Age of Water first, then the Age of the Earth or Fire, then that of Quecalcoatle, and lastly that of Winds.

‖ The subject of the fourth plate is the destruction of the world by winds, which is perhaps the painting here supposed to be wanting. The symbolical image of the Sun, the Flints, and the Green Feathered Serpent, sufficiently denote that the deity who is there designated Citlaltotonametle, is Quecalcoatle. If the former name was Citlaltotonateotle, its signification would be *the star bird divinity;* and it is possible that a mistake may have occurred in transcribing it.

¶ Chalchiuitlicue was the name by which the virgin Chimalman was designated in heaven; she was also called Chalchiuhtlatonac, which signifies *the queen of heaven,* and Suchiquecal, which seems to mean *woman* in a general sense, or human nature, without reference to sex; since Ysnextli was also called Suchiquecal, and the inhabitants of the valley of Matalcingo are said to have offered sacrifices to the *god* Suchiquecal.

it had rained. They paint this goddess in the midst of a lake, wearing a crown, with a wood near her, to signify Tulan*, and with a censer before her to denote the commencement of sacrifice; she was clothed in blue: they dressed themselves in the same fashion when they celebrated her festival.

I cannot omit to point out in this place the cunning of our adversary, who so long ago devised this falsehood amongst these poor people, in order that if at any time they should attain the knowledge of the origin of the mystery of our redemption, which was when the angel Gabriel was sent by God to Our Lady the Virgin Mary on that divine embassy, when she displayed to him the most profound humility, calling herself servant when the angel called her lady; whence Saint Bernard says, that she conceived the true Son of God without connection with man,—they might attribute it to the Father of Lies, falsified and counterfeited in this false god Citlallatonac, and in his ambassador and in that virgin. The said Quetzalcoatletopiltzin, (which name means Our Dearly Beloved Son†,) perceiving that neither sin nor the troubles of the world ceased, they affirm of him, that in the same way as he was the first who commenced offering up prayers to the gods and performing sacrifices to them, so likewise that he was the first who did penance, in order to propitiate the gods to pardon his people. They say that he sacrificed himself, drawing forth his own blood with thorns, as a new kind of penance. He was accustomed to throw into the flames gold, gems, and incense; as it appeared to him that, since the troubles of his people had ensued from the little reverence which men felt towards the gods, as not only did they not serve them or offer to them such things as are held in estimation in the world, but that their intent was to give themselves up to the pleasures and recreations of this life ‡, and to commit many other sins, contrariwise it might be possible for him to appease them by means of these sacrifices, and above all, by his own blood. By these offerings therefore, and by other acts of penance, he appeased the gods to such a degree, that at the expiration of a long period, during which he had continued engaged in the practice of penance, a lizard appeared scratching the ground, giving him to understand that the scourge of Heaven had ceased, and that the earth would with joy produce its fruits, which quickly came to pass; and accordingly they relate, that on a sudden such abundance followed, that the earth, which had remained so many years barren, bore many kinds of fruit; and from that event they took four of their superstitious signs, which they have continued to use to the present time. The first sign is that by which they represent ungrateful men under the similitude of a stag;—and would to God that they had been under no other error than that! since the beast of burden, to which they are compared by the Psalmist, is a viler animal. For the second sign, which was intended to represent sterility, they painted a stone with a withered ear of maize upon it. The third, the

* Tulan, signifies in the Mexican language, *rushes*. The symbol of this city was a Bunch of Rushes, which has some similitude to a wood in Mexican paintings.

† Quetzalcoatle signifies *precious* or *dear*, and Topiltzin *our son*. The high esteem in which the green feathers of a bird named the Huitzilan were held by the Mexicans, (bunches of the feathers of which were called quetzalli,) attached the idea of something highly valuable or precious to this name. Vide *Clavigero's History of Mexico*, page 250 (note). It is an extraordinary thing, that in course of time this name or epithet of Quecalcoatle should have become a title of high dignity, with which the chief priest who presided over human sacrifices was invested.—*Clavigero's History of Mexico*, page 278.

‡ The Mexican religion was peculiarly austere: unlike the religions of antiquity, and those which still prevail in Asia, with the exception of the Lamaism of Thibet, which some learned men have supposed to be an offshoot of Nestorianism it permitted not even the slightest levity in the service of the gods; cruel and sanguinary in the extreme, it notwithstanding professed to inculcate rigid morality.

meaning of which was abundance of water, was typified by a lizard. And the fourth, denoting abundance, was represented by a green ear of maize. Mankind, perceiving that through Quecalcoatle so fortunate an æra had commenced, began to imitate him; and, following his example, to practise penance *, and to make offerings to the gods, not only of their temporal possessions, but also of what belonged to them in a corporal sense, and of their own blood, as has been already said. For the more due performance of these rites, Quetzalcoatle invented temples, or Quis, which were the common places of prayer amongst these people: he founded the four † here represented: in the first of which the princes and nobles fasted; and in the second the lower classes of the people: the third was designated the House of Fear, or, by another name, the House of the Serpent, in which it was unlawful for those who entered to lift their eyes from the ground: the fourth was the Temple of Shame, where they sent all sinners and men of immoral lives. When using reproachful language towards each other, it was a common expression to say, "Go to Tlazapulcalco!"

The Mexicans wished to attribute to their own industry that style of lofty architecture in the temples which are found in this country, which they called Quis; and they say that after their arrival here, as we shall presently relate, they invented them; adducing in confirmation of this the fact, that in those provinces where they were unable to penetrate, the ancient method of sacrifices was still practised, which were not performed in temples, but on certain altars ‡ or mounds of earth in mountains or in groves, as in the Scriptures, where it is said of a certain good king, that the people were not allowed to offer the sacrifices of the high places or of the groves, as lately was the custom amongst the Mixis, which are a nation of this country, adjoining the state of Oaxacadi, where, when Luis de Lione Tomano was governor, in the year 1555, he caused several of these groves to be cut down. The Mexicans may possibly have added height and that particular mode of ascent and platform § to the four different kinds of houses or temples invented by Quetzalcoatle, and on this account have wished to attribute still more to themselves.

PLATES XI. and XII.

1. Quetzalcohuatl. 2. A thorn. 3. A censer. 4. Macatl, a stag, which they say is the emblem of ungrateful men. 5. Tetl, a stone, the symbol of sterility. 6. Guetzpalli, a lizard, the symbol of water. 7. Centli, corn, the symbol of abundance. 8. Caquancalli, the house of fasting for the holy. 9. Xecaualcalco, the house of common fasting. 10. Cauacalco, the house of fear. 11. Tlaxapocalco, the prison-house of sorrow.

* Humility was also esteemed a virtue by the Mexicans. Accordingly, those who went to announce to Montezuma, who was already aware of the fact, his election to the imperial dignity, found him occupied in sweeping the court of the temple, and even took from his hands the broom.—*Monarquia Indiana*, cap. lxviii. lib. ii.

† The Mexicans, like the Jews, manifested a predilection for certain numbers. These numbers were, 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 18, 20, 40, and 52. Amongst the Chiapanese the number 7 was held in high esteem, and their week consisted of that number of days.

‡ It is a remarkable fact, that the Brazen Altar in Leviticus, an engraving of which may be found in the old editions of *Prideaux's Connection*, is a model in miniature of the Mexican Teocallis: they are quite alike, except that the ascent to the Teocallis was by stairs consisting of steps, and the ascent to the Brazen Altar was by an inclined plane.

§ That this was not the case is fully proved by the researches of M. Dupaix.

Amongst those who began to follow the example of Quetzalcoatle and his austerities by their own acts of penance, Totec * is very famous, who, on account of his having been a great sinner, first stood in the House of Sorrow called Tlaxipuchicalco, where, having completed his penance, he ascended the mountain Catcitepetli, (which signifies the mountain which speaks,) which mountain was covered with thorns: there continuing his penance, he cried from thence, reproving very strongly his people of Tulan, calling to them to come and to do penance with him, for the enormous guilt which they had incurred, in forgetting the service and sacrifices of their gods, and in having abandoned themselves so much to pleasure. They say that Totec was accustomed to go about clothed in a human skin; and so it has been the custom till these times, when God illuminated their darkness by the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them. In the festivals likewise which they celebrated to Totec, men clothed themselves in the skins of those whom they had slain in war, and in this manner danced and celebrated the festival of the sign dedicated to him, (for from him they say wars originated), and accordingly they paint him with these insignia, viz. a lance, banner, and shield. They held him in the utmost veneration; for they said that he was the first who opened to them the way to heaven; for they were under this error amongst others; they supposed that only those who died in war went to heaven, as we have already said.

1. Tlacaxipehualliztli †. 2. Totec. 3. Machicaztli-totec ‡. 4. A banner. 5. A shield. 6. A thorn. 7. Catcitepetli, the mountain which speaks.

PLATE XIII.

Whilst Totec still continued doing penance, preaching and crying from the top of the mountain which has been named, they pretend that he dreamed each night that he beheld this horrible figure with its bowels protruding, which was the cause of the great abomination of his people. On this, praying to his god to reveal to him what the figure signified, he answered that it was the sin of his

* It is a singular thing that Torquemada, who was so well acquainted with the Mexican mythology, should say so little of Totec, occupying as he does the place next to Quecalcoatle in the Mexican calendar. This silence on the part of Torquemada must either be attributed to the oblivion in which half a century had already involved many of the religious traditions of the Mexicans, which is not improbable; since Acosta, who was a contemporary historian, is equally silent respecting him,—or to the manuscript copy of the *Indian Monarchy*, which served for the impression of the first edition, having been mutilated (*borrado*) previously to licence being granted to publish it. Two writers have declared that this was the case: one of them, the editor of the second edition published in the year 1723 at Madrid, and the other an American Spaniard, nearly a century before, who had an original copy of the manuscript of the *Indian Monarchy* in his possession. The editor of the second edition complains that the first chapter of the second book, which he calls *Clave de la Idea de esta Obra*, had been entirely omitted; nor did he think it convenient, as he himself says, to request licence to print it, although he adds, "Ja parecia cesavan las causas del recato," "Reasons for secresy seemed no longer to exist."

This deity (Totec), who was variously designated Xipe, Chipe, and Thipe, which names are in fact the same, and signify shorn or bald, is represented very frequently in Mexican paintings. One of the Mexican months was named after him: he twice occurs in the calendar as presiding over the lesser divisions of the days of the year, and is there named Thipetotec, and Yztapaltotec. And what is said above, of persons clothing themselves in human skins in his honour, is confirmed by a curious historical painting in the *Codex Vaticanus*, representing Montezuma himself, as a priest and generalissimo of the Mexican armies in the reign of Ahuitzotl, attired in this dress; and what is no less remarkable, bearing as his banner a cross.

† The name of the month dedicated to Totec; the literal meaning of which is *the stripping off of skins.*

‡ The lance of Totec was so called.

people *, and that he should issue an order to the people, and cause them all to be assembled, charging them to bring thick ropes and to bind that miserable spectre, as it was the cause of all their sins, and that, dragging it away †, they should remove it from the people; who, giving faith to the words of Totec, were by him conducted to a certain wild place, where they found this figure of Death ‡, which having bound, they dragged it to a distance, and drawing it backwards, they fell all into a cavity between two mountains, which closed together; and there they have remained buried ever since; none of them having effected their escape, with the exception of the innocent children who remained in Tulan: and accordingly they represent in their paintings the people going forth dancing and jesting, and the Devil leading the way, directing the mintut §, or dance: and this was the cause of their ruin and destruction.

1. Macaxoguemigui, sin. 2. Tulan. 3. The Tultecas.

PLATE XIV.

The two masters of penance were Quetzalcoatle and Totec, who was called by another name Chipe; who having taken the children and innocent people who had remained in Tulan, proceeded with them ‖, peopling the world, and collecting along with them other people whom they chanced to find.

* The angel made nearly a similar answer to the prophet Zechariah, who inquired of him the meaning of the vision in which he beheld a female figure in an ephah. When he replied, "*This is wickedness.*" Abstract sin, both in the vision of Totec and in that of Zechariah, was represented under a bodily form; and the difference of sex is scarcely worth remarking. It is in the fifth chapter of Zechariah that the following curious passage occurs, ver. 5—8: "Then the angel that talked with me went forth, and said unto me, Lift up now thine eyes, and see what is this that goeth forth. And I said, What is it? And he said, This is an ephah that goeth forth. He said, moreover, This is their resemblance through all the earth. And, behold, there was lifted up a talent of lead: and this is a woman that sitteth in the midst of the ephah. And he said, This is wickedness. And he cast it into the midst of the ephah; and he cast the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof."

† Isaiah says, in the eighteenth verse of the fifth chapter of his Book of Prophecies, "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope."

‡ Torquemada says that the Tultecas were destroyed by the pestilence caused by the phantom of a child with a putrid head; which fable probably refers to the great pestilence which befell Jerusalem during the days of the siege.

§ Mintut is a Mexican dance mentioned by Torquemada.

‖ Many circumstances seem to point out Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt, as the countries of the Old Continent from which colonies passed over to America. In briefly adverting to some of the reasons which have induced us to adopt this opinion, it is unnecessary to preserve any particular order in the notice of analogies, which here comprised in a note might easily be multiplied into a volume. In connection with the universally received tradition of the Mexicans, that their ancestors had come by sea from distant countries ("partes muy estrañas," and "tierra muy lejos," as Montezuma designates them in his speech to Cortes), a similarity between the names of places in the New Continent and those of the Old at once presents itself. Aztlan, Tulan, and Cholula, or Churula as Cortes, and Chiurula as Peter Martyr, call that city, resemble Asia, Tyre, and Jerusalem: and if these names are not exactly alike, it must be recollected that the genius of the Mexican language, by excluding certain letters from its alphabet, would not allow of a closer approximation between them. Omitting here all consideration of the religion of Palestine, faint traces of that of Egypt and of the ancient worship of Osiris and Isis are found in the Mexican adoration of the sun and of the moon; and the symbol of the eye in the Mexican temples, placed on three pieces of wood, horizontally crossing each other, recalls to our recollection the famous symbol of the eye placed on a sceptre, sacred in Egypt to Osiris or the sun. Isis or the moon, whom the Egyptians invoked in cases of illness, the Mexican women are also said to have put up prayers to, in certain indispositions; and the goddess Maiaguil, fabled by the Mexicans to have had four hundred breasts, and Quecalcoatle believed by them to support the heavens on his shoulders, as would appear from a curious representation of this deity in the *Manuscript of Vienna*, remind us of that goddess of ancient mythology whose fruitfulness was typified by the many breasts surrounding her bust, and of Atlas who sustained the starry firmament. The exact likeness to the head of a rhinoceros occurring in one of the Mexican paintings preserved in the Bodleian Library, either as an ornament or a religious symbol of a temple, seems to

They further add, that journeying in this manner with these people they arrived at a certain mountain, which not being able to pass, they feign that they bored a subterraneous way through

confirm what Boturini asserts of the people of New Spain preserving recollections in their ancient paintings of the Old Continent, from which their ancestors had migrated; and Aztlan, the name of the country from which they proceeded to colonize the New World, (compounded of *tlan*, country, and *az*,) would serve likewise as an argument of their Asiatic origin.

The dress and costume of the Mexicans, and their sandals, resemble the apparel and sandals worn in early ages in the East, especially by the Jews: and the serpent with which the Mexican priests ornamented their heads and persons, was perhaps a fashion introduced from Egypt into the New World; since we know from ancient monuments still in existence, as well as from the testimony of historians, that a part of the insignia of the highest pontifical dignity, as well as of the royal power in Egypt (for the kings of Egypt were of the sacerdotal order, and although not uniting in their own persons ostensibly the character of high priests, were still supreme in the Egyptian hierarchy), was that most dangerous species of serpent the asp, twined round their heads,—an emblem (as Herodotus or Diodorus Siculus says) of how formidable is the power belonging to kings, and that their persons ought to be held in fear by their subjects. On the supposition that in very early ages, before all traces of former superstition and ancient ceremonies had become extinct, (and the most respectable writers on ecclesiastical history affirm that in Egypt such traces long continued, and that even the primitive Christians adopted some of the Egyptian symbols to explain their mysteries; for instance, the scarabæus or beetle,) a colony had proceeded from Egypt to the New World,—it would not have been surprising, whatever might have been the religion of the colonists, that they should have conveyed along with them some of the rites, ceremonies, and traditions of Egypt: and the Mexican priests might, in imitation of the sovereigns of that country, have worn on their heads a serpent as a sacred symbol. A strong argument, however, of the religion of the Mexicans not being of Egyptian origin, is the total absence of all traces "du culte de lingam," or of homage paid to the procreative power in the Mexican paintings, as M. de Humboldt observes; and the positive testimony of the best informed writers, even of those whose pens have exhibited that religion in its truest and most odious colours, proves that they never violated decency and decorum in their religious rites and ceremonies. Boturini and Torquemada both point out this essential difference between the Mexican mythology and that of the Greeks, Romans, ancient Egyptians, and modern Hindoos. The Mexicans never attributed to their deities sensual desires, lust, or even the passion of love; and so exalted an idea did they entertain of their divine nature, that, as Clavigero observes, they would have read with equal horror and disgust the fabled amours of the Olympian gods. He should, however, also have observed, that whilst beneficence was the characteristic of the Grecian deities, stern misanthropy was the prevailing feature of the religion of the Mexicans. It is almost unnecessary in this place to adduce passages from ancient authors, to show that some of the West Indian islands and a portion of the continent of America, as it is highly probable, were known to the ancients; and consequently that there would have been nothing extraordinary in colonies having passed from the Old World to the New at a period antecedent, as well as immediately subsequent, to the Christian æra: and this supposition is not inconsistent with another, equally probable, that America was also colonized by Europeans in a much more recent age. Diodorus Siculus gives a very curious account in the fifth book of his *Universal History*, of the discovery by the Carthaginians of a large and rich island situated in the ocean far beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which they would not allow their own subjects to colonize lest Carthage should be drained of its population, nor the Tyrrhenians from motives of political jealousy to occupy.

Although the Spanish historians of the sixteenth century, who were little disposed to admit (chiefly on account of the state in which religion was found in the New Continent) that America had ever been colonized from the West, have unanimously agreed that this island was one of the Canaries, and the writers of other countries have adopted their sentiments, we, for the reasons which follow, may be allowed to venture a different opinion in regard to this island, which is chiefly founded on what Diodorus Siculus relates of its discovery, where, treating of the ancient Carthaginian navigations, that eminent historian says: "Οἱ δ' οὖν Φοινικες δια τας προειρημενας αἰτιας ἐρευνωντες την ἐκτος των στηλων παραλιαν, και παρα την Λιβυην πλεοντες ὑπ' ἀνεμων μεγαλων ἀπηνεχθησαν ἐπι πολυν δι' ὠκεανου. χειμασθεντες δ' ἐπι πολλας ἡμερας, προσηνεχθησαν τῃ προειρημενῃ νησῳ, και την εὐδαιμονιαν αὐτης και φυσιν κατοπτευσαντες, ἁπασι γνωριμον ἐποιησαν. διο και Τυῤῥηνων θαλαττοκρατουντων, και πεμπειν εἰς αὐτην ἀποικιαν ἐπιβαλομενων, διεκωλυσαν αυτους Καρχηδονιοι, ἁμα μεν ἐυλαβουμενοι μῃ δια την ἀρετην της νησου πολλοι των ἐκ της Καρχηδονος εἰς ἐκεινην μεταστωσιν, ἁμα δε προς τα παραβολα της τυχης κατασκευαζομενοι καταφυγην, εἴ τι περι την Καρχηδονα ὁλοσχερες πταισμα συμβαινοι. δυνησεσθαι γαρ αὐτους θαλαττοκρατουντας ἁπαραι πανοικιους εἰς ἀγνοουμενην ὑπο των ὑπερεχοντων νησον."

"The Carthaginians, for the above-mentioned reasons, exploring the line of coast situated without the Pillars (of Hercules), and sailing along the shores of Africa, were driven out of their course by violent tempests, so as to encounter a long sea voyage; and having been tossed about for a considerable time on the ocean, they arrived at the said island, and beholding its richness

it, and so passed *. Others say, that they remained shut up, and that they were transformed into stones :—and other such fables.

1. Quetzalcohuatl. 2. Chipe, otherwise called Totec.

* This probably alludes to a secret passage to America. Votan is elsewhere said to have gone by the road which his brethren the Culebras had bored, and to have arrived in Europe.

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and the fertility of its soil, made it generally known to all. The Tyrrhenians accordingly, who were powerful by sea, were desirous of sending a colony thither, but were prevented by the Carthaginians, who, on the one hand, adopted precautionary measures lest many of their own citizens should emigrate to that island, on account of its excellence; and on the other, reserved it as a place of refuge against the stroke of fortune, should Carthage at any time experience some great reverse; since they, being possessed of naval superiority, would be enabled to sail away with the entire population to an island the existence of which would be unknown to their more powerful foe." If this island was Madeira or any of the lesser Canary Islands, it is surprising that Diodorus should not have noticed its vicinity to Africa, but should have given us to understand that the Carthaginians arrived at it after a long voyage across the ocean; which, considering with what speed a vessel proceeds in a storm, could only have been the case on the supposition that it was situated many thousand leagues from the shore. It may here be observed, that the words of Diodorus Siculus imply length of space as regards the distance of the voyage, as well as length of time as regards its duration; for the words ἐπι πολλας ἡμερας signify an indefinitely long period of time. If it be said that the Carthaginian vessel or vessels might have been driven to and fro by the winds, and need not have proceeded in a straightforward direction, and that thus much time and sailing might have been employed in navigating but a small portion of the ocean; it may be replied, that if this was the case, and their ships had been driven in a circuitous course, it would have been extraordinary that they did not discover the other Canary Isles; and that Diodorus Siculus does not mention them. With respect to the fear which the Carthaginians are said to have entertained, lest, if this island was permitted to be colonized, many of their citizens would have been inclined to emigrate; it is singular, since Sicily, Malta, Majorca and Minorca, Spain and Gades, had been colonized by the Carthaginians, and their policy led them to establish colonies in every island and maritime station favourable to commerce, that this fear should have been felt, and that precautionary measures should in consequence have been adopted. It can only be accounted for by supposing that the newly discovered island was so vast in magnitude, and its riches so alluring, that the Carthaginian senate feared that at some future time the question might be agitated, not whether some Carthaginian citizens should emigrate, but whether the site of Carthage should not itself be changed[1]; and from affection to their native country, they might have provided against the danger, by decreeing that Carthaginian citizens should not colonize it :—on this supposition it would become highly probable that this reputed island was either one of the larger West India islands, or a portion of the continent of America; perhaps the peninsula of Yucatan. That the Phœnicians as well as the Carthaginians visited the shores of America, and exchanged their merchandize with the Indians for gold and silver, is also probable : and perhaps the famous Myrrhine vases of antiquity and the mysterious Tyrian dye were, the one the product of the cochineal or of the shell fish found on the coast of Yucatan[2],

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[1] Two Punic wars already past, and the vicinity of so formidable a rival as Rome, in whose senate was pronounced the sentence "Carthago est delenda," might have induced a faction in Carthage to propose emigration, which to prevent, the more powerful party might have passed a law, that no colonization should be allowed to the part which the others recommended. The fact may not be generally known, that in the reign of Charles the Second the Dutch seriously meditated emigration to the Philippine or some other islands in the Indian Archipelago. The original supposition, however, that the Carthaginians might have felt disposed to emigrate, must be considered to refer merely to what may have been possible, without being equally probable; and their jealousy of the Tyrrhenian or Etrurian power must have been long before the age of the Punic wars.

[2] Cardinal Lorenzana, describing in a note the natural productions of the province of Guaxaca, after observing that its mines were no longer worked, says: "Todo el trabajo se emplea en la grana ò cochinilla, que se cria en los Tunales ò Higueras finas de este pais, pegandose el gusanillo à las palmas de las hojas, que han de estar muy limpias y sin espinas. Los gusanos, ò cochinillas madres, se fomentan con el calor de el cuerpo como el gusano de la seda; a su tiempo se esparcen por las hojas de el Nopal, y alli hacen su cria. Esta cochinilla es de mucho aprecio; pero mas singular es el caracol que se pesca en las costas de Nicaragua, y Santiago de Veraguas, que cria dentro una ampollita de licor, que es la verdadera Purpura ò Murice pues sin mas que pasar un hilo por aquel humor, queda perfectamente teñido, y labandolo, se refina mas. Se coje en las crecientes de la luna, y despues de aprovechado, se arroja en la playa, y en otra creciente buelve à dar el licor."—*Carta de Relacion de D. Fernando Cortes*, p. 306.

PLATE XV.

Of Quetzalcoatle they relate, that proceeding on his journey, he arrived at the Red Sea*, which is here painted, and which they named Tlapallan ; and that entering into it, they saw no more of him,

* It would appear on the first perusal of this passage, that what is here said refers to the journey undertaken by Quecalcoatle and Totec, together with the Tultecas, in search of a new habitation, and that Quecalcoatle had disappeared from them on arriving at Tlapallan; but this was not the case, for it was not till after Quecalcocatle had resided some time with the Tultecas, and instituted many religious rites among them, and built four temples or Teocallis, that he resolved to absent himself from them, and proceeded on his journey to Tlapallan, or the country of the Red Sea.

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and the other a manufacture from the transparent Mexican stone called the Yztli. Scarcely any reason can be imagined for the Carthaginians preventing the Tyrrhenians colonizing the newly discovered country, except that it might have been extremely rich in mines of gold and silver; which precious metals, especially the latter, which the Carthaginians obtained in great abundance from Spain, they were very jealous of the monopoly of. It certainly deserves to be remarked, that if the ancient traditions of the Old Continent warrant the belief that America was known to the Carthaginians, much more do those of the New World lead us to suppose that it had been visited and colonized in early ages from our quarter of the globe. Bernard de Sahagun, one of the first preachers of the Gospel in New Spain, says that he found it to be an universally received tradition amongst the natives, confirmed by the testimony of all their historical paintings, that a colony[1] had arrived before the Christian æra on the coast of America from a region situated to the north-east, called Chicomoztoc ; which first touching on the shores of Florida, proceeded across the Gulf of Mexico and landed in the Peninsula of Yucatan or the adjoining province, where they immediately founded the city of Tulancingo, and shortly afterwards that of Tula, about fifty miles distant from the former city. He also says that this famous city was situated four hundred miles from Mexico, and that it had been destroyed a thousand years before the arrival of the Spaniards in America; that Quecalcoatle was its king at the period of its destruction, and that great ruins of it continued to exist in his day.

The archbishop of Mexico, Cardinal Lorenzana, afterwards archbishop of Toledo, who published an edition of *Cortes's Letters* in Mexico in the year 1770, which he illustrated with notes, would have derived some instruction from the perusal of the *History of Sahagun*, and certainly would not have assumed it as an undeniable fact, that America had never been colonized from its European side, or that the ancestors of the Mexicans had migrated from the north-west ; neither would he have put a different construction on that passage in the speech of Montezuma to Cortes, where he declares that his ancestors came from the East, than the words of that monarch fairly admit[2]. We shall omit in this place to adduce any arguments collateral to that of generally received tradition[3], to show that communications must have subsisted in early ages between the two continents, reasoning from the facts

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[1] Sahagun says that this colony declared that they had crossed the ocean in search of Tamoancha or the terrestrial paradise. It is singular that the Copts should have believed in the existence of the terrestrial paradise.

[2] The archbishop says, in a note subjoined to Montezuma's speech, " Los Mexicanos por tradicion vinieron por el Norte de la Provincia de Quivira, *y se saben ciertamente sus mansiones.*" This information he perhaps derived from the examination of some of the confiscated papers of Boturini, which remained in Mexico in the Vice-regal archives, some of which he says were submitted to his inspection.

[3] Antonio Galvan says, that a Portuguese boasted, that having in the year 1448 been driven by a tempest over the Atlantic, he arrived at an island (which Garcia says some believed to be New Spain) in which he found seven cities, with seven bishops who understood Portuguese. Garcia treats this story as mere fiction ; but admits that at the time of the first colonization of America by the Spaniards, there was a rumour of seven cities, the situation of which could never be discovered. Since the voyage from the Canary Islands to the West Indies may be accomplished in less than a fortnight, as Acosta expressly states : " A mi me acaeciò, pasando à Indias, verme en la primera tierra poblada de Españoles en quince dias, despues de salido de las Canarias, i sin duda fuera mas breve el viage, si le dieran velas à la brisa fresca que corria ; asi que me parece cosa mui verisimil, que aian en tiempos pasados venido à Indias hombres vencidos de la furia del viento, sin tener ellos tal pensamiento." The return of the Portuguese to Europe was a much more extraordinary event than the shipwreck of his vessel on some part of the coast of America,

nor knew what became of him, except that they say that he desired them, at the time of his departure, to restrain their grief and to expect his return, which would take place at the appointed time; and

of coins of several of the Cæsars having been found in different parts of America [1], of the discovery of the ancient hulk of a ship by labourers excavating a mine, of the curious method of ascertaining the weight of gold employed in Cumana, of metallic money found in use amongst some of the more civilized states of America, of arches employed in the American buildings, of ancient inscriptions noticed by several authors, and the colony of Jews settled near Carthagena, so singular an account of which is given by one of their own race, a Portuguese Jew named Antonio Montecinio [2]. It is also unnecessary to enter into any long disquisition as to whether the island of Ophir might not have been one of the West India Islands, and where the fleet of Solomon, after quitting the Red Sea navigated; whether, instead of sailing to the left, and trading with those countries by sea, which, it should be observed, the Jews already traded with by land by means of caravans and camels, called by the Arabian poets, "the ships of the desert," it might not have coasted along Africa as far as the Cape, trafficking with Ethiopia by the way, and getting into the strong current of the ocean which runs from East to West, naturally favouring a passage from Africa to America, have so crossed the Atlantic. We know from history that the ships of Solomon were three years on their voyage, and that they brought back

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or of the West Indian Islands; and this remark is generally applicable to all navigations which might have been performed over the Atlantic in earlier ages under similar compulsory circumstances; since many persons it is probable would have been driven by storms on the continent of America before one could have been able to effect his return to Europe. An ignorant mariner might even have supposed that he recognized bishops amongst some of the Indian priests, who on certain festivals dressed in the same costume as their idols, whose habit very much resembled that worn by bishops; as Gomara informs us in the following passage of his *History of the Indies:* "Entre sus muchas Guacas, assi llaman los idolos, avia muchas con baculos y mitras de obispos; mas la causa dello aun no se sabe: y los Indios quando vieron obispo con mitra preguntavan si era Guaca de los Christianos." "Amongst their many Guacas, (for this is the appellation which they give to their idols,) there were many with croziers and bishops' mitres, the reason for which is not yet known; and the Indians, when they first saw a bishop with a mitre, asked if he was the Guaca of the Christians."

[1] Coins of Augustus and Claudius are said to have been discovered in America; the first of which, according to Marineus, was sent by the Consentine Archbishop Don Juan Rufus to the Pope. Vide *Garcia's Origin of the Indians,* cap. xix. lib. 4. Many inferences have been drawn from the assumed fact, that the Indians were altogether unacquainted with iron: the first and principal of which is, that wanting an article of such indispensable utility, their progress in civilization could have scarcely raised them above the savage state; the second, that communications could never have existed between the Old and New Continent in ages anterior to that of Columbus. This mode of reasoning betrays carelessness and great disregard to alleged facts, as respectable writers affirm that the Indians were acquainted with iron; and Garcia says that the Indians of Paraguay had iron money, in shape resembling the shell of a tortoise. Neither would it follow, that, because the Indians did not employ iron in the mechanical arts, the state of the arts amongst them and of society must necessarily have been rude and barbarous. The instruments which they used were generally of stone or copper, to which they had the secret of giving a temper like iron. Torquemada, in the thirty-fourth chapter of the thirteenth book of his *Indian Monarchy,* gives a long account of the way in which the Mexicans manufactured their stone knives, which constituted amongst them an art by itself, which he designates admirable and marvellous; and Peter Martyr says, in the fourth chapter of his Fifth Decade, speaking of some of these stone knives, "I stroke with all my force upon iron barres, and dented the iron with my strokes without spoyling or hurting of the stone in any part thereof." So inclined are some writers to oppose their own theories to facts, that it is almost surprising they have not construed the silence of authors, respecting the use of wheel carriages in America, into a fresh proof of the barbarism of the Indians, without waiting to consider whether there were animals in that continent to draw them. That the Indians, however, moved great weights by means of rollers placed under them, is evident from what Peter Martyr says of the method they employed to transport from the mountains to Mexico the vast beams of cypress of which the palace of Montezuma was constructed.

[2] This account was published by Menasseh Ben Israel, a Jew of acknowledged learning and probity, and high priest of the Jewish synagogue at Amsterdam; he published it under the title of *Spes Israel,* and dedicated it to the English parliament in the days of Cromwell, for which he received the thanks of that puritanical assembly. It was replied to by Spizelius, who, arguing in the way in which it was the fashion in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to discuss all questions connected with the ancient history of America, and the manners and customs of the Indians, viz. by flat denial of facts alleged, disproved the entire relation of Montecinio.

accordingly they expect him even to the present time: and when the Spaniards came to this country they believed that it was he; and even at a later period, in the year 1550, when the Çapotecas

gold, ivory, peacocks, and apes; although some writers have argued that, ivory and peacocks not being found in any of the West Indian islands, and the elephant not existing in America, the island of Ophir must either have been Ceylon, or some island of the Indian Archipelago. Without entering into the question of whether Ceylon abounded in gold in former days, as we know it did in ivory, or whether a voyage to the Philippine Islands from the straits of the Red Sea is much shorter than to the West Indies from the same place, it is sufficient to observe that the Bible informs us that silver was as stones in Jerusalem in the days of Solomon; and it would be curious to know whence such an abundance of that metal could have been obtained, since it is certain that the relative scarcity of silver compared with gold is greater in the East than in Europe; or in other words, that silver is more abundant in the West of the globe than in the East. If, therefore, silver was so common in Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, it is likely that he imported it in his ships (although it is not expressly mentioned); and since silver is found in greater abundance in America and the West Indies than in any other part of the world, the supposition that the ships of Solomon might have crossed the Atlantic and visited the New World, and brought both gold and silver from thence, although highly improbable, is not so chimerical as it would at first appear. With respect to the importation of ivory and peacocks, those articles of luxury might as easily have been procured on the coast of Africa as in Asia. And as to the objection, that Ophir could not have been any one of the West Indian islands, because the Jews were not accustomed to the sea, and would not undertake long voyages, since the fleet of Solomon was in all probability entirely manned by the hired subjects of his ally Hieram king of Tyre, and the naval skill and enterprise of the Tyrians were celebrated in the earliest ages,—this objection must also lose part of its weight. Returning to the consideration of from what part of the Old Continent colonies may have proceeded to the New World: if we may venture an opinion on this interesting subject, it would be, that America was in early ages colonized from Egypt. But the absence of all well supported and material analogies between the religion of Mexico and that of ancient Egypt, and the mere fortuitous occurrence of others, afford no grounds for presuming that the colony carried with them the religion of Egypt. On the contrary, it seems not improbable, from the mixture of Jewish ceremonies and Christian doctrines discovered amongst the Indians, that they were Coptic monks, and Christians of that persuasion, who, flying from the persecution of the Saracens, arrived in America. The history of the Coptic or of the Abyssinian church, informs us that Jewish ceremonies, laws and customs, entered largely into its ritual: circumcision it strictly enjoined; stoning to death was customary; fasts and mortifications exceeded all bounds; and the perforation of the nostrils, and the insertion of a sharp piece of wood or metal, to which allusion seems to be made by some authors as an Abyssinian custom, might have been resorted to by them as an act of penance, which became afterwards amongst the Mexicans an ornamental fashion. The motto, likewise, which appears to have belonged to the ecclesiastical state of Abyssinia, "vicit leo tribûs Judæ," might lead us to suppose that that church had originally been formed out of Jewish proselytes, although we cannot be unacquainted with its other allusion. It is a certain fact, that America had been colonized from Africa previously to the arrival of the Spaniards in that continent; since negroes were discovered in some of its provinces by Balboa, and by others. Their presence in that continent in a considerable body, where they carried on perpetual hostilities with the neighbouring Indian tribes, is very unsatisfactorily accounted for by the supposition of a chance shipwreck; and we may here remark, that whilst questions of little importance, as regards the history of America, are discussed at great length by Spanish writers, the most curious facts are often passed over in total silence; nor is it easy to explain the motives for this reserve. Mention having been made of a colonization of America, whether accidental or not, by negroes, it deserves to be noticed that in a Mexican painting which once formed a part of the historical museum of Boturini, a facsimile of which is contained in the present work, and which represents the migration of the Mexicans from Aztlan, the country of their ancestors, a figure very like that of a Negro paddling a canoe occurs: the thick curly hair on the head is very remarkable, as the hair of the Indians is naturally straight; and it seems to have been the intention of the Mexican painter decidedly to indicate that peculiarity. It is unnecessary to add, that in the lithographic plate the likeness to the original painting has been scrupulously preserved. M. de Humboldt, in illustrating with his interesting observations a plate in Gemelli Carreri, the subject of which is the same migration, observes, that a palm is growing near the Teocalli, and that that tree does not grow in the northern climates, from which the Mexicans were generally believed to have migrated, but in southern regions, such as Egypt, Palestine, and Judea, in which latter country they were famous for their stately beauty. On the supposition that colonies had proceeded from these countries to America, the following names of places in the New Continent, which the Mexicans said were called after the names of places in the country which their ancestors had formerly inhabited, might seem to have some correspondence with the names of other places situated within the territory of these three kingdoms. Omitting Aztlan in this enumeration, which name does not correspond with that of any province or city, but with Asia, Tulan, as has already been observed, resembles Tyre; Churula is like Jerusalem; Tlapallan, (the country of the Red Sea,) might refer to Egypt; Chicomoztoc, (the seven caves,) to the seven mouths of the Nile,

revolted, they alleged, as the cause of their insurrection, the report that their god, who was to redeem them, had already come*. Quetzalcoatle was born on the sign which they call One Cane;

* "Che gia era venuto il suo dio che aveva da redimerli."—It is certainly remarkable, as connected with the expectation which the Mexicans entertained of a future redeemer, that Quecalcoatle should have been called by them by the other name of Meçitli. Cortes, in describing to the Emperor Charles the Fifth the horrors which the Mexicans sustained during the last days of the siege, and Gomara, in repeating the same history, both mention that they consoled themselves in their last sufferings with the hopes of going to heaven to Quecalcoatle. Quecalcoatle was worshiped by the Mexicans under the name of Huitzilopuchtli, which name was corrupted by the Spaniards into Ochilobus, so that the accounts of Cortes and Gomara perfectly agree. In Cholula this god was known by the peculiar appellation of Quecalcoatle, which signifies *the green feathered serpent*. With respect to the appellation Meçitli, (the Spanish ç thus marked being always pronounced like z,) it is very remarkable that it is precisely the same as the Hebrew name משיח; for *tli* does not form a part of that proper name, but is a common termination to Mexican names. This name, from which Χριστος in Greek is derived, signifies *anointed*, and is peculiarly applied by Christians to Christ. The following passage, translated from the second section of the seventh chapter of the Third Book of Garcia's *Origin of the Indians*, shows that the attention of that learned writer had been drawn to this coincidence: "In New Spain the word Mesico is found, which, as Brother Stephen de Salaçar remarks, is Hebrew, and is therefore introduced in the second Psalm, and signifies his anointed: and although there in that province it is the name of a city, and here in the Psalm the name which the Jews bestowed on their kings and priests, and on Christ our Lord, who, as they expected, was to come and redeem them, still I do not attend to this difference, as this name might easily have been given to a city; since the leader who conducted those who peopled Mexico was named Mesi, or as others write Mexi; and the city and nation were afterwards called after him, in the same way as we see that many cities, provinces, and nations have been named after those who peopled or founded them, or to whom they owed their origin, as we shall presently point out. The word Mesi should be noted as being really Hebrew, and it agrees surprisingly with the name of the chief, head, or captain of the Mexicans."

(which name Sahagun thinks may have reference to the ships in which the colony which proceeded in search of Tamoancha came, rather than to the country which they left;) and Colhuacan and Teocolhuacan, (the hill of God,) to the hill on which the temple of Jerusalem was founded. It may here be observed, that the particle *teo*, in the Mexican language prefixed to the names of persons, places and nations, and meaning *divine*, as in Teocipactli, Teocolhuacan, Teochichimeca, corresponds exactly with *jeru* in Hebrew, which signifies, in the same manner, *holy* or *divine*, and is prefixed to Hebrew words, as in Jerusalem, (the City of holy peace,) Jerubabel, and many other proper names. If it be objected to the supposition that has been advanced,—that Coptic Christians might have passed in early ages to America,—that if Christianity had ever been established in the New World, it never could have degenerated or become confounded with idolatrous superstitions; sacred as well as profane history show the invalidity of the objection. The Jews, the chosen people of God, were continually relapsing into idolatry, though for many ages exclusively the favoured people of the earth. The awful thunders of Mount Sinai, the presence of the Deity, the thick cloud resting on the mountain, the mysterious absence of Moses conferring amidst lightnings with Jehovah, could not prevent that infatuated people from calling upon Aaron to make them a molten calf; and their first high priest, the brother of their prophet, himself countenanced and assisted in idolatry. When the ambassadors of John the Fourth, king of Portugal, first visited Abyssinia, in what a degraded state they found that ancient Christian church, religion has been spared a blush by much of the history of the Ethiopian church, and many of the Coptic writings, having been destroyed; but let those who doubt what is here asserted, peruse Ludolfus's *Historia Ethiopica*, and the account of the Ethiopian church by Damian a Goëz, and they will see what changes ages may effect in doctrines and institutions, however excellent they may have been in the beginning. Montezuma himself, in a very remarkable reply which he made to Cortes, who had reproached him on account of his religion, seems plainly to intimate to him his belief that the religion of Mexico, such as the Spaniards found it, had become greatly corrupted in the course of ages, and that it was not originally polluted with barbarous rites: he seems also to suppose that it had been the same as that of the Spaniards, as the following extract from Cortes's Letter to Charles the Fifth will show: "Y todos, en especial el dicho Muteczuma, me respondieron, que ya me habian dicho, que ellos no eran naturales de esta tierra, y que habia muchos tiempos que sus predecesores habian venido a ella, y que bien creian que podrian estar errados en algo de aquello que tenian, por haber tanto tiempo que salieron de su naturaleza; y que yo, como mas nuevamente venido, sabria mejor las cosas que debian tener, y creer, que no ellos; que se las dijesse, y hiciesse entender, que ellos harian lo que yo les dijesse, que era lo mejor." "All, especially the said Muteczuma, replied, that they had already informed me that they were not of the native race of that country, and that a long period of time had elapsed since their forefathers came to settle in it, and that they could easily

and the year in which the Spaniards arrived commenced on the sign of One Cane, according to their ancient computation: whence the occasion arose of their believing that the Spaniards were

believe that they might have erred in some matters of their former faith, since it was so long since they had quitted their mother country; and that I, as having more recently arrived, should be better acquainted with the things which they ought to yield their faith to and believe, than they themselves; and that I should tell them these things and cause them to comprehend them, and that they would do that which I desired them, which was better." An infinite variety of facts connected with the customs, religious rites and ceremonies, and opinions of the Indians, are utterly inexplicable, except on the supposition that America had in early ages been colonized by Christians; and not a few others are difficult to be accounted for, unless we suppose that colonies had proceeded to that continent from Egypt. In the first class may be reckoned the Christian doctrines and traditions discovered in America; in the second, the discovery of Greek crosses in many provinces of New Spain, and of brass money, in the shape of a cross, or of the Greek letter (T); the art of embalming, which in Peru was carried to the highest perfection; the pyramidal shape of the Mexican Teocallis, some of which, for example the temple of Chollula, and that discovered by M. Dupaix amongst the ruins of the city of Palenque, were, like the Egyptian pyramids, hollow in the interior; the use of the Temazcalli or vapour-bath, which was very general in New Spain; but above all, the invention of the Mexican calendar, which nearly agreeing with the Coptic, especially in an extraordinary intercalation of a month every four years, displayed an exact knowledge of the duration of the year,—which it is impossible to suppose their own proficiency in astronomy enabled the Mexicans to attain, and for which the Copts were indebted to the ancient Egyptians. The Mexican calendar seems likewise to have borrowed certain numbers which it employed, from the Coptic: four was a number in high esteem in the Abyssinian church, because it was that of the Evangelists; five was that of the *dies quinta*, or day of jejunium, or fasting, amongst the primitive Christians, which the Copts esteemed equally with or more than the sabbath: the number eight was also much prized, because the ceremony of circumcision took place on the eighth day after the birth of the infant; this Jewish rite adopted by the Copts, was performed originally with a stone knife, as is evident from the twenty-fifth verse of the fourth chapter of Exodus, and from other passages in Scripture; which circumstance induced Garcia to suppose that the reason why the Tecpatl, or flint knife, was held in such reverence by the Mexicans, was on account of its connection with circumcision; and Torquemada says that the Totonacas, a numerous nation of New Spain inhabiting a mountainous country to the east of Mexico, near the sea-coast, circumcised their children on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day after their birth, and that the high priest, or the priest next to him in rank, performed the ceremony with a stone knife. *Monarquia Indiana*, lib. vi. cap. xlviii. It deserves also to be remarked, that in the Mexican calendar the number eight, in connection with the sign of the Flint, was much esteemed. Nine was the number of the saints who first announced the Gospel in Abyssinia[1]; thirteen was that of Christ and the Apostles; and fifty-two, a number associated in the Mexican calendar with festivities and rejoicings, and with the ceremony of kindling new fire, in consequence of the commencement of a new cycle of fifty-two years, (for at the expiration of every period of fifty-two years a new cycle commenced with the Mexicans,) nearly corresponded with the number of the Jewish year of jubilee, which was fifty, which it is probable was also esteemed in the Abyssinian church. A strangely superstitious notion, entertained likewise by the Coptic Christians, of the efficacy of holy fire to drive away demons, and their mode of procuring it from Christ's sepulchre at Jerusalem, reminds us of the Mexican ceremony above alluded to, of kindling new or holy fire, which was always performed by the priests by means of a cane inserted in a cylindrical hole bored in a plank, which they turned round rapidly in their hands so as to produce ignition by the friction. The mad superstition of the Copts, as Ludolfus terms it, was founded on the belief that fire, in the first instance, had proceeded from the holy sepulchre, and that after the resurrection of Christ it still continued to appear in his tomb: accordingly, at stated periods of the year a monk descended into the holy sepulchre, and with many ceremonies drew forth the fire, which he distributed to persons deputed from the various surrounding monasteries and convents to receive it. Ludolfus, in the commentaries to his *Ethiopian History*, takes occasion, in explaining the Arabic name for this fire, to give the following description of it: "The Eastern Christians call it light, but the Latins usually name it holy fire, which all Eastern Christians, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians, believe descends from heaven. They wait for it during some hours on the vigil of Easter, running round the holy sepulchre with mad shouting. A monk, in the mean time, who is generally an Abyssinian, and who is let down into the holy sepulchre, having testified, by kindling his own lamp, that the fire had descended, all tumultuously hasten to him and kindle their lamps; and men as well as women convert them to the purposes of a detestable superstition. They accordingly become objects of ridicule to the Latins and Turks, who behold with laughter this tumult, which should rather cause them to weep."—*Ludolfi ad Æthiopicam Historiam Commentarius*, page 302, note.

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[1] Nine was also the number of the Mexican divinities or saints who presided over the lesser periods of thirteen days in the Mexican calendar, to each of whom a separate sign or day was allotted.

their god; because they say that he had foretold that a bearded nation would arrive in those countries, who would subject them; and they did not comprehend how the Devil, who invented all that, could

In Ireland, at the present day, a custom prevails of kindling fires throughout the country on the eve of a certain festival, and many travellers have described it as a remnant of pagan superstition. Since, however, little doubt can be entertained of the Irish church having held very early intercourse with that of the East, this custom may perhaps have been derived from thence[1]: but even tradition has ceased to associate it with religion, and it serves merely as a diversion to country-people and boys. The effect is not unpleasing, in the dusk of the evening, to see these small fires blazing on the hills. The nuns of Kildare were likewise famous for having preserved for several centuries in their convent a holy fire, which the Irish annals bitterly complain that the English, on their arrival in the country, caused to be extinguished.—We shall close these observations by pointing out a curious analogy between the Mexican names, Papa and Teopixqui, which served to distinguish their higher and lower order of priests, and the modern Greek and Spanish appellations Papa and Obispo. Teopixqui was a title of high ecclesiastical dignity amongst the Mexicans, and is compounded of *teo*, divine or holy, and *opixqui*, which nearly resembles obispo; it was inferior, however, to that of Teoteuctli. Papa was the name by which it would appear that all priests of inferior rank were designated by the Mexicans, and Papa is the term by which a modern Greek priest is still called. If it could be proved that Papa was not a general appellation in the early ages for priests, both of the Latin and Greek church, there would be strong grounds for supposing that Ireland had originally belonged to the latter church, and that its inhabitants had been converted by Greek missionaries to Christianity; for the Irish monks were certainly called Papas, as the two following passages, the one from Dicuil's treatise *De Mensurâ Orbis Terræ*, and the other from Ionas's *History of Iceland*, considered in connection with each other, evidently show. Ionas, an Icelandic historian, giving an account of the first colonization of Iceland by the Norwegians under Ingulfus, in the year eight hundred and seventy-four, says: "But Ingulfus found and possessed Island altogether barren and desolate, on every side beset with very thicke woods, and scarsly fertile of any but birches, so that hee was faine every where to open the woods with the axe for journeyes and habitation. Yet in the meane space we might gather by certayne signes, I know not what mariners had sometimes touched upon certayne shoares of the countrey, but not inhabited them; for Infulgus found little sacring bels and wooden crosses, and other things made by the workmanship and arte of the Irish and Brytains, but no token of culture or habitation. Whereupon it is likely that Irish or Scottish fishermen, as are the English at this day, accustomed to fish neere Island, as sometimes it cometh to passe, went ashoare, and so by chance left sacring bells and crosses, the utensils[2] of Christian religion; for at that time the Irish were instructed in Christianisme as they say, and those whosoever were the ancient Islanders they called Papa or Papas, from whom, as seemeth probable to me, the iland of East Island, called Papey, derived the name, because they were often wont to touch there, or their monuments, such as I sayd were chiefly found there. This side of Island, to such as sayle from England, Ireland, and Scotland, is most exposed towards the north-west. Moreover what and from whence

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[1] The following curious passage occurs in the *Life of Saint Patrick*, lately published by Sir William Betham, from a very ancient MS., which clearly proves that to kindle holy fire was a Christian as well as a pagan custom: "Sanctus ergo Patricius sanctum Pasca celebrans, *incendit divinum ignem valdè lucidum et benedictum*, qui in nocte refulgens a cunctis pene plani campi habitantibus visus est." In another passage of the same *Life* the epithet *benedictus* is applied even to the smoke of the holy fire kindled by Saint Patrick: "Kannanus episcopus quem ordinavit Patricius in primo Pascha Hifferti virorum Feicc; qui portavit secum ignem primum benedictum, ac ceriales lucernas primus Patricii de manibus portavit domi, ut accenderet *fumum benedictum* in oculos ac nares hominum gentilium, et regis Loigairi, et majorum illius."—*Liber Ardmachæ. Vita S. Patricii.* It is singular that to fumigate the nostrils of persons of distinction with smoke from a censer, should have been equally a custom with the Mexicans, Jews, and Christians:—this mark of honour amongst Christians was only paid to ecclesiastical dignitaries, who should excuse Homer for introducing in some scenes of the Iliad the Father of gods and men quaffing nectar and ambrosia from a golden goblet, rather than inhaling the smoke and steam of bloody altars.

[2] The former of these utensils were certainly made of brass or metal, and perhaps, occasionally, the latter also; and being considered by the early Christians of such indispensable service for the due performance of their sacred rites, the clergy themselves, like Quecalcoatle, might have thought it not beneath their dignity to learn the art of working in metals. It is said of a certain bishop, in an old *Life of Saint Patrick*, elsewhere referred to, that he understood the trade of a smith, and made altars: "Asicus sanctus episcopus faber æreus erat Patricio, et faciebat altaria." It would appear from the same *Life of Saint Patrick*, that the graves of the primitive Christians were distinguished from those of Pagans by crosses being placed over them; and Gomara informs us that brass crosses were found placed over graves in the province of Yucatan.

know what was at a future time to happen; because there were no grounds for inferring this, except that as wars have been so common and natural amongst men, from the beginning of time when sin began,

these Papæ or Pappæ came, I cannot sufficiently speake, unlesse peradventure from the ilands of Scotland [1], whereof one is named Pappa, and another Westrapappa, as we may see in the mappes."—Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, vol. iii. page 657. The following account by Dicuil should be compared with that borrowed from Ionas, as they tend mutually to corroborate each other; and no doubt can be entertained but that the Papæ, whose crosses and sacring bells were discovered by Ingulfus and the Norwegians in the year eight hundred and seventy-four, were Irish monks, who at a period as early as the eighth century, and perhaps long before, had passed over to Iceland; for we know from Dicuil, who completed his treatise *De Mensurâ Orbis* in the year eight hundred and twenty-five, as he declares himself in these closing stanzas to his work,—

" Post octingentos viginti quinque peractos
Summi annos Domini, Terræ, ætheræ, carceris atri,
Semine triticeo sub ruris pulvere tecto,
Nocte bobus requies largitur fine laboris."

That thirty years at least before that time, monks who had returned from Iceland to Ireland, gave him a description of that island. Since it was not till nearly a century after the arrival of those monks in Ireland that the Norwegian colonies landed in Iceland, the deserted state in which they then found that island may be accounted for, on the supposition that the Norman rovers had in the intermediate time infested it, and massacred or driven away the monks. The passage which we here insert from Dicuil is very interesting, as his own relation takes us back a thousand years, and proves that at that early period the Northern Ocean had been explored nearly as far as the pole; and the authorities of more ancient writers which he quotes, show that in preceding centuries the art of navigation had made considerable progress. It is hardly necessary to remark, that in proportion as that art can be proved to have advanced in the ages immediately succeeding to the Christian era, that the improbability of America having been colonized in those ages by Christians, is diminished. " Plinius secundus in secundo libro edocet quod Pytheas Massiliensis, sex dierum navigatione in septentrionem a Britanniâ Thulen distantem narrat. De eâdem semper desertâ, in eodem xiiii. Etymologiarum libro, Isidorus infit: Thule ultima insula Oceani inter septentrionalem et occidentalem plagam, ultra Britanniam, a sole nomen habens, quia in eâ æstivum solstitium sol facit. Priscianus de eâdem in Periegesi manifestius quam Isidorus inquit:—

Oceani tranans hic navibus æquor apertum,
Ad Thulen venies, quæ nocte dieque relucet
Titanis radiis, cum curru scandit ad axes
Signiferi, boreas succendens lampade partes.

De eâdem manifestius et plenius quam Priscianus, Julius Solinus de Britanniâ loquens, in Collectaneis ita scripsit. Thule ultima in quâ, æstivo solstitio sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum, nox nulla, brumali solstitio perinde nullus dies.

" Trigesimus nunc annus est a quo nuntiaverunt mihi clerici, qui a kalendis februarii usque kalendas augusti, in illâ insulâ manserunt, quod, non solum in æstivo solstitio, sed in diebus circa illud, in vespertinâ hora, occidens sol abscondit se quasi trans parvulum tumulum: ita ut, nihil tenebrarum in minimo spatio ipso fiat; sed quicquid homo operari voluerit, vel pediculos de camisiâ abstrahere, tanquam in præsentiâ solis potest: et si in altitudine montium ejus fuissent, forsitan nunquam sol absconderetur ab illis. In medio illius minimi temporis, medium noctis fit in medio orbis terræ; et sic puto, e contrario in hiemali solstitio, et in paucis diebus circa illud, auroram in minimo spatio in Thule apparere, quando in medio meridies fit orbis terræ. Idcirco mentientes falluntur, qui circum eam concretum fore mare scripserunt, et qui a vernali æquinoctio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte, atque ab autumnali, versâ vice, usque ad vernale æquinoctium, assiduam quidem noctem, dum illi navigantes in naturali tempore magni frigoris eam intrabant, ac manentes in ipsâ, dies noctesque semper præter solstitii tempus, alternatim habebant: sed navigatione unius diei ex illâ ad boream, congelatum mare invenerunt. Sunt aliæ insulæ multæ in septentrionali Britanniæ oceano, quæ a septentrionalibus Britanniæ insulis, duorum dierum ac noctium rectâ navigatione, plenis velis, assiduo feliciter vento, adiri queunt. Aliquis probus religiosus mihi retulit quod, in duobus æstivis diebus, et unâ intercedente nocte, navigans in duorum naviculâ transtrorum, in unam illarum introivit. Illæ insulæ sunt aliæ parvæ, fere cunctæ simul angustis distantes fretis, in quibus, in centum ferme annis, eremitæ ex nostrâ Scottiâ navigantes habitaverunt. Sed, sicut a principio mundi desertæ semper fuerunt; ita nunc, causâ latronum Nortmannorum, vacuæ anachoretis, plenæ innumerabilibus ovibus, ac diversis generibus multis nimis marinarum avium. Nunquam

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[1] Ireland was called Scotia major, or simply Scotia, formerly; and the Gaelic tribes, it is probable, from the similarity of the Gaelic language to Irish, were of Irish origin. Perhaps the Papæ proceeded from the island of Columb-kil.

and mankind are so ambitious of usurping the dominions of others, he might have chosen to utter this prediction, in order that when any other nation should subject them, he might take credit to himself,

eas insulas in libris auctorum memoratas invenimus." The age in which Dicuil lived has already been mentioned; that he was an Irishman may be proved from this passage in his treatise: "Circum nostram insulam Hiberniam sunt insulæ, sed aliæ parvæ atque aliæ minimæ." "Around our island of Hibernia there are islands, some of which are small, and the rest quite insignificant." On the supposition that priests, whether of the Latin or Greek church, were formerly designated Papas, and that the crosses which had been left in Iceland by the Irish monks were Latin crosses, may we not imagine, without exceeding the bounds of probability, that the same kind of crosses discovered in Yucatan had been carried there also by Irish monks? especially as M. de Humboldt informs us that the first Spanish monks and missionaries gravely discussed the question of whether Quecalcoatle was an Irishman. In respect to the Greek crosses which were found in that continent we have already expressed an opinion that they were taken there by Coptic monks. The zeal of the Irish monks in the early ages of Christianity in the cause of conversion was quite incredible. These pious men in pursuit of their object despised alike the dangers of sea and land; and the extreme shores of Italy, as far as Tarentum and Sicily, and Iceland, even Greenland, it is highly probable were visited by them before the tenth century. The establishment of Christianity in Greenland in the ninth century, and the subsequent foundation of the monastery of Saint Thomas in that island, deserve to be particularly noticed here; for although the name of the monastery affords no indication of the country of those by whom it was founded, since Saint Thomas was esteemed the general patron of foreign conversions, still its existence during many centuries in the very precincts of the New World is very remarkable, and renders it extremely probable that missionaries had proceeded from it to many different parts of America; for Saint Thomas seems to have possessed a kind of ubiquity in that continent, and wherever the Spaniards arrived they imagined that they discovered traces of that Saint. Garcia in discussing the probability of the Norwegians and Danes having colonized America, says, "La Peyrere proves against Arngrim Ionas, that it (Iceland) had been peopled already (before the year eight hundred and sixty-four) from ancient times; not only because the natives called the English and Scotch, who landed accidentally on its shores, Papas, inasmuch as they called the sea-coast Papey, but likewise because being the Thule of the ancients, no doubt could be entertained of its having been peopled. George Hickes[1] accordingly makes mention of the chronology of this island, and of the events connected with its history from the year seven hundred and forty of the Christian era to that of twelve hundred and ninety-five, mixing them up with the affairs of Denmark and Norway; and at least it is evident that in the year eight hundred and thirty-four, Lewis the Pious nominated Ansgarius to the Archbishopric of Hamburg, extending his jurisdiction over Iceland and Greenland, where he affirms that a door had been opened to the Gospel, which appointment was confirmed by Gregory the Fourth on the following year, according to Pontanus." *Origen de los Indios,* page 266. The following account of the monastery of Saint Thomas, founded in Greenland, is taken from the relation of the discoveries of two distinguished Italian voyagers, Nicholas and Antonio Zeno, inserted in the first instance by Ramusio, in his *Collection of Voyages,* and afterwards translated and published in English, by Hakluyt[2]. "M. Nicolo remaining now in Bres, determined in the spring to go forth and discover land; wherefore arming out three small barkes in the month of July, he sayled to the northwards and arrived in Engroneland, where he found a monasterie of friers of the order of the Predicators, and a church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire like Vesuvius and Etna. There is a fountaine of hot burning water, with the whiche they heate the church of the monastery and the fryers' chambers; it commeth also into the kitchin so boyling hot that they use no other fire to dresse their meate, and putting their breade into brasse pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot oven. They have also smal gardens covered over in the winter time, which being watered with this water are defended from the force of the snow and colde, whiche in those partes being situate farre under the pole is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites, and herbes of sundry sorts, even as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and savage people of those partes, seeing these supernatural effects, doe take those fryers for gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh, and divers other things, and have them all in great reverence as lords. When the frost and snow is great they heate their houses in manner before said, and will, by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an instant temper the heate and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the monasterie they use no other matter but that which is ministred unto them by the fire; for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are most inflamed cast water upon them, whereby they are dissolved and become excellent white lime, and so tough that being contrived in building it lasteth for ever; and the very sparkles after the fire is out of them doe serve, instead of stones, to make walles and vautes, for being once cold they wil never

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[1] Hickes was a learned Englishman of the seventeenth century. He published *Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ,* and *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Thesaurus.*

[2] This relation was published by Francesco Marcolini, in Venice, in the year 1558, together with the *Persian Voyage of M. Caterino Zeno.* The little volume in which it is contained is very rare; and considering that in it the Zeno family lay some claim to the honour of having discovered the northern coasts of America before Columbus had sailed to the southern, on grounds which three such excellent *ancient* cosmographers as Ramusio, Ortelius, and Hakluyt, have judged to be plausible, it deserves to be rescued from oblivion.

saying, that long ago he had prophesied it to them;—and in fact so it happened: they adored him as a god, as will be seen*; for they believed it certain that he had ascended into heaven†, and was that star which is visible at the north of the sun before the break of day, which is the planet Venus; and they represented him accordingly, as has already been shown.

1. Quetzalcoatl. 2. Tlapallan, which signifies the Red Sea.

* Superstitious nations are too ready to ascribe to prophetic inspiration things which have been foretold, merely because they were highly probable, and which accordingly afterwards came to pass. Seneca says, in the chorus of one of his tragedies—

" . . . . . Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris ultima Thule."

This prophecy, whether the magnitude of the event predicted, or the distance of time previous to its accomplishment be considered, will bear comparison with any delivered by the famous oracles of old.

† Quecalcoatle, according to the opinion of some authors, received the other appellation of Huitzilopuchtli, from the belief which the Mexicans entertained that he had ascended into heaven, and was seated on the left hand of Tonacatecutli. Huitzilopuchtli is compounded of Huiçilan or Huitzilan, the name of a bird of beautiful plumage, (from which the Mexicans obtained the green feathers called Quecalli, which they so highly prized,) and Opuchtli, the left hand.

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dissolve or breake, except they be cut with some iron toole; and the vautes that are made of them are so light, that they need no sustentacle or prop to holde them up, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the fryers have made there so many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to see. The coverts or roofes of their houses, for the most part are made in manner following: first they raise up the wall up to its full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by little and little in fourme of a vaut. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those parts, because the climate, as I have saide, is extreme cold; for the first snow being fallen it thaweth no more for the space of nine months, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the flesh of wilde foule and of fish; for whereas the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide haven, which by reason of the heate of the water doeth never freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such abundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke both in building and taking of foules and fish, and in a thousand other necessarie affaires and business about the monasterie. Their houses are built about the hill on every side, in forme round and twenty-five foote broad, and in mounting upwards they goe narower and narower, leaving at the top a little hole, whereat the aire commeth in to give light to the house, and the flore of the house is so hot that being within they feele no cold at all: hither in the summer-time come many barkes from the islands their about, and from the cape above Norway and from Trondon, and bring to the friers al maner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sunne or in the cold, and skins of divers kindes of beasts, for the which they have woode to burne, and timber very artificially carved, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell; for in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them covet to trafficke with them, and so they, without any travell or expences, have that which they desire. To this monasterie resort fryers of Norway, of Suetia, and of other countreys, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the yere to dyssolve the yce. The fishers' boates are made like unto a weaver's shuttle: taking the skins of fishes they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sowing them together in many doubles, they make them so sure and substanciall that it is miraculous to see howe in tempests they will shut themselves close within, and let the sea and winde carry them they care not whether, without any feare either of breaking or drowning; and if they chance to be driven upon any rocks, they remain sound without the least bruse in the world; and they have as it were a sleeve in the bottome, which is tyed fast in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat they put it into the one-halfe of the sleeve, then fastening the end thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they convey the water forth of the boat, and this they doe as often as they have occasion without any perill or impediment at all. Moreover the water of the monastery being of sulphurious or brimstonie nature is conveyed into the lodgings of the principall friers by certaine vesselles of brasse, tinne, or stone, so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stove, not carying with it any stinke or other noysome smell; besides this, they have another conveyance to bring hot water, with a wall under the ground, to the end it should not freeze unto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heate their water to drinke, and to water their gardens; and thus they have from the hill the greatest commodities that may

PLATE XVI.

This they say is the representation of that tower which we have already mentioned that they built in Chulula, which the old men say was constructed in this manner. Those Indians who were

be wished; and so these fryers employ al their travaile and studie for the most part in trimming their gardens, and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but especially handsome and commodious. Neyther are they destitute of ingenious and painful artificers for the purpose, for they give very large payment; and to them that bring them fruits and seedes they are very bountifull, and give they care not what; so that there is great resort of workmen and masters in divers faculties, by reason of the good gaines and large allowance that is there. The most of them speake the Latine tongue, and specially the superiours and principals[1] of the monastery. And this is as much as is known of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a river that he discovered, as is to be seene in the carde that I drew. And in the end, M. Nicolo not being used and acquainted with these cruell coldes, fel sicke, and a litle while after returned into Frisland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice two sons, M. Giovanni and M. Toma, who had two sonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro, of whom descended the other Zenos that are living at this day. Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods and in his dignities and honour; and albeit he attempted divers wayes and made great supplication, he could never obtaine license to returne into his countrey; for Zichmni being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himself lord of the sea, wherefore using alwayes the counsaile and service of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certaine barks to the westwards, for that towards those parts some of his fishermen had discovered certaine islands very rich and populous, which discovery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, saving that we have changed some old words, leaving the matter entire as it was.

"Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe, there departed four fisher boats, the which a mightie tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many dayes very desperately upon the sea, when at length the tempest ceasing, and the wether waxing faire, they discovered an island, called Estotiland, lying to the westwards, above one thousand miles from Frisland, upon the which one of the boats was cast away, and sixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place sent for many interpreters; but there was none could be found that understood the language of the fishermen except one that spake Latine, who was also cast by chance upon the same island, who, in the behalfe of the king, asked them what countrymen they were? and so understanding their case, rehearsed it unto the king, who willed that they should tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandment, for that they could not otherwise doe, dwelt five years in the island, and learned the language; and one of them was in divers parts of the island, and reporteth that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle lesse then Island, but farre more fruitful, having in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there spring foure rivers, that passe through the whole countrey. The inhabitants are very wittie people, and have all artes and faculties as we have; and it is credible that in time past they have had trafficke with our men; for he said that he saw Latin bookes in the king's librarie, which they at this present do not understand. They have a peculiar language and letters or caracters to themselves; they have mines of all maner of metals, but especial they abound with gold; they have their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furres, brimstone, and pitch: and he saith that to the southwards there is a great populous countrey, very rich of gold. They sow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do use as we do wine. They have mighty great woods; they make their buildings with wals, and there are

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[1] The Irish monks who followed the rule of Saint Columbus, who were very numerous, as that Saint was indefatigable in founding monasteries, studied with great diligence the Latin language, in imitation of the example of their patron, and in obedience to his precept to cultivate the sciences: accordingly the light of learning still shone in his celebrated monastery of Iona for many centuries after the rest of Europe had been plunged in darkness. Some modern writers, amongst others, Dr. M'Cullogh, are inclined to be more sceptical than Gibbon was, as to the contents of the famous library of that monastery; they cannot reconcile to their ideas of probability, the supposition that it might have contained some of the long lost works of antiquity, or that the libraries of monasteries in general were places in which such discoveries were likely to be made: if so, it might be asked, from whence did the mass of ancient learning which we still possess, proceed? for Universities were an institution of later ages. But if monasteries were likely places in which to find the valuable works of former days, the monastery of Iona was eminently so; neither should the boast of its having possessed a considerable number of Arabic MSS. throw any discredit on the account which has been transmitted to us of its other contents; since these MSS. might easily have been brought from Spain, between which country and Ireland considerable intercourse in former ages subsisted, the Irish laying claim to Milesian or Spanish descent, and where it is highly probable the monks of Iona sometimes went.

under that chief who had escaped from the deluge, named Xelua, made bricks out of a mountain in Tlalmanalco called Cocotle: and from Tlalmanalco to Chulula, Indians were placed to pass the bricks

many cities and castles. They build small barks, and have sayling; but they have not the loadstone, nor know not the use of the compasse. Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation; insomuch that the king sent them with twelve barks to the southwards, to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather, that they thought to have perished in the sea; but escaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell, for they were taken in the countrey and the most parte of them eaten by the savage people, which fed upon mans flesh, as the sweetest meat in their judgments that is. But that fisher with his fellowes shewing them the maner of taking fish with nets, saved their lives; and would goe every day a fishing to the sea and in fresh rivers, and take great abundance of fish, and give it to the chiefe men of the countrey; whereby he gate himself so great favour that he was very well beloved and honoured of every one. The fame of this man being spread abroad in the countrey, there was a lord thereby that was very desirous to have him with him, and to see how he used his miraculous arte of catching fish, in so much that he made warre with the other lord with whom he was before; and in the end prevaling, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fisherman was sent unto him with the rest of his company: and for the space of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in those parts, he saith that he was sent in this order to more than twenty-five lords; for they had continuall war amongst themselves, this lord with that lord, and he with another, onely to have him to dwell with them; so that wandering up and downe the countrey, without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts. He saith that it is a very greate countrey, and as it were a new world; the people are very rude and voide of all goodnesse; they goe all naked, so that they are miserably vexed with colde; neither have they the wit to cover their bodyes with beasts skins which they take in hunting; they have no kinde of mettal; they live by hunting; they carry certaine lances of wood, made sharpe at the point; they have bowes the strings whereof are made of beasts skins: they are very fierce people; they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another: they have governours and certaine lawes very divers among themselves; but the farther to the southwestwards the more civiltie there is; the ayre being somewhat temperate, so that there they have cities, and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eate them. They have there some knowledge and use of gold and silver."

It is unnecessary to insert here what follows in the original relation, of an expedition undertaken by Zichmni against Estotiland, in consequence of the report of the fisherman who had contrived to escape from the savages. The relation itself is in fact extremely brief, occupying in the entire but a few pages of Hakluyt; and it was compiled in the first instance by Francisco Marcolino, from fragments of letters written by Nicolo Zeno to his brother Antonio, to induce him to go to him at Frisland, and from the latter at Frisland to his brother Carlo, who remained in Venice. It does not appear how Marcolino became possessed of their correspondence:—reasons however, for its not having been sooner published, and for much of it having been lost, may be found on the one hand, in the fact that it took place seventy or eighty years before the art of printing was invented; and on the other, in the extreme jealousy of the Venetian government, which had much reason at that time, for the preservation of its own rich commerce in the established channel, to divert the attention of the other states of Europe from naval enterprizes; and certainly none to encourage them to embark in them, by allowing its citizens to publish interesting relations of voyages to the west; especially as it was the opinion of learned men of that age, who knew nothing of the existence of America, that a short passage to Asia might be discovered by navigating the Atlantic,—which would have deprived Venice of its monopoly of the trade of the East. This they inferred from the spherical shape of the earth: and accordingly when America was discovered, it was called India; and Columbus supposed that he had reached some portion of the territories of the Great Cham of Tartary. There is certainly something improbable in the account which Marcolino gives of the book which Antonio Zeno composed, and of many of the letters which he wrote to his brother Carlo having been torn and destroyed by himself when a child. But the exception which might hence be taken to the relation itself must be very slight, since two such eminent cosmographers as Hakluyt and Ortelius, not to mention Ramusio, have given their testimony in its favour; and it likewise contains very strong internal proofs of authenticity. The terms, indeed, in which Marcolino speaks of his inability to give a detailed narrative of the voyages and discoveries of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, seem suggested by real regret at the recollection of the loss of the materials which would have enabled him to have executed the task. "All these letters," he observes, "were written by M. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother; and it grieveth me that the booke and divers other writings concerning these purposes are miserably lost: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, as the maner of children is, I tore them and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not bee lost, whatsoever I could get of this matter I have disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great discoveries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the newe relations and discoveries of strange countries made by the great mindes and industrie of our ancestours." The original relation of Marcolino here terminating, Hakluyt takes occasion, in the following terms, to signify his own opinion of its veracity, and to cite that of Ortelius to the same effect: "For the more credite and confirmation of the former historie of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni, which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question, I have heere annexed the judgment of that famous cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yealding and submitting of his judgment thereunto, who in his *Theatrum Orbis*, fol. 6, next before the map of Mar del Zur, borroweth proofe and authoritie out of this

and cement from hand to hand; and thus they built this tower, that was named Tulan Culula, which was so high that it appeared to reach heaven. And being content, since it seemed to them that

relation to shew that the northeast parte of America called Estotiland, and in the original always affirmed to bee an islande, was about the yeere thirteen hundred and ninety discovered by the aforesayd Venetian gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno, above one hundred yeeres before ever Christopher Columbus set saile for those western regions; and that the Northern seas were even then sayled by our European pilots, through the helpe of the loadstone, with divers other particulars concerning the customes, religion, and wealth, of the Southern Americans, which are most evidently confirmed by all the late and modern Spanish histories of Nueva España and Peru."

The passage above alluded to of Ortelius is as follows: "And here I shall not, as I suppose, commit any great inconvenience or absurditie in adding unto this history of the New World certaine particulars as touching the first discovery thereof not commonly known; which discoverie al the writers of our time ascribe, and that not unworthily, unto Christopher Columbus, for by him it was in a maner first discovered, made knowen, and profitably communicated unto the Christian world in the yere of our Lord fourteen hundred and ninety-two. Howbeit, I find that the north part thereof called Estotiland, which most of all extendeth towards our Europe, and the ilands of the same, namely Groneland, Island, and Frisland, was long ago found out by certaine fishers of the Isle of Frisland, driven by tempest upon the shore thereof, and was afterwards, about the yeere thirteen hundred and ninety, discovered a new by one Antonio Zeno, a gentleman of Venice, which sayled thither under the conduct of Zichmni, king of the saide Isle of Frisland, a prince in those parts of great valour, and renowned for his martial exploits and victories; of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the Letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni, two gentlemen of Venice which lived in those parts: out of which collections I doe adde concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following: 'Estotiland,' saith he, 'aboundeth with all things necessary for mankinde. In the mids thereof standeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which issue foure rivers that moisten all the countrie. The inhabitants are wittie and most expert in all mechanicall arts. They have a kinde of peculiar language and letters: howbeit, in this king's librarie are preserved certaine Latine bookes which they understand not, being perhaps left there not many yeeres before, by some Europeans which traffiqued thither. They have all kinde of mettals, but especially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland, from whence they fetch skinnes, pitch, and brimstone. The inhabitants report, that towardes the south there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous. They have many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The use of the loadstone for navigation is unknown unto them. They make relation also of a certaine region towards the south called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, unto whom mans flesh is delicate meat, whereof being destitute they live by fishing, which they use very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a new world; but the people are barbarous, and goe naked; howbeit against the colde they clothe themselves in beastes skinnes. These have no kinde of metall, and they live by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long staves with sharp points, and bowes. They wage warres one against another. They have governours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towards the south the climate is much more temperate, and there are cities, and temples of idoles unto whom they sacrifice living men, whose flesh they afterwards devoure. These nations have the use of silver and gold. Thus much of this tract of landes out of the aforesaide collections or abridgements; wherein this also is worthy the observation, that even then our European pilots sayled those seas by the helpe of the loadstone; for concerning the use thereof in navigation I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimonie. And these things I have annexed the rather unto this table of Mar del Zur, considering that none of those authours which have written the histories of the Newe World, have in any part of their writings mentioned one word thereof.' Hitherto Ortelius."—*Hakluyt's Early Voyages*, vol. iii. page 157.

With respect to the internal evidence which the relation of Marcolino affords of its own authenticity, it is sufficient to point out here a singular agreement between the description which Nicolo Zeno gives, in his second letter, of the monastery of Saint Thomas in Greenland, and the account which Blefkens, who made a voyage from Hamburgh to Iceland and Greenland in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-three, received from a monk who had formerly belonged to that monastery. He says: "There was in a certaine monasterie in Iseland called Helgafiel, a certayne blinde monke left (for the abbot of the monasterie had converted the revenues to the king's use) who lived miserably there. Hee was borne in Groneland, of a darke complexion and broad face. The governour commanded him to be brought unto him, that hee might know some certaintie of the state of Groneland. Hee sayd there was a monasterie of Saint Thomas in Groneland, into the which his parents thrust him when he was but young; and after that hee was taken out by the bishop of Groneland, when hee was thirtie yeeres of age, to saile with him into Norway to the archbishop, to Nidrosia or Dronten, to whom the Iseland bishops are subject. In his returne hee was left in a monasterie by the bishop whose countrey Groneland was. This was done, as hee sayd, in fifteen hundred and forty-six. Hee sayd that island was called Groneland antiphrastically, for that it seldome or never waxeth greene, and that there is so great cold there throughout the whole yeere, except Iune, Iuly, and August, that being clothed and covered with furres, they could scarse bee warme; and that they had at home certayne round peeces of wood, which being continually mooved with the feete, kept their feet warme. He sayd it aboundeth as Iseland doth with fishes, and that they had beares and white foxes, nay pigmies and unicornes, and that day did not appeare till the sunne had runne through Pisces. This monke told us marvellous strange things: that there was in the monasterie of Saint Thomas where hee lived, a fountayne which sent forth burning and flaming

they had a place whence to escape from the deluge if it should again happen*, and from whence they might ascend into heaven,—a chalcuitl, which is a precious stone, fell from thence and struck

* This account nearly resembles that which is given by Josephus, in the fifth chapter of the first book of his *Jewish Antiquities*, of the building of the Tower of Babel. Nabrodes, the great grandson of Noah, is there said to have been the chief who dissuaded the people from proceeding in tribes to colonize the earth, and who advised them to build a tower so high that it might afford them the means of escaping in the event of another deluge: the words of Josephus are these—"*Πυργον γαρ οικοδομησειν ὑψηλοτερον ἡ το ὑδωρ ἀναβηναι δυνηθειη.*"

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water; that this water was conveyed through pipes of stone to the severall cells of the monkes, and that it made them warme as stoaves doe with us; and that all kinde of meates might bee boyled in this fountayne and fierie water, no otherwise then if it had beene fire indeed. He added moreover, that the walls of the monasterie were made of pumice stones out of a certayne mountaine, not far from the monasterie, like to Hecla; for if yee powre these burning waters upon the pumice stones, there will follow a slimie matter, which instead of lime they use for morter. After the governour's conference with the monke, I came privately unto him, to demand certayne particular things touching the pigmies and other things. Hee had little skill in the Latine tongue; hee understood mee speaking Latine, but answered by an interpreter. Hee sayd, the pigmies represent the most perfect shape of man, that they are hairy to the uttermost joynts of the fingers, and that the males have beards downe to the knees. But although they have the shape of men, yet they have little sense or understanding, nor distinct speech, but make shew of a kinde of hissing, after the manner of geese; that his abbot kept two of them in his monasterie, male and female, but they lived not long, and that they were unreasonable creatures, and live in perpetuall darknesse. That some say, they have warre with the cranes, that hee knew not. He affirmed, that the same maner of food was in Groneland as in Island, to wit, of fish but not of cattle, because they have no cattle, and that the country is not populous. Forthwith from Island begins the Hyperborean Sea, which beats upon Groneland and the country of the pigmies, which at this day is called Nova Zembla, and there the frozen sea hath a bay which is called the White Sea."—*Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. iii. page 651.

It is evident that the pigmies here described were Esquimaux Indians clothed in seal skins. The monk's account of the two which his abbot kept in the monastery may be compared with the following Indian tradition, (which can only refer to the Esquimaux,) which Peter Martyr recounts in the second chapter of his Seventh Decade of the *Ocean:* "There is another country called Inzignanin. The inhabitants, by report of their ancestors, say that a people as tall as the length of a man's arm, with tails of a span long, sometimes arrived there, brought thither by sea, which tail was not moveable or wavering, but solid, broad above, and sharp beneath, as we see in fishes and crocodiles, and extended into a bony hardness. Wherefore, when they desired to sit, they used seats with holes through them, or wanting them, digged up the earth a span deep or little more; they must convey their tail into the hole when they rest them. They fabulously report that that nation had fingers as broad as they were long, and that their skin was rough and almost scaly, and that they were accustomed only to eat raw fish, which failing, they say, all died; and that they left no posterity of them behind them. They report these and many such idle vain things were left them by tradition from their grandfathers and parents."

The Esquimaux are a race of people totally distinct from the other tribes of Indians, and appear to be of Tartar origin. It is highly probable (if it cannot be easily shown how many species of *animals*[1] could have migrated from the Old continent to the New) that America has been colonized by man from all quarters of the globe; and this was the conclusion at which Garcia arrived, after long researches into the origin of the Indians.

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[1] Man is a creature whose constitution can be inured by habit to every climate; but nevertheless, opposite and remote regions of the globe seem to be inhabited by distinct races of mankind. If the laws of nature, the power and influence of climate, and the vital and organic functions of the human frame are not very different from what they were during the first two thousand years of the earth's alleged existence after the deluge, how does it happen that the experience of the last two thousand years tends fully to prove that climate can effect no material change either in the colour of the skin or in the human physiognomy? The long residence of the Spaniards in the New World has not yet given a shade of copper-colour to their skin; nor have the negroes, by being transplanted to America and the West Indian islands, lost a particle of their original blackness; neither have any people of the earth a tradition that their ancestors were of a different colour from themselves, or that a change had been wrought in their personal appearance by their establishing themselves in some new settlement. Mixture of blood is that alone which affects a change in colour and in feature. The marble busts of classical antiquity show how nearly the countenances of the Greek and Roman heroes, who flourished before the Christian æra, resembled those of the modern Greeks and Italians, and plainly prove that the slow action of time and of revolving ages can of itself produce no change in the physiognomy of man, although his stature may be affected by various natural causes. The problem, however, most difficult to resolve is, How, supposing that the time existed when the vast American continent was absolutely without animals, those species which are not sufficiently hardy to bear cold, (and which therefore cannot be supposed to have crossed from Asia to America by Bherings Straits, supposing that the two continents in the early ages of the world joined thereabouts, and which would have found it equally impossible to pass

it to the ground. Others say that the chalcuitl was in the shape of a toad; and that whilst destroying the tower it reprimanded them, inquiring of them their reason for wishing to ascend into heaven, since it was sufficient for them to see what was on the earth. The base of this tower is at the present day still remaining, and its circumference is eighteen hundred feet*.

1. The Tower.

For the better understanding of this painting and that which follows, it is requisite to observe, that these gentiles divided their year in our manner, into three hundred and sixty-five days, which they distributed into eighteen portions resembling months; and the five days which exceeded this distribution of twenty days to each of the months, they left till the fourth year; for in the same way as we have our bissextile every four years, in which we add a day to the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, so they added a month composed of the quadruple of these five superfluous days: and to show what sign reigned over each of the twenty days, they had an equal number of signs, which shall presently be explained, in which was founded all their superstition and sorcery; and each of these twenty signs had the number thirteen allotted to it, because they had the same number of days in their week. Thus they commenced reckoning from the sign of One Cane: for example, One Cane, two, three, &c. proceeding to thirteen; for in the same way as we have calculations in our repertories, by which to find what sign rules over each of the seven days of the week, so the natives of that country had thirteen signs for the thirteen days of their week: and this will be better understood by an example. To signify the first day of the world, they painted a figure like the moon, surrounded with splendour, which is emblematical of the deliberation which they say their god held respecting the creation, because the first day after the commencement of time began with the second figure, which was One Cane: accordingly completing their reckoning of a cycle at the sign of Two Canes, they counted an Age, which is a period of fifty-two years, because on account of the bissextile years which necessarily fell in this sign of the Cane, it occurred at the expiration of every period of fifty-two years. Their third sign was a certain figure, which we shall presently see, resembling a serpent or viper, by which they intended to signify the poverty and labours which men suffer in this life. Their fourth sign represented an earthquake, which they called Nahuolin, because they say that in that sign the sun was created†. Their fifth sign was Water, for according to their account abundance was given to them in that sign. These five signs they placed in the upper part, which they called Tlacpac, that is to say the east.—They placed five other signs at the south, which they named Uitzlan,

* Mexican mythology has transferred the site of the tower of Babel as well as that of the lakes of Taguatagua from the Old continent to the New.

† The sun in the sign of Four Earthquakes might have signified amongst the Mexicans, the present age, in allusion to the fate which they imagined awaited their last sun, which was doomed like the preceding ones to destruction. This sign, surrounded with the other signs of the days of the year, is sculptured on the great block of granite which was dug up some years ago in the Plaza Mayor of Mexico.

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the ocean) could have arrived there? and how the insect tribes, the sloth, and the crocodile could ever have accomplished the journey? And finally, why other species of animals, such as the llama, should only be discovered in the New World; and geologists have been unable hitherto to find even their bones in the Old continent; at the same time that those of the megatherion and of other extinct species have been found in the American soil, which instinct perhaps, immediately after their creation, (for how else can we account for their presence there?) induced to abandon the fertile plains of Asia.

which means a place of thorns. The first of which was a flower, emblematical of the shortness of life, which passes away quickly like a blossom or flower. The second was a certain very green herb, in like manner denoting the shortness of life, which is as grass. The third sign was a lizard, to show that the life of man, besides being brief, is destitute and replete with the ills of nakedness and cold, and with other miseries. The fourth was a certain very cruel species of bird which inhabits that country. The fifth sign was a rabbit, because they say that in this sign their food was created, and accordingly they believed that it presided over drunken revels*.—They placed five other signs at the west, which region they called Tetziuatlan. The first was a deer, by which they indicated the diligence of mankind in seeking the necessaries of life for their sustenance. The second sign was a shower of rain falling from the skies, by which they signified pleasure and worldly content. The third sign was an ape, denoting leisure time. The fourth was a house, meaning repose and tranquillity. The fifth was an eagle, the symbol of freedom and dexterity.—At the north, which they call Teutletlapan †, which signifies the place of the gods, they placed the other five signs which were wanting to complete the twenty. The first was a tiger, which is a very ferocious animal, and accordingly they considered the echo of the voice as a bad omen, and the most unlucky of any, because they say that it has reference to that sign ‡. The second was a skull or death, by which they signified that death commenced with the first existence of mankind. The third sign was a razor, or stone knife, by which are meant the wars and dissensions of the world; they call it Tequepatl. The fourth sign is the head of a cane, which signifies the Devil, who takes souls to hell §. The fifth and last of all the twenty signs was a winged head, by which they represented the wind, indicative of the variety of worldly affairs. These were the twenty figures of their superstition and sorcery, respecting which something else remains to be observed; which is, that on the commencement of the year, which was always on the twenty-first of February ‖, as they considered that day their first,—if by chance the sign of the Cane ruled on that day, they were bound to fast during the thirteen days antecedent to the arrival of the new year, in memory of the various times in which the world had been destroyed, because a destruction of the world had taken place on that sign; and since they likewise expected that the world was again to be destroyed, they fasted during these thirteen days, to escape from death. And when the year commenced with the sign of the Rabbit, they fasted the eight preceding days, in memory of the ruin of the first man, as the Devil had given them knowledge of him, although obscured with the same errors in this instance as in others, till in time they arrived at the knowledge of our Catholic truth, which he had before revealed to them, mixing it up with lies. It must also be observed, that their intercalary year ¶ was always in the four letters or signs which follow, viz. the Cane, the Flint, the House, and the Rabbit; because in like manner as they

* Ometochtli, a Mexican god so named from the sign which was dedicated to him, was, according to Sahagun, the same as Bacchus.

† The north was also named Mictlan, or Miquitlan, where they supposed hell to be situated and Miquitlamtecutle to reside.

‡ The Mexicans believed that some connection existed between the echo of the voice and the sign of the tiger; because the tiger was the sign of the earth, and they had an ancient tradition that the earth escaped total destruction from the deluge by the echo of the voice reverberating from the heart of the mountain.

§ The sign of Quecalcoatle was the head of a cane.

‖ This appears to be a mistake, as it is elsewhere said that the new year commenced on the twenty-fourth of February, and that the first of the dead days occurred on the nineteenth of that month.

¶ Some attempt has been made in a preceding note to explain the Mexican system of intercalation.

had an intercalation every four years of the month composed of the five dead days, which were superfluous in the reckoning of each year, so also they had an intercalation of years; for at the expiration of every period of fifty-two years, which they reckon an Age, they added a year, which always fell in one of these letters or signs; because as each of the twenty signs had thirteen similar signs which obeyed it;—for example, one Rabbit, two, three, four, reckoning to thirteen; and one Cane, two, three, four, to thirteen, and the quadruple of thirteen is fifty-two,—there remains the exact sum of fifty-two years, constituting an Age; and accordingly the intercalary year always fell in one of these four letters; because since by their account the world began in the sign of One Cane, for this reason the intercalary year could not fall but in these four letters.

PLATE XVII.

TONACATECOTLE.

This is the representation of Tonacatecotle, which name signifies the Lord of our Bodies; others say that it means the First Man, or perhaps it means that the first man was so called.

These are the figures which have been mentioned; and the first is that of their greatest god, Tonacatecotle. It represents the first god under whom, as they affirm, was the dominion of the world; who, when it appeared good to him, breathed and divided the waters of the heaven and the earth, which at first were all confused together, and disposed them as they now are; and accordingly they called him the Lord of our Bodies, and also of Abundance, who bestowed every thing upon them, and on this account they paint him alone with a crown. They call him besides, Seven Flowers, for they say that he disposes of the principalities of the earth. He had no temple, nor did they offer sacrifices to him; for they say that he did not require them, as if on account of his superior majesty: so that even here we see how the pride of those who despised God, long ago from the beginning, has displayed itself, since the Devil has chosen to apply to himself what Saint John says of God,—that on account of his greatness no temple which our gratitude could erect would content him. They say that Tonacatecotle presided over the thirteen signs which are here marked. Those above denote the thirteen causes* or influences of the sky which are under subjection to him, and the others below are the thirteen signs of their superstition and sorcery.

This man and woman represent the first pair who existed in the world; their names are Huehue†. Between them is placed a knife or razor, and an arrow above each of their heads, typifying death, as in them death originated.

They called this god Tonacatecotli, and by another name Citallatonalli; and they said that he was

* These causes are really only nine, corresponding in number with the heavens. But since four of them are reckoned twice in every series of thirteen days, in order that each day might be placed under some peculiar influence, they are here said to be thirteen: their names, enumerated in their proper order, are as follows; Xiututl, Ytzli, Piltzintzinteotl, Tzinteotl, Mitlanteotl, Chalchiuitlicue, Tlazolteotl, Tepeyolotl, Tlaloc. The influence which they were supposed to exercise over each day, whether good, bad, or indifferent, is marked by the letters *b*, *c*, and *in*, standing for *buono*, *cattivo*, and *indifferente*.

† *Hue* signifies *old*, and its reduplication forms the superlative of the adjective; the coincidence between Ἔυα the name of Eve in the Septuagint, and *hue*, seems purely accidental.

the constellation which appears by night in the sky, named Saint James's or the Milky Way. They paint these figures, and all the others which follow, each of them in its own manner; because as they considered them their deities, each had its peculiar festival. It was necessary to wear in these festivals the habit of the god.

1. Xiututl, good. 2. Ytzli, bad. 3. Piltzintzinteotl, good. 4. Tzinteotl, indifferent. 5. Mitlanteotl, bad. 6. Izpatli*, the symbol of the first day, or of the first deliberation which their god held when he commenced the creation, "quasi fiat lux," pronouncing as it were the words "Let there be light." 7. Air or wind. 8. House. 9. Lizard. 10. Serpent. 11. Crown. 12. Tonacatlecotle, which name signifies the Lord of our Bodies. Others say that it means the First Man: or perhaps it signifies that the first man was so called. 13. Arrow. 14. Flint or Knife. 15. Arrow or lance.

PLATE XVIII.

This figure has no name; for it only shows how, after the disappearance of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatle, men invented sacrifices of children, with the intention of honouring his festival, which was on the day of Seven Canes (Pexis)†. They say that he was born on that sign; and accordingly a very great festival was celebrated on that sign in Chululan, to which they came from all parts of the country, and brought offerings and presents to the lords, Papas, and priests of the temples. And they celebrated a similar festival and solemnity on the sign in which he disappeared, which was that of One Cane‡. These solemnities or festivals occurred at the expiration of every fifty-two years.

PLATE XIX.

QUEQUECOYOTL.

They say that the Otomies worshipped Quequecoyotl as their god§. He was the Lord of these thirteen signs, in which they celebrated his festival, during the four last of which they fasted, in

* The meaning of this symbol, which is here otherwise explained than in the writings of Torquemada and Boturini, has, as Gama observes, much perplexed those who have most diligently studied the ancient mythology of the Mexicans. "Father Torquemada and Gomara (he says) call it a sword-fish, and Boturini a serpent armed with hooks. Father Diego Valades represents it in the form of a fish in the calendar which he caused to be engraved in his *Christian Rhetoric;* and others accordingly have so represented it: but the Indians paint it in a different manner; and the figures which are found of it in their ancient paintings do not exactly resemble that which is sculptured on the stone."—*Descripcion de las Dos Piedras,* page 27. It may here be remarked, that the engraving of one of these stones,—that representing the Mexican calendar which Gama has annexed to his Treatise,—does not appear accurate; and it differs materially from a model in plaster of Paris of the same stone which has been recently brought to England, which together with a cast of the sacrificial stone suffered some injuries in the carriage.

† The meaning of Pexis is not obvious, although it would appear from the context that it was the name of the festival.

‡ Three different signs of the Cane, viz. One Cane, Two Canes, and Seven Canes, were dedicated to Quecalcoatle; the two first of which seem to be signs of years, and the last alone to designate a day. Although it is elsewhere said that Quecalcoatle disappeared or died on the day of One Cane, which must have proceeded from inadvertence, since it is stated in another part, that he disappeared on the day of Four Earthquakes in the year of One Cane. The sign of Two Canes was dedicated to him because his festival was celebrated every fifty-two years in Cholula, on the year of Two Canes; perhaps in commemoration of the number of years which he lived.

§ The Otomies worshipped Quequecoyotl under the name of Tatacoada.

honour of the other Quetzalcoatle of Tula. They called them the festival of Discord. He who was born on the sign of One Rose they believed would be a musician, a physician, a weaver, or a principal person. When the sign of the Rabbit arrived, they fasted on account of the fall of the first man.

1. Gueguecouiotl *.

PLATE XX.

ISNEXTLI, BLIND WITH ASHES.

We certainly ought to deplore the blindness of this people and the cunning of Satan, who in this manner has persevered in counterfeiting the Holy Scriptures; since he communicated to these poor people the knowledge of the temptation of our mother Eve, and of the inconstancy of our father Adam, under the fiction of this woman, who is turned towards her husband, as God declared to our mother Eve, "et ad virum conversio ejus," (and she shall turn towards her husband);—whom they call Isnextli, who is the same as Eve, who is always weeping, with her eyes dim with ashes, with a rose in her hand emblematical of her grief, being in consequence of having gathered it. And accordingly they say that she cannot behold heaven: wherefore in recollection of the happiness which, on that account, she lost, they celebrate a fast every eight years on account of this calamitous event; the fast was on bread and water. They fasted during the eight signs preceding the entrance of the Rose, and when that sign arrived they prepared themselves for the celebration of the festival. They affirm that every series of five days comprised in this calendar was dedicated to this fall, because on such a day Eve sinned; they were accordingly enjoined to bathe themselves on this night, in order to escape disease.

1. Isnextli, blind with ashes.

PLATE XXI.

CHALCHIUITLICUE.

Chalchiuitlicue † is the Woman whose dress is adorned with precious stones. They painted her with a spinning-wheel in one hand, and in the other a kind of weaver's comb, which is a wooden instrument with which the Indians of that country weave: intending thereby to show that, of the sons which women bring forth, some are slaves, some are merchants, some die in war, others are rich, and others poor. And to show that finally all perish, they paint a stream carrying them away. She presided over these thirteen signs; and when the year commenced on the sign of One Cane ‡ they celebrated a great festival in Chululan to Quetzalcoatle, for they say that he was their first Papa or priest.

1. Chalchiuitlicue.

* Guegue is frequently written for huehue.

† She was also named Tutzin and Huixtutzin, and was invoked by the Mexicans at a kind of baptismal ceremony, which took place four days after the birth of infants. Vide *Clavigero's History of Mexico*, vol. i. page 315.

‡ The Mexican year always commenced on the day of Ce Cipactli; so that the beginning of the year here alluded to, can only refer to one of the four signs which the Mexicans employed in the computation of their cycles of years and ages. It is possible that the people of Cholula might have begun their year on the day of Ce Acatl or One Cane, but then their year would always have commenced on that same day. The exact period of fifty-two years intervenes in the Mexican calendar between any one year and the arrival of another bearing the same sign; so that the festival of Quecalcoatle, which was celebrated every fifty-two years in Cholula, might have fallen on the sign of One Cane.

PLATE XXII.*

This figure signifies that Quetzalcoatle was the first inventor of sacrifices of human blood, amongst the various other things which they offered to the gods; and this was the manner in which they pierced their tongues, that blood might flow from thence†, and their ears and penis; till at last, as we shall presently mention, the custom of human sacrifices was introduced, when they tore out the hearts of the victims, to present them to the face of the idol which they considered the image of their wretched god.

PLATE XXIII.

TEPEYOLOTLI.

They considered Tepeyolotli the lord of these thirteen signs, in which they celebrated his festival; during the four last of which they fasted, out of reverence, on account of the earth's having remained

* Netzahualpilli, the celebrated king of Tezcuco, Montezuma's contemporary, wished to abolish human sacrifices; but the people insisted on their continuance, and the humane intentions of the king were frustrated. Netzahualcoyotl, the father of that monarch and no less famous than his son for wisdom and prudence, was also desirous of doing away with those cruel rites; but the people refused to give their consent, *κινειν τα ἀκινητα*, to introduce innovations into religion, or to depart from the established usages of their ancestors. We all know from experience, where reason only is concerned, how great is the force of habit and of education; but where the passions are in question, where maternal affection is called upon to make severe sacrifices,—there it might be expected that prejudice would be unable to maintain its ground. But this was not the case with the Mexicans; for the Mexican mothers who, as Torquemada observes, were those "de las que mas aman y quieren a sus hijos de todas las del mundo," who of all mothers most affectionately loved their children, voluntarily offered those children to be sacrificed on the altars of their gods, in the full belief that by dying in their honour eternal happiness would be their certain lot, and that the innocence of the victims would render them more grateful. The strange notion which the Mexicans entertained, that all who were sacrificed, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, went to heaven; at the same time that it diminished the cruelty of their custom of sacrificing prisoners taken in war, explains the motive that induced many illustrious persons to acts of self-devotion, by dying of their own accord by the hand of the Topilcin, requesting that their hearts might be taken from their breasts still living, and presented to their gods as a proof of their pious zeal, and an acceptable offering. History records that Chimalpopoca, the third king of Mexico, considered it cruel envy in the king of Azcaputzalco, that he was prevented from fulfilling his intention of offering up himself as a sacrifice on some solemn festival, but was on the contrary detained a prisoner. The office of Topiltzin, or religious executioner, belonged exclusively to two high priests, named Teoteuctli (which title signifies divine Lord) and Hueiteopixqui, the great high priest, who, as Clavigero observes, were always persons distinguished for their birth, their probity, and their great knowledge of every thing connected with the ceremonies of their religion. With respect to the custom which prevailed amongst the Mexicans of sacrificing their children, Torquemada says: "Dos cosas son aqui mucho de notar, la una que los padres de estos niños los vendiesen, y diesen voluntariamente para que muriesen; la segunda, es que esta venta sea hecha al segundo dia de este mes, en el qual nosotros los Christianos celebramos fiesta de la Presentacion de la Virgen sin mancilla, en el templo de Jerusalem, llevando a su niño benditisimo Hijo de Dios, en sus braços, cuia vida fue vendida por la culpa de la primera madre del mundo, y lo lleva a presentar y hacer ofrenda de el, como manifestando a Dios aquel sacrificio que despues avia de ser executado en el arbol de la cruz."—*Monarquia Indiana*, vol. ii. p. 251.

"Two things are here very remarkable: the first is, that the parents of the children should have sold them, and have given them voluntarily for sacrifice; the second, that the sale itself should have taken place on the second day of this month (February) at the very time that we, who are Christians, celebrate the festival of the Presentation of the Virgin without spot, in the temple of Jerusalem, holding in her arms her most blessed child, the Son of God, whose life was sold for the sin of the first woman who existed in the world, carrying him to present and make an offering of him, manifesting as it were to God, the sacrifice which was afterwards to be accomplished on the tree of the cross."—We shall refrain from noticing many other extraordinary coincidencies which might here be pointed out.

† Gomara says that the Mexicans inflicted a portion of these austerities on themselves, as a remedy against the sin of lying and of listening to lies. It is singular that the Mexicans should have considered lying to be as great a sin as they believed temperance to be a virtue.

after the deluge. But as its condition was disordered and filthy, they did not consider the sacrifices of these signs as good or clean, but on the contrary as unclean; and they applied to them an appellation which in common phraseology we might explain by the term of "sacrifices of filth." These last four signs in which they fasted, were likewise out of reverence and in honour of Suguiquezal the wife of Tonacatecotl, whose name signifies the Lifting or Raising up of Roses, for they say that that goddess caused the earth to flourish*. This proper name might be written Tesciulutli, which is the Heart of the Mountain, which means that echo or reverberation of the voice which resounds in a mountain.

1. Tepeiolotli, which is the same as the echo†.

PLATE XXIV.

They say that this representation of a head signifies the commencement of sin, which began with time, and that such is the termination of its commencement which is allotted to sin‡.

1. Tlatzolteutl.

PLATE XXV.

NAOLIN.

Naolin they say is the Sun in its tremulent action and motions, to which they attribute the production of all ordinary things§. When this figure entered in the sign of One Skull, they esteemed that sign as very unlucky; and they believed that whoever was born on it would be a sorcerer‖, and devoted to the study of a certain sort of magic in great repute amongst them, whereby they transformed themselves into the figures of various animals. This figure presided over these thirteen signs, and they believed that whoever was born on any one of them, would be a person of great consideration.

1. Naolin, that is to say, the tremulous action and motions of the Sun caused by the reflection of its rays.

* Suchiquecal was the mother of Quecalcoatle; and as the Mexicans dated the commencement of a new age from his birth, she might have been said to have been the cause of the Age of Roses (Iztapal Nanazcaya) which followed.

† Tepeiolotli signifies the Heart of the Mountain, from which the echo was supposed to proceed; it is synonymous with Tesciulutli, since *tepetl* is the generic name and *tescatl* was the particular name of a mountain; and *yolotle*, a heart, though differently spelt, enters into the composition of each proper name.

‡ The head which is represented is that of the goddess Tlatzolteutl, the Mexican Venus; it is without either body or eyes, which perhaps may be emblematical of the blindness of lust, and the punishment which was awarded by the Mexican laws to adultery.

§ The Mexicans attributed all unusual productions to Xolotle, who was the god of twins.

‖ The following passage is taken from Moses Maimonides's treatise concerning idolatry, which is annexed to the fifth volume of Gerard Vossius's Works: "Similiter est, qui cranio mortui arrepto illud suffitu imbuat et incantet donec præeuntem audiat vocem, quæ exeat maxillis, et respondeatur ei. Hujusmodi omnia sunt Pythonica, quique aliquid eorum facit lapidetur." How many traces of Jewish notions and superstitions are discovered in the New World! The Talmudical and other writings of the Jews would serve as a good commentary to the Mexican and Peruvian mythology[1]. Traces of divination by means of the crooked staff, and of the "suffitus ex ore avis cui nomen Jaduah," seem likewise discoverable in the Mexican paintings.

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[1] In a subsequent note will be found some account of a proposal by the Abbé Chiarini, professor at Warsaw, to publish a translation of the entire Talmud in French.

PLATE XXVI.

MEZTLI.

They believed that the Moon presided over human generation*, and accordingly they always put it by the side of the sun. They placed on its head a sea snail, to denote that in the same way as this marine animal creeps from its integument or shell, so man comes from his mother's womb.

1. Meztli, or the Moon.

PLATE XXVII.

NAHUIHEHECATLI.

Nahuihehecatli they believed to be the god of the four winds; his name likewise bears this signification. The merchants celebrated a great festival in his honour; but when he entered in the fifth sign they neither danced or ventured to leave their houses, for they believed that any illness which might befall them on that sign would be of so dangerous a nature that none would recover from it; and therefore, although they chanced to be on a journey, they shut themselves up in the house on that day. This deity presided over these thirteen signs.

1. Nauihehecatli.

PLATE XXVIII.

TLALOQUE.

I cannot assign a different etymology for the name of Tlaloque, but can only say, that as the companion of the four winds or four seasons of the year, it signifies fine weather; and accordingly, although the serpent is an unlucky sign, when in this month Tlaloque was in the sign of Seven Serpents, they considered it fortunate for every thing, but especially for marriages.

1. Tlaloque.

PLATE XXIX.

MAYAGUIL.

They feign that Mayaguil was a woman with four hundred breasts, and that the gods, on account of her fruitfulness, changed her into the Maguei, which is the vine of that country, from which they make wine. She presided over these thirteen signs; but whoever chanced to be born on the first sign of the Herb, it proved unlucky to him; for they say that it was applied to the Tlamatzatzguex, who were a race of demons dwelling amongst them, who according to their account wandered through the air, from whom the ministers of their temples took their denomination. When this sign arrived, parents enjoined their children not to leave the house, lest any misfortune or unlucky accident should befall them. They believed that those who were born in Two Canes, which is the second sign, would be long-lived, for they say that that sign was applied to Heaven. They manufacture so many things from this plant called the Maguei, and it is so very useful in that country, that the Devil took occasion to induce them to believe that it was a god, and to worship and offer sacrifices to it.

1. Mayaguil.

* Isis, or the moon, was invoked by the Egyptian women in child-birth.

PLATE XXX.

TZINTEOTL.

The Holy Scripture well observes that "wine changes the heart," since it caused these people to believe that from this woman (Mayaguil) Cinteotl sprung, whose name signifies the origin of the gods; giving us to understand, that from the vine which bears the grape the gods derived their origin. It properly signifies abundance, satiety, or the intoxication caused by wine.

1. Tzinteotl.

PLATE XXXI.

TLAVIZCALPANTECUTLI.

Tlavizcalpantecutli was the god of morning or of the light, when the sign of the morning twilight or the crepusculum arrives, which they say was created before the sun. Here it is apparent how allusion is made to the Scriptures; for our holy doctors say that light was created on the first day, and that it was distinct and separate from the sun. This deity presided over these thirteen signs; they believed that those who became lame or suffered in any limb, although but slightly, in this first sign of the Serpent would lose that limb.

I cannot omit to remark, that one of the arguments which persuades me to believe that this nation descends from the Hebrews, is to see what knowledge they have of the Book of Genesis; for although the Devil has succeeded in mixing up so many errors, his lies are still in such a course of conformity with Catholic truth, that there is reason to believe that they have had acquaintance with this book. Since this, and the other four books which follow, which are the Pentateuch*, were written by Moses, and were only found amongst the Hebrew people, there are very strong grounds for supposing that this nation proceeds from them:—the manner in which they came to this country is unknown. Further proofs of this fact may be found in their frequent sacrifices and ceremonies: one amongst others was that which took place on one of the following signs of this month, called Seven Apes. The second sign was much celebrated amongst them, on account of its being applied to nativities; and they celebrated a very great festival on it, which touches and alludes to the ceremonies of the old law: on which occasion certain old men attended in the temples like priests, whose business it was, performing some ceremonies, to baptize children. They took some Picotle †; and having a large vessel of water near them, they made the leaves of the Picotle into a bunch, and dipped it into the water, with which they sprinkled the child; and after fumigating it with incense they gave it a name, taken from the sign on which it was born; and they put into its hand a shield and an arrow, if it was

* On reading this passage we are very naturally disposed to inquire what was the Teoamoxtli?—the name of the divine book which contained the history, mythology, calendar, and laws of the Tultecas. This name appears to be compounded of *teo* divine, *ametl* paper or a book, (which is itself a word compounded of *atl* water and *metl* the maguey plant, indicative of the process by which paper was manufactured in that country,) and *moxtli*: *moxtli* is the same as *mostli*, for in the Mexican language *z* and *x* frequently supply the place of *s*; *tli* is a syllable devoid of meaning, but common as a termination to Mexican proper names, as in Acamapichtli, the name of the first king of Mexico; Moxtli then would appear to be Moses; and the interpretation of the entire word teoamoxtli, to be, the divine book of Moses, the Pentateuch. It is necessary further to observe, that in the Mexican language, in compounding words terminating in *tl* with other words, an elision of those two final letters frequently takes place, as in the word acalli, which signifies a boat, which is compounded of *atl* water, and *calli* a house.

† Picotle was the herb named Tobacco.

a boy, which is what the figure of Xiuatlatl denotes, who here represents the god of war: they also uttered over the child certain prayers in the manner of deprecations, that he might become a brave, intrepid, and courageous man. The offering which his parents carried to the temple the elder priests took and divided with the other children who were in the temple, who ran with it through the whole city. They say that this offering resembled the purification of the mother and her son mentioned in Leviticus. This ceremony took place four signs after the birth of the child, if the sign was fortunate; for if this was not the case, or if any other unlucky sign ruled in this sign, they waited till it had passed by, and performed the ceremony on the next sign. At the time in which this offering or purification was made, one of the old men held the child in his arms; whence it is plain, that either these people descend from the Hebrews, or that the Devil gave them these rites and ceremonies, to imitate those with which God was honoured by his people. Certain however it is, that greater would have been the triumph of the accursed demon, if he had selected out of the same people a chosen people to sacrifice to him.—This is a short digression from our narration for which the occasion was furnished by this figure, respecting which nothing more remains to be observed.

1. Tlauizcalpantecutli.

PLATE XXXII.

1. Xiuatlatl.

PLATE XXXIII.

TONATIUH.

They paint in this manner the substance of the Sun, after having before painted its motions. A figure is represented with the earth beneath its feet, which it illuminates with this image of its rays. It was Tonatiuh, as they affirm, who conducted to heaven with acclamations the souls of those alone who died in war; and on this account they paint him with these arms in his hands. He sits as a conqueror exactly opposite to the other who is near him, who is the god of hell. They alledge that the cause of winter being so disagreeable is the absence of the Sun, and that summer is so delightful on account of its presence; and that the return of the Sun from our zenith is nothing more than the approach of their god to confer his favours on them. He presided over these thirteen signs. They believed that those who were born on the first sign of the Flint would be expert huntsmen and very illustrious persons, and that he who was born on the fifth sign of Air would be an excellent jester.

1. Tonatiuh. 2. A certain sort of arms, as a bow. 3. Arrows.

PLATE XXXIV.

MIQUITLANTECOTLI.

Miquitlantecotli signifies The great lord of the dead below in hell, who alone after Tonacatecotle was painted with a crown, which kind of crown was used in war even after the arrival of the Christians in those countries, and was seen in the war of Coatlan, as the person who copied these paintings relates, who was a brother of the Order of Saint Dominic, named Peter de los Rios.

They painted this demon near the sun: for in the same way as they believed that the one conducted souls to heaven, so they supposed that the other carried them to hell. He is here represented with his hands open and stretched towards the sun, to seize on any soul which might escape from him *.

1. Miquitlantecotli.

PLATE XXXV.

PATECATLE.

Patecatle, who was the husband of Mayaguil, the woman with four hundred breasts, who was metamorphosed into the maguei plant or vine, was properly the root which they put into the water or wine which distils from the maguei in order to make it ferment: and the unhappy man to whose industry the invention of the art of making wine by causing fermentation by means of this root was due, was afterwards worshipped as a god, and became the lord of these thirteen signs; all of which they considered fortunate, because the god of wine ruled over them.

1. Patecatle.

PLATE XXXVI.

THE EAGLE AND TIGER.

These figures represent their sons, on whom they conferred these insignia of the Eagle and Tiger, which are the fiercest of all animals and birds, because drunken persons possess a certain degree of ferocity and courage: and accordingly, whoever received these insignia for his arms, it was a sign that he was very valiant in war, and a captain and chief of great reputation.

1. Eagle. 2. Tiger.

PLATE XXXVII.

YZTLACOLIUHQUI.

Yztlacoliuhqui signifies The lord of sin or of blindness, and for this reason they paint him with his eyes bandaged. They say that he committed sin in a place of the highest enjoyment and delight, and that he remained naked; on which account his first sign was a lizard, which is an animal of the ground, naked and miserable. Hence it is apparent that the same Devil who tempted our first father Adam with the Woman, and the woman Eve with the Serpent, wished to counterfeit our first father, who was the origin of our blindness and misery. He presided over these thirteen signs, which were all unlucky. They said likewise that if false evidence should be adduced on any one of these signs, it would be impossible to make the truth manifest. They put to death those who were taken in adultery before his image, if the parties were married; as this not being the case, it was lawful for them to keep as many women or concubines as they pleased. Yztlacoliuhqui is a star in heaven which as they pretend proceeds in a reverse course; they considered it a most portentous sign, both as connected with nativities and with war. This star is situated at the south.

1. Yztlacoliuhqui.

* The following very curious passage occurs in Saint Jude: "Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the Devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee!" Jude's Epist. ver. 9.

PLATE XXXVIII.

This painting explains what we have mentioned above,—that all those who committed adultery were stoned. The women were first strangled; they were afterwards thrown into some public place before the image of this god or demon, where they stoned their naked bodies *.

PLATE XXXIX.

YXCUINA.

They say that Yxcuina, who was the goddess of Shame, protected adulterers. She was the goddess of salt, of dirt, and of immodesty: they painted her with two faces, or with two different colours on the face. She was the wife of Miquitlantecotli, the god of hell: she was also the goddess of prostitutes; and she presided over these thirteen signs, which were all unlucky, and accordingly they believed that those who were born in these signs would be rogues or prostitutes.

1. Yxcuina.

PLATE XL.

TONACACIGUA.

Tonacacigua was the wife of Tonacatecotle: for, as we have observed above, although their gods were not as they affirm united together for matrimonial purposes, still they assigned to each of them a goddess as a companion: they called her by another name Suchiquetzal and Chicomecoual, which means Seven Serpents, because they say that she was the cause of sterility, famine, and the miseries of this life.

1. Chalchiuitlicue, indifferent. 2. Tlazolteotl, bad. 3. Tepeyolotl, good. 4. Tlaloc, indifferent. 5. Xyuhteoctli, good. 6. Ytztli, bad. 7. Piltzinteoctli, good. 8. Tzinteotl, indifferent. 9. Tonacacigua, the supreme wife of the god of heaven.

PLATE XLI.

QUECALCOATLE†.

They declare that their supreme deity, or, more properly speaking, demon Tonacatecotle, whom we have just mentioned, who by another name was called Citinatonali, when it appeared good to him, breathed and begot Quetzalcoatle, not by connection with a woman, but by his breath alone, as we

* Probably that the letter of the law might be fulfilled.

† The Jews considered the brazen serpent which Moses lifted up in the wilderness as a famous type of the coming of their future Messiah; and since the Mexicans were so well acquainted with the early history of the Pentateuch, and with the signs and wonders

have observed above, when he sent his ambassador as they say to the virgin of Tula. They believed him to be the god of the air, and he was the first to whom they built temples and churches, which they formed perfectly round, without any angles. They say that it was he who effected the reformation of the world by penance, as we have already said; since as, according to their account, his father had created the world, and men had given themselves up to vice, on which account it had been so frequently destroyed, Citinatonali sent his son into the world to reform it. We certainly must deplore the blindness of these miserable people, on whom Saint Paul says the wrath of God has to be revealed, inasmuch as his eternal truth was so long kept back by the injustice of attributing to this demon that which belonged to Him; for He being the sole Creator of the universe, and He who made the division of the waters, which these poor people just now attributed to the Devil, when it appeared good to Him, dispatched the heavenly ambassador to announce to the Virgin that she should be the Mother of his Eternal Word; who, when He found the world corrupt, reformed it by doing penance and by dying upon the cross for our sins; and not the wretched Quetzalcoatle, to whom these miserable people attributed this work. They assigned to him the dominion over the other thirteen signs, which are here represented, in the same manner as they had assigned the preceding thirteen to his father. They celebrated a great festival on the arrival of his sign, as we shall see in the sign of Four Earthquakes, which is the fourth in order here, because they feared that the world would be destroyed in that sign, as he had foretold to them when he disappeared in the Red Sea; which event occurred on the same sign. As they considered him their advocate, they celebrated a solemn festival, and fasted during four signs.

1. Quecalcoatle.

which Moses performed in Egypt by lifting up his rod, which became a serpent, it is probable that they were not ignorant of the history of the brazen serpent, and that Quecalcoatle (which proper name signifies the precious *feathered* serpent) was so named after the memorable prodigy of the serpent in the wilderness, the feathers perhaps alluding to the rabbinical tradition, that the fiery serpents which bit the children of Israel, and which God sent suddenly against them, were of a winged species. Representations of the lifting up of serpents frequently occur in Mexican paintings: and the plagues which Moses called down upon the Egyptians by lifting up his rod, which became a serpent, are evidently referred to in the eleventh and twelfth pages of the *Borgian Manuscript*. An allusion to the passage of the Red Sea, the waters of which rolled back to allow the children of Israel to pass, and "were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left," as it is said in the twenty-second verse of the fourteenth chapter of Exodus, seems also to be contained in the seventy-first page of the *Lesser Vatican MS.*; and the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, and the thanksgiving of Moses, may perhaps be signified by the figure on the left, in the same page, of a man falling into a pit or gulf, and by the hand on the right stretched out to receive an offering. The Mexican sign of Atl, or *water*, occupies the centre of the page, in order perhaps to show that the festival commemorative of the event which it records occurred on that sign. It may be observed, with respect to the construction which the Jews put on certain passages of Scripture, declaring them to be types of the Messiah, that Christians have too blindly followed the absurd reveries of their rabbis, even in understanding in a metaphorical sense what they interpret literally. Thus the Song of Solomon, which breathes the soul of the voluptuous monarch who composed it, was considered by the Jews to refer throughout to the Messiah, and to his future nuptials when he should appear in the character of a potent king of the Jews: and this is the meaning which they assign to the ninth verse of the forty-fifth Psalm, "Kings' daughters were among thy honourable women; upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir." They even believed that the Messiah would have children; so explaining a passage in the tenth verse of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah: "He shall see his seed; he shall prolong his days; and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand." It is unnecessary to remark that Christians believe equally that the Song of Solomon refers to the nuptials of the Messiah; but these nuptials they explain to be merely allegorical and with the church, and Solomon's expressions of love to be symbolical of the Church's love unto Christ. The early Christians, notwithstanding their hatred of the Jews, knew that they were much better acquainted with the books of the Old Testament than themselves; and since types had been long a favourite study and cultivated science amongst the latter, though held in no esteem by other nations, they generally followed them as their guide, in determining the precise texts of Scripture which they might consider to be typical and figurative of the Messiah.

PLATE XLII.

TEZCATLIPOCA.

They paint Tezcatlipoca with the feet of a man and of a cock, as they say his name bears allusion to this circumstance. He is clothed with a fowl, which seems to cry in laughing accents; and when it crows Oá, Oá, Oá, they say that it deceived the first woman who committed sin *; and accordingly they paint him near the goddess of pollution, to signify that in the same way as Satan is in expectation of all sinners, so pollution is the cause of them.

1. Tezcatlipoca.

* The Jews have a great many superstitious notions respecting the cock, which they formerly used to offer as a sacrifice of atonement for their sins. The reason of this absurd custom was derived from the Hebrew word Gebher, which signifies a man, and in the *Talmud* a cock. That Gebher should suffer for their transgressions they could not doubt, because the Talmud declared it: but as it appeared to some of their Rabbis unreasonable to suppose that the anger of God could be appeased by a human sacrifice, they took this word in its other signification of a cock, and accordingly made expiation for their sins by the blood of that bird. If the ingenuity of the Rabbis had ever suggested to them the expedient of taking the word Gebher in its double sense, and of forming an imaginary being of both its significations, the figure of a man with the head of a cock, which sometimes occurs in Mexican paintings, might allude to this Jewish notion of a sacrifice of atonement.

The Mexican mythology is so totally unlike the Egyptian, that although this figure bears some resemblance to the hawk-headed deity of the Egyptians, nothing can be inferred from this accidental analogy. Antonius Margarita, in his book of the *Jewish Faith*, writes, that some assert from tradition that an ape is to be used in this oblation, as being most like a man. It is singular that the figure of an ape on a cross should occur in the eleventh page of the Mexican painting preserved in the Bodleian Library, which forms a roll. This figure rests, or is supported, on a pot of earthenware, in the centre of which is represented a footstep, which probably denotes *descent*. The plate which contains this curious combination of figures may receive some elucidation from the following story, taken from a book called *The Tribe of Judah*, written first in Hebrew, afterwards by the Jews themselves translated into German, and printed at Cracow in 1644, in which is contained a dispute between a Christian and a Jew, held before Alphonsus king of Portugal: "When the Christian had brought many places relating to Christ the true Messias, and amongst the rest those words of the twenty-second Psalm, first verse, 'My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me?' at last the Jew answered, that the Scripture had that property as to bear several expositions, but that that was the truest and best which could be illustrated and confirmed by other places of it: but that there were many which would not suffer those words to be interpreted of Christ. Yet first, said he, give me leave to tell you what a wise and learned Rabbi some time answered a king of Spain: Yesterday, said he, I was angry with my cock, because he disturbed me with his noise, so I struck him with my staffe and drove him into a dark place, where he left crowing: but I did beat him every day so long till at last I did break his bones, and then put him into my pot, and covered it. But here happened a miracle; for his soul returned into him, and he began to crow again. And this is the sense of the twenty-second Psalm: to which also that of the Prophet Jeremiah in the Lamentations is to be referred, *I am the man that hath seen affliction;* that is, the cock, which in the Talmudical dialect is Gebher: *by the rod of thine anger;* that is, the staffe with which he did strike the cock. *He hath led me and brought me,* that is, he did drive me away, *into darknesse, but not into light,* that is, into the dark closet: *he turneth his hand against me;* this relates to his beating him in the closet and putting him into the pot. *My flesh and my skin he hath made old;* he hath pulled it off; *he hath broken my bones;* he hath cut me in pieces; *he hath builded against me;* he hath put me in the pot; *he hath set me in dark places,* in the covered pot. *Also, when I cry and shout, he shutteth out my prayer;* this shows, said he, that he crowed after he was dead. Hence it is plain what a mockery the Jews make of the Scripture, and that they are really possest with that madnesse, blindnesse, and dulnesse of heart, with which God did by Moses threaten them." Who was the author of *The Tribe of Judah* from which the above story was taken is uncertain, or whether he was the same person as the writer of *The View of the Jewish Religion* styles that wicked and naughty Rabbi Lipmaunus, who composed a cursed and filthy book, which he wrote on the history of the Four Evangelists, under the title of *The Triumph* or *Victory*, in the year of Christ 1459.

PLATE XLIII.

THIPETOTEC.

Thipetotec is he whom we have mentioned above as performing penance, like another Quetzalcoatle, on the mountain of thorns. They named him The Mournful Combatant: they celebrated a great festival in his honour, which they called Tlaxipehualiztli. He was one of the gods of the Tzapotecas. They dressed themselves on his festival in human skins taken from those whom they had slain in war; because they say that he was the first who clothed himself in this manner. They fasted on the three first signs of his festival, during which they only ate at noon. The priests, on the signs in which they celebrated the fast, proceeded begging alms through the city, and ate nothing more than that which they received, whether it was little or much. On every sign dedicated to fasting the men separated themselves from their wives. On this sign of Four Canes they conferred dignities on the princes of the people; but they esteemed the three preceding signs, which are One Cane, Two Apes, and Three Herbs, as unlucky omens. The remainder of the thirteen signs were all good.

1. Thipetotec.

PLATE XLIV.

QUETZALCOATLE.

This is the figure of Quecalcoatle, the companion of Totec. They paint him in this manner to signify that this was a festival of great fear, which is the reason why they paint this serpent in the act of devouring a man alive.

1. Quetzalcoatle.

PLATE XLV.

YXPAPALOTL.

Yxpapalotl signifies A knife of butterflies *. He was one of those gods who, as they affirm, were expelled from heaven; and on this account they paint him surrounded with knives, and wings of butterflies. They represent him with the feet of an eagle; because they say that he occasionally appears to them, and that they only see the feet of an eagle. They further add, that being in a garden of great delight he pulled some roses, but that suddenly the tree broke, and blood streamed from it; and that in consequence of this they were deprived of that place of enjoyment, and were cast into this world, because Tonacateutli and his wife became incensed; and accordingly they came some of them to the earth, and others went to hell. He presided over these thirteen signs; the first of which, the House, they considered unfortunate, because they said that demons came through

* The stone knives or flints might, from their weight, have been emblematical of his fall; and the wings of the butterflies, of the feeble resistance which Yxpapalotl could oppose to the will of Tonacateutli. The Mexican paintings are full of enigmatical meanings.

the air* on that sign, in the figure of women such as we designate witches, who usually went to the highways where they met in the form of a cross, and to solitary places; and accordingly, that when any bad woman wished to absolve herself of her sins and to do penance, she went alone by night to these places, and took off her garments, and sacrificed there with her tongue, and left the clothes which she had carried, and returned home naked, as a sign of the confession of her sins. He was called before he sinned Xomunco, and afterwards Yxpapalotl, which signifies A knife of razors.

1. Yxpapalotl.

PLATE XLVI.

XUITLICASTAN.

This is the rose-tree called Xuitlicastan. As they intended to show that this was a feast rather of fear than of love, they painted this tree distilling blood. The gods who were cast from that place were those alone, as they declare, who inspired them with fear.

PLATE XLVII.

XOLOTLE.

They believed Xolotle to be the god of monstrous productions and of twins, which are such things as grow double. He was one of the seven who remained after the deluge; and he presided over these thirteen signs, which they usually considered unlucky: but they said that he who was born on the seventh sign of Air would be rich, but that those who were born on the other signs would be spies and impostors.

1. Xolotle.

* In the 323rd page of a little work entitled *A View of the Jewish Religion*, printed in London in the year 1656, the following passage occurs: "They write farther, that certain peculiar angels fly through the air, which are set over the world and over men, and that come down upon this inferiour world; and so by the impure and corrupt aire that breaketh out of the earth, contract some filthinesse; and that these must be cleansed in a fiery torrent called Dinor, which is spoken of by Daniel, cap. vii.; and that they must consume all the filth and uncleannesse they have gathered in this fire, before they dare attempt to praise God. If therefore the angels are bound to wash and purge themselves, by how the greater reason are men bound to do it." We are not informed whether the Indians attached as much merit to these modes of purification as the Jews; but perhaps Gomara's acquaintance with the Jewish superstitions made him add the concluding paragraph to that chapter in his *History of the Indies* in which he treats of the customs of Nicaragua. The Jews, it cannot be doubted, introduced many inventions amongst the Indians. It may be observed, with respect to aërial spirits or demons, that those mentioned in the New Testament as having entered into the swine which ran violently down a steep place into the sea, resembled, both in name and the control which they exercised over men and animals in depriving them of reason, the Mexican Centzontotochtin,—since this proper name is compounded of Centzontli, *four hundred* or *a legion*, and Tochtli, *a rabbit*, of which Totochtin is the plural; in allusion to the effects of drunkenness over which this animal or sign presided, and which these spirits caused. The Italian interpreter, in describing the Mexican goddess Maiaguil, takes occasion to observe that the Mexican priests were named Tlamatzatzquex, after these aërial spirits: but Torquemada affirms that that name simply signifies, a doer of penance; and that the priests dedicated to Quecalcoatle were more particularly so designated.

PLATE XLVIII.

TLACLITONATIO.

The signification of this name is, Fiat lux Let there be light, and darkness, which we call the crepusculum: and accordingly they represent the rotundity * of the earth by the symbol of a man, with the sun over his shoulders and darkness and death beneath his feet; denoting that when the sun sets, it goes to warm and give light to the dead.

1. Tlaclitonatio, or light. 2. The Sun. 3. The Earth. 4. Night, or Darkness.

PLATE XLIX.

CHALCHIUHTOTTOLI†, WHO IS THE SAME AS TEZCATLIPOCA.

This picture represents Tezcatlipoca, the meaning of whose name is the Mirror which casts forth smoke. They paint him in this manner; but whenever the Devil appears to them, they only see the feet of an eagle or of a cock ‡. He presided over these thirteen signs. They believed that he who was born on the sign of Five Canes would be a man of business; but that those who were born on Seven Eagles would be afflicted with pains in the heart, which would be incurable. This sign was applied to the moon §, and women in certain indispositions sacrificed on this sign to it.

1. Chalchiuhtottoli, the same as Tezcatlipoca.

PLATE L.

This painting represents the sacrifice which they performed to the Devil with human blood; and the bag of incense, and the other things requisite for the sacrifice.

* By the rotundity of the earth may be meant the creation, since a round figure requires a perfection of parts.

† The bird of the precious stone of penance, which might sometimes have been painted with the feet of a man and of a cock.

‡ A curious analogy is here found between the superstitious notions of the Indians and those of the European populace in the middle ages.

§ See a discourse in the *Talmud*, between God and the Moon, which being made less, some of the Jewish Rabbis impiously pretend that God desired that a propitiatory oblation should be made for himself, for having diminished the size of the moon. Fortunate would it have been for the human race if the Jews had only carried their notions of propitiation and sacrifices of atonement to the length of absurdity: but never should it be forgotten, that in Mexico and Peru children were immolated to appease the wrath of an inexorable divinity; and that the blood-stained Ingas actually believed in the efficacy of that vicarial sacrifice.

PLATE LI.

CANTICO.

Cantico they say was the first who offered sacrifice after having eaten a fried fish; and that in consequence of the presumption of offering sacrifice without having fasted, Tonacateutli became incensed, and pronounced a curse against him, that he should be changed into a dog, which is an animal of a very voracious nature; and accordingly they named him Nine Dogs. He presided over these thirteen signs. They said that he who was born on the first sign of Air would be healthy by his nativity; but that if he grew ill of pains in the side or cancer, that his disease would be incurable. He who was born on the ninth sign they believed would be unfortunate, because that sign was dedicated to sorcerers and necromancers, who transformed themselves into the shapes of various animals.

1. Cantico.

PLATE LII.

QUETZALCOATL.

Opposite to Cantico they placed Quetzalcoatl, in a golden house, arrayed in precious gems, and seated as a pontiff*, with a bag of incense in his hand; intending to show that as the other † had been punished for his gluttony, so he was honoured for his abstinence and sacrifices.

PLATE LIII.

SUCHIQUECAL.

Suchiquecal was the wife of Tzinteutl. She was the goddess of pregnant women, and of those who knew how to work and weave, for they say that she invented those two occupations. Women in a state of pregnancy offered sacrifices to her, in order not to give birth to girls; because they believed that those who were born on the first sign of the Eagle would be bad, but that if they bore sons on that sign they would be very brave and valiant in war, and would animate others with courage to die in battle, which was that which they desired above all other things: since we have already said that those alone who died in war went to heaven,—from whence many eagles came and changed themselves into the figures of boys. She presided over these thirteen signs; on the seventh of which, named the First Day ‡, they celebrated a special festival. This was a greater festival, because they celebrated on this sign the coming of the eagles.

1. Suchiquecal.

* The Mexicans believed that Quecalcoatle united in his own person the character of a king, a priest, and a prophet.

† Cantico.

‡ *Primo giorno* is the name which the sign Cipactli always bears in the *Vatican MS.* It should be observed, that the name of each sign is written under it in this MS., and this is repeated all through the calendar. This repetition of the same names has been here

PLATE LIV.

TEZCATLIPOCA.

They paint the Devil Tezcatlipoca opposite to this woman, as if tempting her to sin; intending perhaps to signify by this, that all women who chanced to be born on the first sign (the Eagle) would be liable to temptation, since they believed that all who were born on that sign would be bad.

1. Tezcatlipoca.

PLATE LV.

IZTAPALTOTEC.

Iztapaltotec properly signifies, a large stone, or the surface of the earth, or the bloody stone of the afflicted, or placed within a razor*, which is the same as a sword or fear. They represent in this manner this god with his mouth open, "ad deglutiendum homines." He presided over these thirteen signs. They considered it fortunate to be born on the first sign of the Rabbit, and that those who were born on that sign would enjoy long life, and that he who was born on Five Herbs would be a rich merchant.

1. Iztapaltotec.

PLATE LVI.

The corresponding figure represents the God of Fire, who purifies the earth and renovates things; and accordingly they place him last of all. They here kept a fast commemorative of the ruin of the first of the human race. I have already mentioned the reason why they painted all these figures and images here presented to us, which are twenty, each in its peculiar style; which proceeded from the necessity which they were under of appearing habited in the same dress as the idol, on every occasion of celebrating with dances and other festivals the sign dedicated to it.

PLATE LVII.

The eighteen figures which follow are those of the gods of their eighteen months, the names of which months are as here stated. Atlcaualo is the same as our February, because the Mexicans

omitted. The letters *b*, *c*, and *in*, in the squares surrounding the figures of the principal Mexican idols, denote the character of the sign, and the fortune of the day over which it presided, whether it would be good, bad, or indifferent; being the initials of *buono*, *cattivo*, and *indifferente*.

* Peter de los Rios calls flints formed into knives, razors, from the extreme sharpness of their edge.

commenced their year on the twenty-fourth of February; but amongst the Çapotecas and the Mixtecas it began on the sixteenth of March. They varied likewise in the twenty signs distinguishing the days of the month, although they had the same year of three hundred and sixty-five days, and eighteen months, and the same twenty letters or signs appropriated to them*. Tlaloc signifies, seasonable weather, or the verdure of the earth; for the trees generally in this sign, as in the month of April, begin to bud: they therefore paint this deity encompassed with green boughs, and seated upon the water, for he properly was the god of that element. Tlaloc likewise means the wine of the earth: by which metaphor they intended to show, that in the same way as man rises from wine glad and contented, so the earth when satiated with rain is glad and refreshed, and produces fruit and herbage. They sacrificed boys during these twenty signs to this god, in high places and in mountains; and in order to know whether the year would be favourable †, they took out the entrails of some of these sacrificed boys, and put meal of maize and beans into them, and placed them in a stone box; and at the expiration of four days they came and removed them, examining the meal whether it had become putrid; and if this was the case, it was the sign of a good year; if otherwise, of a bad one.

1. Atlcaualo, which month commenced on the twenty-fourth of February.

PLATE LVIII.

The lords who managed the public accounts and the soldiers celebrated a great festival to this idol; on which occasion they clothed themselves in the skins of those whom they had slain in war, to which ceremony the name Tlacaxipeualiztli alludes. The person whose office it was to celebrate the festival clothed himself in a human skin, and went to the houses of the citizens asking alms in the name of God, and begging certain round loaves, which were made for this festival, with honey, which they called Uologopale, and Ochule, which are ears of maize; which having been given, the

* The Mexicans, Tecpanecas, Tlaxcaltecas, and Cholultecas, only varied from each other by beginning their years with different signs taken from the same series; but other nations of New Spain used a distinct order of signs in their calendars: their variations in the twenty signs distinguishing the days of the month, was the necessary consequence of their beginning the year with different signs.

† Acosta says that the Peruvians had a method of divining whether the year would be fruitful, by maize: "Ex chacra seu rure optimum et solidissimum Maiis legunt, *additisque nonnullis ritibus*, in fasciculum Peruadictum, id colligant; quem cum tribus continuis noctibus dispositis excubiis custodiverunt, panno pretioso exquisite et operose texto Maiis tandem excipiunt involvuntque; et ante Perua procidentes adorant, dicuntque id Maiis sui et chacra suorum matrem existere, ex quâ Maiis tum progeneretur, tum nutriatur et vegetetur. Hoc ipso mense peculiari alio instituto sacrificio, ex Perua sciscitantur, an futuro fœcundum futurum sit."—*Historia Indiæ Occidentalis*, lib. v. cap. xxviii. pag. 260. The same writer mentions another custom in the same chapter,—that of boring their sons' ears,—in which the Peruvians resembled the Mexicans: "Hoc mense qui nobis November est, pro pueris istis, quibus postero mense aures pertundendæ erant necessaria omnia parabantur, et alia quædam similia peragebantur." This was perhaps some religious memorial. The reason for the Jews wearing religious memorials on their faces was, as the Rabbis say, to show that they were not ashamed of their Law. Since the Peruvian paintings have been all destroyed, it is impossible to do more than to infer, from the following passage of the fourth chapter of the fifth book of *Acosta's Indian History*, that the hand of Justice, resembling that which is carved on the seal of Hugh Capet, as Baron de Humboldt observes, would have been found in the Peruvian paintings, as well as in those of Mexico and Yucatan: "Adoraturi rem quampiam chirothecæ similem, manibus tenentes, in altum porrigebant." That the Mexican and Peruvian languages possessed some religious terms in common may be inferred from *huaca* or *guaca* being a name for a shrine or holy place in both idioms. We may further remark, that Raymi and Ramadan, the former a Peruvian and the latter a Turkish name for a festival, are somewhat similar to each other.

master of the house came out and took some green boughs *, with which he punctured his body; signifying by this act that he cleansed it; which was a kind of sanctification or purification, the performance of which gave him great satisfaction: and whatsoever was demanded in the way of alms was given, which the other handed to some old men who accompanied him, who carried it to the temple, and there divided and ate it.

This festival commenced on the sixteenth of March, and, including twenty days, terminated on the fifth of April.

1. Tlacaxipeualiztli, which commenced on the sixteenth of March.

PLATE LIX.

They celebrated on the fifth of April the festival of the Goddess of Abundance, or of Maize; and on this sign, they adorned, according to their fashion, all the images of the gods, and afterwards placed around them meat and drink in great abundance, and danced and celebrated other great rejoicings, ornamenting the temples with branches interwoven with flowers and roses.

1. Tocozintli †, which commenced on the fifth of April.

PLATE LX.

In this month they again adorned the temples and images as in the preceding; and at the end of the twenty days they sacrificed a boy to the God of Water ‡; and put him in the maize, in order that none of the provision of the entire year might be spoiled. They paid also in this month all the first fruits to the gods §, offering them at the temples, which served to support the ministers of religion, because they say that he was the god who bestowed provision upon them.

1. Veitozcoztli, which commenced on the twenty-fifth of April.

* Perhaps the leaves of the aloe, with the thorns of which the Mexicans were accustomed to do penance for their sins.

† Boturini says that the symbol of this month was represented in some Mexican paintings by a leg with the head of a bird upon it. "Pintase este symbolo en unos mapas con una pierna de donde ordinariamente se sangraban, y con una cabecita de paxaro encima de ella, porque de el nombre de dicho paxaro se deriba el del mes." This serves to explain a curious symbol occurring in the 129th page of the *Vatican MS.* which contains a representation of the inundation that occurred in Mexico in the days of Ahuitzotl.

‡ Tlaloc was the God of Water. He is represented in the fifty-seventh plate of the *Codex Vaticanus* as seated upon that element, encompassed with green boughs. This deity, unlike the other Mexican gods, is painted with a sort of ghostly visage, which seems to involve some hidden mystery.

§ The chapter in Torquemada's *Indian Monarchy*, which he has entitled "De las Rentas Decimales, y Primiciarias, y de como han sido en todo tiempo usadas, y se usaron entre los Indios de esta Nueva España, y de presente," is exceedingly curious. It would even at first appear that tithes were an old-established thing in America before the arrival of the Spaniards. The enormous revenues of the temples of Mexico rendered their maintenance a source of great national taxation: but the fact cannot be proved that the Indians payed tythes, or that those revenues proceeding from lands were given to the temples in lieu of them; neither, on the other hand, can it be disproved.

PLATE LXI.

On the fifteenth of May they celebrated the festival of Toxcatl, and adorned the temples with various kinds of roses and flowers, for it usually happens that at this period rain falls in that country. They represented him surrounded with many different kinds of flowers and roses of various colours: they painted him also holding in one hand a certain weapon which they name Xiuatlatli, and in the other a shield and quiver of arrows; and since a stream of water issues from his foot, and out of it a serpent, they signified by this metaphor, that in the same way as they feared him lest he should cause droughts, so likewise they feared lest he should send inundations. They attributed to him dissensions and wars, and on this account they placed in his hands these insignia. They burned incense in this month before the image of Texcatlipocatl.

1. Toxcatl, which commenced on the fifteenth of May.

PLATE LXII.

They celebrated in this month, which commenced on the fourth of June, the festival of the God of Water, whom they called Tlaloc. The name of the festival was Hetzalqualiztli: on which occasion they took boiled maize, mixed only with water, and presented it in the temples with certain ceremonies, in order that all the people might eat of it; and this they called the festival of Hetzali, in which they made some sacrifices of men, and offered them to their miserable god, entreating a good year, because at that time the heavy rains began to set in: they accordingly paint him surrounded with drops of water, holding in one hand an esculent plant, and in the other some stalks of maize, as a symbol of abundance. They also allege that they performed these human sacrifices, and celebrated this festival to this god, in recollection of the period when he destroyed the world by water.

1. Hetzalqualiztl commenced on the fourth of June. 2. Tlaloque.

PLATE LXIII.

The Mexican lords were those who celebrated this festival, and accordingly on the twenty-fourth of June they made sumptuous donations of food and drink to all the people. They dressed themselves in this manner for the celebration of the festival, which they termed the lesser, to distinguish it from the other, which was general or greater; which is the following:

1. Tecuilvitontl, which commenced on the twenty-fourth of June.

PLATE LXIV.

This was the greatest festival and the most frequented of all that occurred in the year: it commenced on the twenty-fourth of July; and this the name Veitecuilvitl implies. They celebrated

in this festival the fast called Atamatl, which means bread and water, when the whole people were bound to fast. They attached so much importance to this festival, that the old men say, that after the arrival of our Spaniards in the country, when the Indians of Mexico were employed in the celebration of it, in their accustomed dresses and dances, our countrymen turning it into jest, they planned the massacre of them all, and that that was the cause of the great slaughter which happened on that day.

1. Veitecuilvitl commenced on the twenty-fourth of July.

PLATE LXV.

On the third of August they celebrated the festival of the dead, and accordingly placed offerings of food and drink upon their tombs, as is the custom in Spain on the second of November. They celebrated this festival of the dead during the first four years after their decease; for they believed that whilst the period of four years remained incomplete, their abode was in a place of much trouble, but that at the expiration of this period they were conducted to another place, where they enjoyed a certain degree of repose, but not that which awaited those who died in war, for they enjoyed the great repose of the celestial gods: they therefore buried the deceased in his clothes and shoes, imagining that he would stand in need of them, on account of the hardships of the journey; and if he was a principal person, they also killed a slave on the sign in which he died, that he might serve him.

The Mixtecas, Capotecas, and Mixes, celebrated their funeral rites almost in the manner in which we honour the dead. They erected a monument, which they covered with black cloth, and placed around it a quantity of food. Since we are here speaking of the dead, it may be right to mention their mode of burial. They deposited the body of the deceased in a spacious grave, with his feet turned towards the east: after it had decayed, they removed the bones and put them into another place, resembling the charnel-houses belonging to churches and the cemeteries in our Spain, which building was constructed with much art. These three nations the Mixtecas, Capotecas, and Mixes, made use of cemeteries in their chapels; but the Mexicans burned the bones, as did the Ottomies, from whom the Mexican nation borrowed that custom.

1. Miccailhuitl, which commenced on the third of August.

PLATE LXVI.

On the twenty-third of August they again celebrated the festival of the dead, which was much greater than the preceding, as the name Veymiccailhuitl signifies. This was the great festival of the dead, during the three last signs of which month they all fasted in honour of the dead, at the expiration of which period they went out, for the purpose of rejoicing, into the plain, as if performing a festive ceremony; and in the intermediate time, whilst the priests were in the temple celebrating the festival, the people were all obliged to stand upon the terraces of their houses, looking towards

the north*, and offering sacrifices during these three entire nights, repeating their prayers for the dead, and exclaiming at short intervals in a very loud tone—Come quickly, for we expect you!

1. Veymiccailhuitl, which commenced on the twenty-third of August.

PLATE LXVII.

They celebrated on the twelfth of September the festival of the goddess Ochpaniztl, which name signifies Purification; and accordingly when this month arrived, they swept and cleansed all their houses, streets, and temples. During the four first signs of this month all fasted, and during the entire twenty they performed sacrifices, because they considered this goddess the protectress of vegetation, and they therefore carried plants, during these signs, to the temples.

This nation had many fasts; but the greatest, which were on bread and water, were kept by the priests; not however by all at the same time, but three or four fasted first, and afterwards all the rest in rotation; and in order that it might be more acceptable, they made a vow before commencing the fast that they would complete it. Hence the perverse Lutherans ought to be confounded, who scoff at our holy religion, and wish to do away with fasts and penance, seeing that even these poor people amidst their blindness knew, by the light of nature, that such works as proceed from greater obligation possess greater merit.

1. Ochpaniztl, which commenced on the twelfth of September.

PLATE LXVIII.

On the second of October floods generally occur in that country; they therefore represented this month with the same symbols as that of May; and since it never froze but at this season, they feared this month exceedingly, and on this account the natives view with some distrust the festival of the glorious Father Saint Francis, which falls on the fourth of this month, and hence they celebrated a festival during these twenty signs to this god of Fear.

1. Pachtontl, which commenced on the second of October.

PLATE LXIX.

They celebrated on the twenty-second of October the great festival of Reverence or of Humiliation, which was dedicated to all the gods, in the same way as we celebrate the festival of All the Saints;

* The Mexicans believed that hell or Mictlan, the place of the dead, was situated towards the north. Torquemada says, that Mictlan signifies in the Mexican language, both Hell and the North. Hell, the place of punishment, which the Mexicans seem to have considered distinct from Mictlan, was designated by them Tlalxicco, which name Torquemada says, signifies "en el ombligo de la tierra," "in the centre of the earth," and which was given to it with great propriety, because, "es cosa averiguada, segun doctrina Catolica, que el infierno esta en las entrañas de la tierra, y que alli diputó Dios lugar para los condenados." It is probable that Zontemoqui presided over Tlalxicco, and Mictlantecutli over Mictlan, though these gods are reckoned by many authors as the same.

but with this difference, that they celebrated it for the service of Devils, we for the glory of God and the honour of all his Saints.

1. Veipachtli, which commenced on the twenty-second of October.

PLATE LXX.

The festival of Quecholi was dedicated to the four gods of Hell, who are represented at the commencement of this book, who they say fell from Heaven, and accordingly they celebrated their festival in these twenty signs.

1. Quecholi, which commenced on the eleventh of November.

PLATE LXXI.

Panquetzaliztli* is interpreted the Elevation of Banners†, for on the first of December every individual spread over his house a small paper banner in honour of this god of battle, and the captains and soldiers sacrificed those whom they had taken prisoners in war, who before they were sacrificed were set at liberty, and presented with arms equal to their adversaries, with which once again to defend themselves; and in this manner they fought with them until they were either vanquished or killed, and thus they sacrificed them. The Mexicans celebrated in this month the festival of their first Captain Vichilopuchitl, and the inhabitants of the province of Calco, that of Catlipocatl, as that was the name of their first captain. They celebrated in this month the festival of the Wafer or Cake, which was in this manner: They made a cake of the seed of bledos, which they called Tzoali, and having made it, they blessed it in their manner, and broke it into pieces, which the high priest put into certain very clean vessels, and took a thorn of maguey, which resembles a thick needle, with which he took up with the utmost reverence single morsels, which he put into the mouth of each individual, in the manner of a communion; and I am disposed to believe that these poor people have had the knowledge of our mode of communion, or of the annunciation of the Gospel‡; or

* The name of this month refers to the religious ceremonies which were celebrated in the course of it in honour of Huitzilopuchtli. It is compounded of *pan* a banner, and of *quetzalli* a plume of green feathers.

† Isaiah, whose Prophecies the Mexicans were acquainted with by paintings and tradition at least, says in the tenth verse of his sixty-second chapter, addressing the Jews, "Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; *lift up a standard for the people.*" The famous prophecy of the same prophet relating to the Lord's slaying the leviathan, which the Jews understand to refer to the Messiah, "In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword, shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea," seems to be alluded to in the ninety-sixth page of the lesser Vatican MS.

‡ Since the discovery of crosses and of traces of many Christian doctrines and traditions in various parts of America, is a fact of which there can exist no doubt; Doctor Siguenza and other learned Spaniards have endeavoured to account for this mystery by supposing that Saint Thomas had preached the Gospel in the New World, and was known to the Indians by the name of Topilcin Quecalcoatle; in support of which opinion they alledge that the proper name Topilcin Quecalcoatle closely resembles both in sound and signification, that of Thomas Didymus, for that *to* in the Mexican name is the abbreviation of Thomas, to which *pilcin*, meaning son or disciple, is added; and that Quecalcoatle corresponds exactly in signification with the Greek name Didymus, a twin, being compounded of *quetzalli* a plume of green feathers, metaphorically signifying any thing precious, and *coatle* a serpent, metaphorically likewise meaning one of two twins, the reason for which metaphor Torquemada assigns, in the following passage of the forty-eighth chapter of the sixth book of his *Indian Monarchy*, "Tenian asimismo, que quando la muger paria dos criaturas de un vientre (lo qual en esta tierra

perhaps the Devil most envious of the honour of God, may have led them into this superstition, in order that by this ceremony he might be adored and served as Christ our Lord.

1. Panquetzaliztli, which commenced on the first of December.

PLATE LXXII.

On the twenty-first of December they celebrated the festival of this god, through whose instru-

acontece muchas veces) avia de morir el padre, ò la madre. Y el remedio que el demonio les daba era, que matasen al uno de los melliços, à los quales en su lengua llamaban Cocohua, que quiere decir culebras; porque dicen, que la primera muger que pariò dos, llamaban Cohuatl, que significa culebra. Y de aqui es, que nombraban Culebras à los melliços; y decian, que avian de comer à su padre, ò madre, sino matasen al uno de los dos." "They also believed when a woman gave birth to twins (which frequently happens in this country), that either the father or the mother would die, and the remedy which the Devil suggested to them was, that they should kill one of the twins, which they named in their language Cocohua, which signifies serpents, for they say that the first woman who had twins was named Cohuatl, which means a serpent; and this is the reason why they bestowed the appellation of serpents on twins, who they said would eat either their father or their mother if they did not kill one of them." It may be proper to observe that cocohua is the plural of cohuatl, as totochtin is that of tochtli, a rabbit; the Mexican language in certain plurals making use, like the Greek in the preterite of the verb, of a reduplication. The reason assigned by Torquemada for Mexican parents naming twins cocohua after Cihuacohuatl, the first woman who bore twins, is sufficient to account for the name; but it does not explain why they should have believed that if those children both grew up, one of them would turn out a murderer, unless we suppose that they knew also that one of the twin sons which the first woman bore, committed murder. The Jews might have been disposed to consider twins unlucky, on account of Cain and Abel, and Jacob and Esau, having been twins; from the former of whom proceeded murder, and from the latter, strife. If it cannot be denied that fanaticism in Europe has converted many passages both of the Old and the New Testament to a deadly use, employing Christians as its instruments,—where is the improbability in supposing that the Jews may have wrested some portions of the history of the Pentateuch, and many of the Levitical institutions, to the accomplishment of the most depraved ends? Even still the dark spirit of Judaism inculcates the doctrine that the Deity delights in blood,—but How? As a sacrifice upon his altars, as a token of gratitude from man to his Creator, whose heart exults in this easy mode of getting rid of sin, and of appeasing the wrath of God, by offering him innocent instead of guilty blood. From this one source alone what dreadful enormities seem to have originated in the New World! As regards the belief of the Mexicans,—that if they allowed twins both to live, one of them would become a murderer,—it is more probable that they entertained the notion that one of them would kill the other, than that they would devour their parents, either their father or their mother; the latter, however, might have been an alternative which Torquemada only felt himself at liberty to notice, lest he should too clearly prove that the Mexicans were acquainted with the history of Adam and Eve. To the fourth chapter of the Book of Genesis, which records the murder of Abel by Cain, may perhaps also be referred another singular notion of the Mexicans, that the earth and the sun drank up the blood of the slain, since God there addressing Cain, says, "And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand." That the Mexicans really entertained that belief, may be proved from the following passage of the tenth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's *History of New Spain*, where a Mexican lord, making a congratulatory speech to the king of Mexico recently elected, takes occasion to caution him not to draw down upon himself the anger of God, who, he says, "will perhaps in the beginning of your reign and before you are well master of the kingdom, destroy and cut you off, and cast you beneath his feet, or perhaps will suddenly bring against you hosts of enemies from the deserts or from the sea, or from the pastures, or from the wilderness where armies are accustomed to be marshalled, and blood to flow, which is the beverage of the sun and the earth." It may here be remarked, that most of the speeches in the above-mentioned book have a strong tincture of Jewish rhetoric, the same complacent mode of speaking of themselves as God's peculiar people, the same familiar converse with the Deity, beginning frequently as in Abraham's dialogue with God, with the word 'Peradventure' (por ventura); the same unceasing solicitude after dreams, visions, and inspirations; the same manner of addressing each other by the appellation of Brethren; and finally the same choice of metaphors distinguish the compositions of the Jews and the Mexicans, which may serve in some measure to explain why the specimens of Mexican eloquence contained in the sixth book of Sahagun's *History*, and judged by the author to be worthy of a monarch's perusal, have been consigned to an oblivion of nearly three hundred years, from which we have had the good fortune to rescue them. The following passage, taken from the tenth chapter, reminds us of what David says in the Psalms: "He that sitteth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn; the Lord shall hold them in derision." "Nuestro Señor Dios està mirando lo que hacen los que rigen sus reinos, y quando yerran en sus oficios, danle ocasion de reirse de ellos, y él se rie de ellos y calla, porque es Dios y hace lo que quiere, y hace

mentality they say the earth became again visible after it had been covered with the waters of the deluge; they therefore kept his festival during the twenty following signs, in which they performed sacrifices to him.

1. Atemoztli, which commenced on the twenty-first of December.

PLATE LXXIII.

On the tenth of January the women celebrated the festival of the goddess Mixcoatl, which name signifies the Serpent of the Clouds, because they say that she was the inventress of weaving and working; they therefore paint her with this wooden instrument in her hand, which resembles a weaver's comb. The women celebrated a great festival to her after their fashion.

1. Tititl, which commenced on the tenth of January.

PLATE LXXIV.

They called this month Izcalli, which means the vivific principle or power; and accordingly mothers in this month took hold of their sons by the head, and lifting them up in the air, addressed them frequently with the word Itzcalli, as if wishing them joy, congratulating them on the revival of vegetable life which now commences, since plants in appearance remain dead during the whole winter season. They celebrated a great festival in this month to the god of Fire, whom they called Xiuteutli, which was in the following manner: four priests took each of them a handful of ocotl, and descended from the upper area of the temple, and performed certain ceremonies; first towards the east, and then towards the north, afterwards towards the west, and lastly towards the south *, and put the ocotl into a cauldron which they kept in the temple, where it burned, and served them with light, since it never was extinguished.

1. Izcalli, which commenced on the thirtieth of January.

PLATE LXXV.†

These are the twenty letters or figures which they employed in all their calculations, which they

burla de quien quiere." "The Lord our God beholds the actions of those who govern his kingdoms, and when they trespass in their duties they give him occasion to laugh at them, and he laughs, and has done, because he is God and does whatsoever he pleases, and turns into derision whom he will." Agreeing in opinion with the interpreter of the Vatican MS. that the Mexicans had some knowledge of our mode of communion, we must remark that Tzoali, the name of the bread which was eaten at theirs, resembles Ζωη (*life*) in Greek.

* The Jews, by way of typifying the omnipresence of Jehovah, turn themselves at their festivals to the four corners of the earth.

† The paintings to which the following explanations refer are in a different style from the preceding. The explanations likewise are written by another hand: and as the number of the pages begin here with No. 1, it is evident that the Vatican MS. consists of two MSS. bound up together. It may even be said to comprise three; as the latter paintings, which are unaccompanied with any explanations, except an introductory paragraph on the origin of the Mexicans, the hand-writing of which is also different, appear to form an appendix to the volume.

supposed ruled over men, as the figure shows, and they cured in a corresponding manner those who became ill or suffered pains in any part of the body. The sign of the Wind* was assigned to the liver, the Rose to the breast, the Earthquake to the tongue, the Eagle to the right arm, the Vulture to the right ear, the Rabbit to the left ear, the Flint to the teeth, the Air to the breath, the Monkey to the left arm, the Cane to the heart†, the Herb to the bowels, the Lizard to the womb of women, the Tiger to the left foot, the Serpent to the male organ of generation, as that from which their diseases proceeded in their commencement, for in this manner they considered the serpent wherever it occurred, as the most ominous of all their signs. Even still physicians continue to use this figure when they perform cures; and according to the sign and hour in which the patient became ill, they examined whether the disease corresponded with the ruling sign; from which it is plain that this nation is not as brutal as some persons pretend, since they observed so much method and order in their affairs, and employed the same means as our astrologers and physicians use, as this figure still obtains amongst them, and may be found in their repertories‡.

1. Deer, or Stag. 2. Wind. 3. Rose. 4. Earthquake. 5. Eagle. 6. Eagle of a different species. 7. Water. 8. House. 9. Skull, or Death. 10. Rain. 11. Dog. 12. Rabbit. 13. Flint. 14. Air. 15. Monkey. 16. Cane. 17. Grass, or Herb. 18. Lizard. 19. Tiger. 20. Serpent.

PLATE LXXVI.

When a human sacrifice was to be performed, the captains brought those whom they had made prisoners in war, and placed them upon a very large stone in the portico of the temple, and put into their hands a small shield and a short club, which they were to employ in their defence if they were able; and the captain who presented the prisoner, took his large shield and a two-edged weapon resembling a mace, pointed with knives, and thus armed, fought with the prisoner until he mortally wounded him, when the papas carried him bathed in blood to the upper area of the temple, where they sacrificed him. Before the celebration of the sacrifice they made him fast forty days, during which period they clothed him in the costume of the Devil, to whom they dedicated the festival; during the last days they painted his face black, and pierced his body with razor points, and on the last sign of the festival they adorned his head with white feathers§. This was the mode of sacrificing men: those who are represented on the ground as fallen, are such as have been sacrificed; those who were dancing are the same persons as those who are there lying dead, for before they were sacrificed they danced and sang; the figures above, painted black, represent the papas who performed the sacrifice. It is necessary also to remark, that none of those whom they

* This sign is named Bufeo by the interpreter, and was perhaps dedicated to Yoaliehecatl.

† The Heart was the symbol of Votan in Chiapa, and the Cane of Quecalcoatle, in Mexico.

‡ Prefixed to a missal in our possession, entitled *Heures a lusaige de Rome*, is the figure of a man with the principal viscera exposed to view, from each of which, viz. the heart, the liver, &c. a line is drawn to the figures of the ruling constellations above: 1498 is the date of this missal. It would hence appear that astrology in the 15th century had the sanction of religion.

§ This passage may explain the sixty-seventh plate in the Collection of Mendoza, in which are represented the executioners sent by the king of Mexico to announce to the rebel Cacique the sentence of death which had been passed upon him, who are ornamenting his head with feathers, which were the symbols of sacrifice.

sacrificed on the cues or the upper steps or area of the temple, were voluntary victims, but they were kept for this purpose; the papas, before the stated period of sacrifice arrived, were bound to sacrifice them in that place.

PLATE LXXVII.

This was the manner of sacrificing with their tongues, ears, thighs, legs, and penis*: the papas alone offered this kind of sacrifice. They were accustomed to dye their bodies black with gum, and ocotl or tincture, as they call it in Spain. Since the sacrifices were performed by night, they required light, which was never extinguished, but was obliged to be always burning in the temples, where they kept a constant supply of razor-points, trumpets†, and shells, in which they held the incense and potziutl, and every thing else necessary for sacrifice, and likewise the banner of war. Although boys were sacrificed in their temples, all were not allowed indiscriminately to be present at sacrifices, but only persons of the highest rank. The priests robed themselves in a certain part of the temple destined for sacrifices, in a vestment resembling ours of scarlet leather. From all these circumstances the fact is plain and probable, that this nation descends from the Jews, since all the ceremonies of this chapter are as it were according to the text of Leviticus, such as that the people should not touch the holy things; and again as in Exodus, that light should be always in the temple, and incense, and the trumpets, and the sacred vestments; but one of the differences which distinguished the one order of priests from the other, was, agreeably to the different nature of the Gods whom they served, these were black, and dirty, and filthy, and abominable, for after the same manner was their god; but the priests of the true God were to be

* Herrera, describing in the sixteenth chapter of the second book of his third Decad the great austerities practised by some of the Mexican priests, says, "muchos de ellos por no caer en alguna flaqueça, se hendian por medio los miembros viriles, i hacian cosas para hacerse impotentes." The New Testament mentions in no terms of disapprobation a somewhat analogous custom, as practised by some of the early Christians, who thought thereby to attain the kingdom of Heaven.

† The Jews believe that the shrill sound of the horn or the trumpet stirs the soul to repentance, and they have a prayer of thanksgiving to God for having taught them the use of the trumpet. It is singular that the Mexicans should have entertained the same notion. Acosta thus describes the effect which blowing the trumpet, a ceremony which was performed by the high priest a few days before the great festival of Tetzcatlipoca, produced on that superstitious people: "Eo ita condecorato et expolito, prætensa vela removebantur ut ab omnibus id spectari posset. His peractis princeps templi, simili cum idolo habitu indutus prodibat, manibus flosculos aliquot, et fistulam acutissimi soni proferens. Hanc continenter inflabat dum jam versus ortum, jam versus occasum, ac meridiem et septentrionem sese verteret. Sonitu ergo ad quatuor mundi cardines facto, et absentibus signo dato, manus in templi pavimentum exporrigens, pulvisculi momentum arripiebat, quod ori indens vorabat. Hunc eodem ritu in omnibus præsentes cæteri universi æmulabantur, et in vultus provoluti noctem, ventum, et tenebras adorabant, devote instantes ut ab illis nunquam desererentur aut perderentur, sed potentem suam, quam haberent vim, pro bono publico moderarentur et lenirent. Fistulæ isto sonitu quoquo versum late perstrepente, furibus, mœchis, homicidis, ac facinorosis, sopitæ conscientiæ in tantum evigilabant, et suscitabantur, ut se non amplius continentes ad deum vociferarentur contritissime, ne is patrata ipsorum in publicum proferret, et hæc ipsa copiosis usque lachrymis et largissimis thuris accensionibus expiabant. Bellorum vero duces, et milites alii peritiores, ad fistulæ strepitum auditum, Deum, a quo vitam et vigorem haberent ut et solem deosque alios potentiores adorabant precabanturque, ut ipsis contra hostes fortem animum, et felicem victoriam impertire vellent, ut in sacrificiorum augendam religionem quam plurimos hostes captare possent. Hujusmodi ceremoniæ decem diebus ante, quam festum ipsum incoharetur obibantur, quorum omni decursu sacerdotes fistulis inflatis homines excitabant, ut precarentur, et terram ederent, et simulachro suas angustias et patrata confiterentur. Dum vero precarentur cum gemitibus subinde iteratis oculos in cœlum attollebant non alio gestu, ac si profundissimâ suorum peccatorum pœnitudine contererentur. Hæc vero universa ab ipsis fiebant metu, non æternæ damnationis sed pœnæ saltem corporalis. Nam de pœnâ post hanc vitam facinorosos manente, nihil quicquam sciebant." *Indiæ Occidentalis Historia*, lib. v. cap. xxix.

pure and holy, without spot or stain, such moreover as Hezekiah calls the Scripture whiter than milk, red like old coral, more beautiful by far than sapphire. And in another part it is said, the priests of the Lord the more incense they offer, the purer and the holier let them be, that from their purity may be known the greater purity of the god whom they serve; which thing, that is to say the cleanliness which his priests were bound to observe, was a type; although the exterior was of such moment, that the church where we wash and purify ourselves before going to offer the sacrifice of the Altar, did not content him; neither did our going habited in the sacred vestments: but before we enter the secret place of the sanctuary, he advises us to return to wash our hands,—which was all for this end, that we might know from our own purity how pure was the god to whom we offered sacrifice. It is not, however, surprising that these miserable priests of the Devil should have been filthy, detestable and abominable, like him. They also sacrificed their arms in two places, the one below the elbow, and the other above it, on the muscular part of the arm. They performed this sacrifice every five days; and I have seen the marks upon one of these priests *.

PLATE LXXVIII.

This was the method which they adopted in requesting rain of their god Cozio. When his festival arrived, or when they stood in need of rain, they fixed some very high poles † in the court-yard before the Cu, in a row; and a Papa ascended each of them, and danced there, and sung, and performed certain ceremonies in supplication for rain. A thinner pole was fixed on the top of the highest pole, that by means of it the person above might keep himself steady, to whose feet a rope was tied, which reached from the bottom to the top of the pole, and which was knotted together in such a manner as to leave openings as if it were a ladder, as is seen in the representation of the figure with wings, so that when the Papa leaped down from the pole, he might come to the ground, letting himself down by means of it; and when he wished to leap down, he pushed the thinner pole, by which he held steady, and threw himself down from the pole: and the other Papas who were present proceeded in their proper order, dancing and singing, and playing musical instruments in the court, inflicting lashes ‡ the one on the other §. And this was their manner of scourging themselves,

* It is evident from this assertion, that the writer of these explanatory notes had been in Mexico a short time after the conquest of that city by the Spaniards. The opinion that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews, and that their religious rites were strongly tinctured with Judaism, is here advocated by two eye-witnesses, whose sincerity cannot be doubted, because they could have had no motive for practising deception, or for wilfully misrepresenting facts.

† The feast of Purim, or of lots, was instituted by the Jews as a memorial of the deliverance of Mordecai and the Jewish nation from Haman, whose gallows on which he intended to hang Mordecai became the instrument of his own execution. The lofty beams of wood which the Mexicans erected in the court-yard of their temple, on the top of which they danced, and from which persons called flyers threw themselves down, suggest the idea of some new memorial instituted by the Jews in the New World to record their preservation in the days of Ahasuerus. At the feast of Purim the Jews were accustomed to drink to excess; and shortly after the conquest of Mexico a law was passed by the Spaniards, prohibiting the Indians from dancing on the beam, from their sometimes falling from it and being killed when in a state of intoxication.

‡ Herrera says of the Mexicans, "Todo el pueblo hacia disciplina con la procesion i fiesta que se hacia al idolo dios de la penitencia, porque entonces llevaban todos estas sogas de hilo de maguei nuevas, de una braça, con nudos al cabo; iban dandose grandes golpes en las espaldas." Lib. ii. cap. xvi. dec. iii.

§ The Jews scourge themselves in order to afflict their souls; in compliance, as they pretend, with an injunction in Leviticus.

and of entreating rain. Men were sacrificed on every one of these festivals. They also sacrificed dogs, which they said it was necessary should be entirely red*. They presented to their captains on this festival and sign, crowns made of the skins of large tigers, which they wore in battle on every occasion of going into the field. This festival was celebrated when the sign of Cozioqchalla arrived, who was reckoned the first of the four Cozoi. His festival was always celebrated; but the other festivals of the remaining Cozoi were omitted when they were not in want of rain.

PLATE LXXIX.

They burned in this manner the bodies of the dead, with the exception of those who had died of the leprosy †, the venereal disease, or any other incurable disorder, and those of boys who had not attained the age of seventeen years; for such bodies were not burned, but buried. All other dead bodies were thrown into a large cauldron which they kept in the court of the temple, made of lime and stone, and there they burned them. This custom prevailed amongst the Mexicans; and those who performed the office of burning the dead were priests or Papas, on whom the relations of the deceased conferred on such occasions a splendid banquet. They called the priests on whom this office devolved Coacuiles. They esteemed this a ceremony so sacred, that in consideration of the duty which they were about to perform, the papas confessed themselves before they burned the bodies, as we who are priests now confess ourselves previously to the celebration of mass. The old men say that the Mexicans borrowed this custom of burning the dead from the Otomies, which nation they found in this country when they came to inhabit it, as will presently be seen.

* The Egyptians devoted animals of this colour to death, from hatred to the memory of Typhon the brother and the murderer of Osiris, whose hair was red. And the Jews were commanded, in the second verse of the nineteenth chapter of Numbers, to sacrifice a red heifer without spot, the flesh of which was to be burned, and the ashes mixed with water, to be a purification for sin.

† Torquemada says, in the eighth book of his *Indian Monarchy,* that there was a building in the great temple of Mexico called Netlatiloyan, appropriated to lepers, who were under the protection of a god named Nanahuatl. Amongst the Jews, Lazarus would probably have been the patron of persons afflicted with that distemper. No less than two chapters of Leviticus, containing together one hundred and sixteen verses, treat of this disease; its *diagnosis,* (as physicians express themselves,) its cure, and the subsequent mode of purification. Since the first of these chapters begins with the words "And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying,"—and it says in the third verse, "And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh,"—it is plain that, as far as the leprosy was concerned, the Jewish priests were physicians, and they might have practised more extensively that art. Amongst the American Indians the priests were generally physicians. It is singular, when we reflect on the history of Lazarus, who is said in the New Testament to have been received into Abraham's bosom,—which could only mean that he went to Paradise after his death, when the Rich Man went to Hell,—to find that the Indians believed that "los leprosos y bubosos" went after their death to Tlalocan, or the terrestrial Paradise. Torquemada says, in the forty-eighth chapter of the thirteenth book of his *Indian Monarchy,* "Muriendo de estas enfermedades incurables no los quemaban." He then says that a wand was placed in their hands, which they believed would sprout on their arrival in Paradise, "como el lugar era fresco y ameno, alli havia de reverdecer y hechar hoja." Torquemada likewise observes, in the fortieth chapter of the same book, that the Indians, imitating the Jews, whose example Nicodemus also followed, anointed the bodies of the deceased: "Si consideramos la costumbre de estos Indios Occidentales, veremos por todo lo que queda dicho de ellos, como ungian á sus difuntos para enterrarlos, y como quemaban los cuerpos de unos, y enterraban otros, conforme les parecia, o segun lo acostumbraban." Peter Martyr mentions in the ninth chapter of his Eighth Decade, a singular custom of the Chiribichenses, who, believing the souls of their deceased relations to be immortal, burned their bones, only preserving the hinder part of the head: "They burne the bones, keepinge the hinder parte of the heade; and this the noblest and best of the women bringeth home with her, to be kept for a sacred relique." The Jews had an ancient superstitious notion about a small bone, which they believed to be the seed of the resurrection, which was situated according to their notions between the upper vertebræ of the neck and the back of the head.

PLATE LXXX.

This is the place where they deposited all the skulls, the Calvary of the saints who perished in war. It consisted of two pieces of timber, such as are here represented; and was held in such great veneration that they named it in their language Tlatzolli Tzonpantli, which signifies precious or desired death. Since the Devil was also ambitious of having his martyrs, of whom the Psalmist speaks, and had persuaded them that only those who died in war went to heaven, and that the souls of all the rest were doomed to be unhappy and miserable, since they had no remedy to escape going to hell, and on this account they were all desirous of dying by such a death;—they therefore deposited here the skulls of their countrymen who had been slain, as relics, in the same manner as we preserve those of the saints in shrines and churches *; which if it were yet duly comprehended by the natives, ought to be a great inducement to them to give thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, who has left them the Holy Gospel, in order that whosoever shall believe and shall be baptized, endeavouring to obey its precepts, may go to heaven, whether they be the aged Indian woman who never went to war, or the lame or the blind, or the weary, the child, or any other. And not a miserable law, which although they followed it strictly to the letter, all were doomed to condemnation except those who died in war. We, on the contrary, wage war all the days of our lives, not only with the flesh and blood, but also against the powers of darkness, who were the cause of the blindness of this people, that we may overcome the great malice of those who for such a length of time have deceived them, lest they should gain possession of the seats in heaven, from which themselves had been expelled. And hence they affirmed that none went to heaven except those who died in war: because it is written that none shall be crowned except those who legitimately shall combat; and that the kingdom of heaven must be taken by force; and those alone who exercise force over their own evil inclinations will take it.

1. Tzonpantli.

PLATE LXXXI.

Their captains went to war in the costume represented by the following figures. The weapon in their right hand is a kind of wooden sling, with which they throw a dart with great force. The armour for the body consisted of a cotton vest quilted, called an escaupile, of great avail in their manner of fighting; since after the arrival of the Spaniards, not only the natives used it, but the Spaniards also employed it against the Indians; for it repels arrows which pass through the strongest coats of mail, and even cuirasses, but cannot pass through these escaupiles.

PLATE LXXXII.

This was the second description of dress worn by the captains. The left hand of the figure holds a certain kind of shield in common use amongst them, so light that they sheltered themselves with

* Torquemada expresses himself in nearly similar terms, calling the place where these bones were kept "Osario sacro, como entre nosotros los de los martires."

great expedition under it, and repelled the stroke of their adversary, and with much dexterity warded off arrows. That which is above is the banner, which each carried distinguished by his own arms.

PLATE LXXXIII.

This was a particular kind of weapon resembling a two-edged club, which was armed with razor points of very sharp stone, with which they fought very bravely in their manner, holding it in both their hands.

PLATE LXXXIV.

This was the dress worn by those who reputed themselves valiant in war; who when they entered the field to fight chose to carry no arms of any kind*; as they judged it sufficient, in order to make prisoners and to slaughter the enemy, to enter the field naked, since in this way they came off with rich spoils; and as a mark of distinction from the rest, they wore a very thin mantle of net-work, and cut their hair short, with the exception of a lock on the neck, in the fashion of a collar.

PLATE LXXXV.

This is the costume of the common soldiers; and their ordinary method of fighting was with a club or cudgel. The others fought with bows, arrows, and shields.

PLATE LXXXVI.

This was the dress of the lords; and as Moteqzumacin the king of Mexico† was the greatest in that country, he is represented first. That which he holds in his hand is a cane, which they com-

* David, when about to encounter Goliah, did not put on armour; and the Jews might sometimes have supposed that, the God of Israel fighting their battles, it was unnecessary to take any such idle precautions; although they generally acted like Cromwell, who desired his soldiers to pray on the eve of a battle, but to be sure to sleep upon their matchlocks, that the priming of their pieces might be dry, and readily take fire.

† It has already been observed, that many analogies might be pointed out in the usages of the Mexicans and the Jews, in reference to their treatment of their kings. But omitting in the present place to notice the oath which was administered to the kings of Mexico at their coronation by the high priest, (which is described by Gomara in page 122 of his *History of the Conquest of Mexico;* in which the king made a covenant with his people to protect the established religion of the state, to preserve the laws, and to maintain justice; reminding us of what David did on a similar occasion, as recorded by Samuel: "So all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron: and King David *made a league with them in Hebron before the Lord;* and they anointed David king over Israel.")—and the great burning of spices and other odoriferous substances, which took place at the funeral of the kings of Mechuacan, which was also customary at funerals of the Jewish kings,—we shall remark, that the regalia worn by the kings of both nations were nearly the same. Amongst the Jews they consisted of a crown and bracelets, as is evident from the tenth verse of the first chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, where the Amalekite announces to David the death of Saul, informing him that he had brought him not his sword or armour, but what he thought would be a more agreeable present to an aspirant to the throne, the royal insignia: "So I stood upon him, and slew him, because I was sure that he could not live after he was fallen: and I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was upon his arm, and have brought them hither unto my lord." A sceptre was also a part of the Jewish regalia; and it is to be presumed, a

posed of a certain sort of perfume which they called pogtl. In his other hand is a nosegay of roses, or other flowers, which they form with great art, and which they prize so highly, that they have them

mantle. The crown of the Jewish kings, it is probable, more nearly resembled a mitre than the crowns worn by European monarchs, as well on account of the pattern of Aaron's mitre having been given by God himself to Moses, and the reverence which the Jews would in consequence have been disposed to feel for a crown of such a shape; as because the kings of Persia, at once the objects of their admiration and their fear, wore a kind of linen tiara. This tiara was called a cydaris; and representations of it exist on some of the ancient sculptured monuments of Persia, engravings of which are found in Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Travels*. A crown and bracelets, sceptre and mantle, constituted, although not the entire, the principal part of the royal costume of the Mexican kings. The crown was named *tecutli*, and the bracelets *cozcatl;* and they are both represented in the fifty-seventh plate of the *Collection of Mendoza*, as forming united the symbol of the Mexican city Cozcatecutlan. The ninth plate of the same Collection of Mexican Paintings affords likewise a specimen of the dress worn by the Mexican kings; since the regal apparel of Montezuma, it is probable, differed but slightly from that of Moquihuix. The *icpalli*, or chair on which those sovereigns sat, and which was emphatically styled by the Mexicans the seat of judicature, appertained equally, as did the throne amongst the Jews, to the regal office. It is true, as a general remark, that both nations, in their costume and in the external decorations of their persons and buildings, nearly resembled each other. The Mexicans were very fond of painting their faces, and of ornamenting the walls of their finest edifices with vermilion: and if it cannot be absolutely proved,—though it may be inferred from several passages of the Old Testament, such as that in which mention is made of Jezebel painting her face,—that the former custom existed amongst the Jews, the prophet Ezekiel has removed all doubt about the latter. Amongst the Jews likewise, who were so fond of reproaching other nations with effeminacy in dress, the custom of men's wearing bracelets, ear-rings, and every other kind of female ornament, was very general. It says, in the thirty-eighth chapter of Genesis, that the patriarch Judah gave his bracelets as a pledge to Tamar: and in the thirty-second chapter of Exodus, that Aaron desired the men and women of the children of Israel to break off the golden ear-rings which were in their ears, and to give them to him, that he might make them the golden calf. The same custom prevailed amongst the Mexicans; on whose persons, as represented in their ancient paintings, we recognize all the ornaments mentioned in the Old Testament as worn by the Jews: such as bracelets, ear-rings, chains for the neck, *jewels for the nose*, (which appear sometimes to have been simple rings attached to the nostrils, as in the figure of a human head carved on the Mexican drum or teponaztli, which occurs in the fifty-fifth plate of the Second Part of M. Dupaix's *Monuments of New Spain,*) *armlets*, and corresponding golden ornaments for the legs and ankles. The Jews were likewise accustomed to carry signets about them; since we are informed, in the twenty-first verse of the thirty-eighth chapter of Genesis, that Judah gave his signet also to Tamar, the after recognition of which by himself saved her from the cruel punishment of being burnt alive. What would Aristotle have said of the recognition, or *ἀναγνωρισις*, with which this chapter of Genesis terminates, after the judgment which he has pronounced in the seventeenth chapter of his *Poetics* on that of Œdipus in the play of Sophocles? From the sixth verse of the eighth chapter of the Song of Solomon, "Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm," it appears that the Jews wore their seals fastened to their arms. And it is very singular, since there was something peculiar in the Hebrew fashion, that this should have been a Mexican custom likewise; as we learn from Cortes, Torquemada, and Bernal Diaz, that it was. The former, writing to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and giving him an account of the manner in which he got possession of the person of one of the bravest Mexican generals, who had put some Spaniards whom he had left in Veracruz to death, by obtaining an order from Montezuma for his arrest, says: "Y luego á la hora mandó llamar ciertas personas de los suyos, á los quales dió una figura de piedra, a manera de sello, que él tenia atado en el brazo, y les mandó, que fuessen á la dicha ciudad de Almeria, que está sesenta, ó setenta leguas de la de Muxtitan, y que traxessen al dicho Qualpopoca, y se informassen en los demas que habian sido en la muerte de aquellos Españoles, y que assimismo los truxessen; y si por su voluntad no quisiessen venir, los truxessen presos; é si se pusiessen en resistir la prision, que requiriessen á ciertas comunidades comarcanas á aquella ciudad, que alli les señaló, para que fuessen con mano armada para los prender; por manera, que no viniessen sin ellos."—*Carta de Relacion de* Don Fernando Cortes. "He immediately commanded certain of his officers to appear before him, to whom he gave a figure formed out of a small stone, resembling a seal, which he wore tied to his arm, and ordered them to proceed to the said city of Almeria, which is sixty or seventy leagues distant from Muxtitan, and to bring back with them the said Qualpopoca, and to ascertain who the others were who had a share in the death of those Spaniards, and to bring them likewise; and if they refused to come voluntarily, to bring them as prisoners: and if they resisted being made prisoners, to require the aid of certain towns situated in the vicinity of that city, the names of which he specified, that they might assist with an armed force in making prisoners of them; but on no account to return without them." Bernal Diaz, describing the same event, says: "Y luego en aquel instante quito de su braço y muñeca el sello y señal de Huichilobos, que aquello era quando mandava alguna cosa grave, é de peso, para que se cumpliesse, é luego se cumplia." "He immediately took from his arm and wrist the seal and engraving of Huichilobos; and he did that when he issued any command of consequence, which it was important should be fulfilled, when it was instantly obeyed." Mention is made, in the thirtieth verse of the thirty-ninth chapter of Exodus, of engravings like those of a signet, which were consecrated by the Jews to Jehovah: "And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing, like to the engravings of a signet, Holiness to the Lord. And

during the entire year, of many various sorts. They esteem them so much, that all the lords had, and still have, vassals who on appointed days pay them tribute of such kinds of flowers. Those, I say, still have them, who have not been entirely deprived of the inheritances from which they have been ejected, God knows by what right. The ornament of the hair* was confined to the lords and valiant men: it was accordingly granted as a great privilege to warriors who had killed a certain number of the enemy in battle. They were accustomed, for greater state, to go without shoes †; as they observed that it was for the lower orders of the people, such as the tameines and couriers, to wear shoes. They all wore for a covering to the lower part of the body a kind of breeches, which consisted of a cloth of cotton, of a yard or rather more in length and very narrow, about a span in breadth, nearly resembling the tocas di cammino used on journeys in Castile, girded to the body; and with this, which they called a mashle, decency was consulted in their dress. It is said that this king never in his life wore twice the same mantle, or mashle, but that every day he put on new ones.

PLATES LXXXVII. LXXXVIII. & LXXXIX.

This was the dress of a lord amongst the Çapotecas, which is another very ancient nation of that country, who ornamented their heads with a paper bandage, and wore their hair very long, which they never cut, but tied in the manner in which our Spanish women were accustomed to tie their hair before the Devil introduced the present lascivious fashion of wearing curled locks and ringlets, so contrary to the doctrine and commandment of the princes of the Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

The women of those countries dressed in this manner. They wore a cotton mantle called a nagua, rolled round the body next to the skin, which was fastened below with a girdle. They covered the upper part of their persons with another more delicately wrought mantle of cotton, of various colours, sewed in the manner of a sack, with three apertures, one for the head at the bottom of the mantle, and the other two for the arms. This dress was called in their language a guapil. I do not know whether the costume of the other figure, which is placed first, is at present in use, nor have I to the present time ever seen it; but it resembles the apparel of the Mexican, Çapotecan, and Mextechan women, which I have seen. The old people say that the costume of the first female figure is the same as that of the Guaxtecas, which is a nation of that country situated to the north of Mexico.

they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten it on high upon the mitre; as the Lord commanded Moses." It may be remarked, that in the passage cited of the letter of Cortes, Mexico is named Muxtitan; which the editor says is a corruption or abbreviation of Tenuchtitlan, but which may possibly have been a name for Mexico, signifying the city of Moses, which quickly after the Spanish conquest fell into disuse.—We shall conclude this note by observing, that the palaces of mourning, or of grief, which Spanish historians say that the Mexican kings had attached to the palaces in which they usually resided, to which they occasionally retired to do penance and for purposes of humiliation, were somewhat analogous, in the purposes for which they were destined, to the chambers in which the Jewish kings shut themselves up to humiliate themselves before Jehovah, for the sins and offences which they had committed.

* This ornament was a red ribbon, with which the hair was tied in a knot behind.

† Montezuma in the interior of his palace, (as several Spaniards, who saw him and describe his person and dress very minutely, relate,) wore sandals embroidered with gold. The Mexican paintings show that the use of sandals amongst the Mexicans was very general, Their heroes and gods are always represented with them.

PLATE XC.

This entire nation was and is so fond of metaphor, as well in words as in actions, that to convey the idea of the different periods of human life, they paint a mountain such as is here represented, and place a boy at the foot of it, as if commencing to climb it: for they say, so it is with man; that he resembles, till he attains the age of twenty, one who climbs a high hill, and proceeds onward gathering flowers, and taking pleasure in his vices and sins; and that from the age of twenty to forty he may be compared to a person in a state of repose already standing on the top of a mountain, and at such an age skilful in combating, and able to go where he pleases, to defend or to attack; but from forty to sixty he begins to descend the mountain, and his person inclines to stoop, till at last he is obliged to lean upon a stick, with which he supports himself, returning like a child to the first stage of existence; but since he still retains intellectual vigour, which they name in the Sciapotechan tongue Capagehe, which signifies the guardian or corrector of the people, they treat him in that country with great reverence *; which custom might cause Spain to blush, that in countries where the old men are barbarians they should be held in such esteem, whilst the old amongst Christians are so much despised, that they say that even persons of sixty no longer retain their perfect faculties, and that on that account they may be excused from associating with persons of that age. Those who speak in this manner ought to fear that which is threatened through the wise man: Alas for the people where there are no old men; for amongst the old, says Job, wisdom resides, and prudence in the multitude of years.

PLATE XCI.

This is the origin of the Indians who are called Mexicans. It ought to be known that the dominion over that country was first established in Culhuacan, Tenayca, and Xalcotan, and afterwards in Azcaputzalco †, Guatlincha, and Giaculma; and that thence it was transferred to Mexico, Tlacuba, and Tezcuco, where the Spaniards found it on their arrival in those parts. It should also be observed that this proper name Mexico, from whence the term Mexican is derived, is corrupt; for the right name is Mecitli ‡, which means a vest of hare skins: and this is the

* The Jews were commanded, in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, to honour the old,—an injunction which they always scrupulously obeyed: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man." The prophet Elisha is said in the following verses of the second chapter of the Second Book of Kings to have cursed the little children who mocked his bald head: "And he went up from thence unto Bethel: and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head; Go up, thou bald head. And he turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord: and there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them." The sin of these children must have been their disrespect to old age; for they were too young to know what a prophet was, and it is probable that they had never seen Elisha before.

† The founders of the city of Azcaputzalco, which name signifies the *ant-hill*, probably bestowed that name upon it, in the expectation that their seed would be as the dust of the earth in multitude.

‡ There can be no doubt that the Mexicans were so named from their god Mecitli or Mexitli, whose name Torquemada says was analogous in its signification to that of Tlaloc,—the latter meaning the "wine of the earth," and the former "a vine:" "Los mismos

origin of this city, and of all those people who are represented below. They also affirm that they were a nation who came out of seven caves, where they say that all of that race had been shut up previously to their arrival in this country, from a region situated at their western side, when they subjected it, as will be seen. Their arrival was in the year of Two Canes, which according to their calculation occurred in the year 1194; and they came, according to their own account, clothed in hare skins, as their name signifies, and, as the painting shows, with bows and arrows in their hands.

1. The Olmecas and Xicalangas. 2. The Cuextecas. 3. The Totonacas. 4. The Couixcas. 5. The Michiuaccans. 6. The Nonoalcas. 7. The Chichimecas. 8. Matepetl. 9. Cactepetl. 10. Tezuactepetl. 11. This symbol signifies a cycle of fifty-two years, which was an age.

PLATE XCII.

1. Vichilupuchitl, the first captain of the Mexican nation. 2. Tonanicaca. 3. Ayauolulco. 4. Culhuacan. 5. Puchutla. 6. Tototepetl.

naturales afirman que este nombre tomaron de el dios principal que ellos traxeron, el qual tenia dos nombres, el uno Huitzilopuchtli, y el otro Mexitli, y este segundo quiere decir ombligo de maguey; y asi dicen que los primeros Mexicanos lo tomaron de su dios, y asi en sus principios se llamaron Mexiti, y despues se llamaron Mexica, y de este nombre se nombro la ciudad, siendo el primero que tuvo Tenuchtitlan, por raçon de el Nopal que hallaron sobre la piedra, quando llegaron á esta parte de la laguna quando en ella fundaron."—*Monarquia Indiana*, lib. iii. cap. xxiii.

ARGUMENTS TO SHOW THAT THE JEWS IN EARLY AGES COLONIZED AMERICA*.

In nothing did the Mexicans more resemble the Jews than in the multitude of their sacrifices. Those who may have never read the eighth chapter of the First Book of Kings, containing an account of the dedication of the temple, can have no idea of the numbers of victims which the Jews immolated on solemn festivals. It says in the sixty-third verse of that chapter, "And Solomon offered a sacrifice of peace-offerings, which he offered unto the Lord, two and twenty thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. So the king and all the children of Israel dedicated the house of the Lord." And in the fifth verse of the same chapter; "And king Solomon and all the congregation of Israel that were assembled unto him were with him before the ark, sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor numbered for multitude." A reason is assigned in the verses which follow out of the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, for the frequent celebration of sacrifices amongst the Jews. "And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, that thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that cometh of a beast which thou hast; the males shall be the Lord's: and every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break his neck: and all the first-born of man among thy children shalt thou redeem: and it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage.

* Neither these Arguments, nor the reasons for supposing that Christians in early ages colonized America which follow, were originally intended to be printed in a separate form, but to serve as notes to accompany the Translations in detached portions, which may excuse in some measure the want of connexion between some of the passages.

And it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both the first-born of man, and the first-born of beast: therefore I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix, being males*; but all the first-born of my children I redeem. And it shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes; for by strength of hand the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt." It was customary amongst the Jews to eat a portion of the flesh of sacrifices, and to burn the rest; and Peter Martyr in allusion to that custom says in the fourth chapter of his fifth Decad, that, "As the Jews sometimes eate the lambs which were sacrificed by the old law, so do they eat mans flesh, casting only away the hands, feet, and bowels." He had before observed that the Mexicans burned the hearts of the victims. The Jews it is well known never tasted blood; and Gomara

* It is probable that the Jews, immediately on their arrival in the New World, revived the sacrifices which the old law ordained as a perpetual memorial of their flight from Egypt, and committed to paintings the principal events recorded by Moses to have preceded and followed that flight. We may here remark, that the Egyptians, as Josephus is obliged to admit in his *Treatise against Apion*, gave a very different account from Moses of the Hebrew migration: since Manetho, an Egyptian priest (whose authority Josephus evidentlyconsiders high, and seems glad to refer to on another occasion;) declares that the ancestors of the Jews were a band of insurgents and lepers, amounting in number to eighty thousand persons, who were driven from Egypt by king Amenoph; and that Osarsyphus a leprous priest of Heliopolis headed the rebels, who afterwards took the name of Moses, and instituted many rites among the fugitives in hatred to the Egyptians. That this was the belief of the Egyptians in later ages cannot be doubted, because Josephus asserts it on the authority of an historian of that nation: but whether it contradicted ancient monuments, the scientific expeditions which are so frequent in the present day to Egypt will soon enable the world to decide. The fact is generally admitted, that the most remarkable events of the Egyptian monarchy are sculptured on monuments which still render the soil of Egypt famous; and it may be possible to discover in the ruins of the Memnonium and of the other palaces and temples of Egypt, relievos and inscriptions which may serve to confirm the account given by Moses in the Pentateuch of the departure of the Children of Israel from Egypt. But if it be contended, in the absence of all such relievos, that they are not to be found only because the Egyptians were ashamed to record their country's shame amidst the monuments of her glory,—this objection would imply great ignorance of one remarkable feature in the policy of the ancient Egyptians; who, though they highly revered their monarchs during their lifetime, devised means of compelling them to be just, by subjecting them to a kind of state-trial after their death; in which the actions of their reign were scrutinized by judges from whose decision there was no appeal: who either awarded them funeral honours, or by denying them that mark of public esteem, affixed a stain and reproach on their memory. So great was the aversion which the Egyptians entertained towards their wicked rulers, that for a number of ages after the death of Osiris, the name of the usurper Typhon was held in execration by them; whose hair being according to tradition red, foreigners with hair of that colour were scarcely suffered to enter Egypt, and animals with red skins were yearly sacrificed. It is not therefore at all likely that the Egyptians would have hesitated to have recorded, not merely on the papyrus but on imperishable pages of granite, the name of that Pharaoh who had brought upon them the ten plagues recorded in Scripture; as well to deter their future kings from pursuing a similar obstinate course in politics, as to caution them never to let the Children of Israel, who had brought such curses upon Egypt, return to that country, if they felt so inclined. That such a wish might have been formed by the latter, and such a hope entertained of oblivion of the past, was possible, from the regret which they are said, in the second and third verses of the sixteenth chapter of Exodus, to have felt at having left Egypt: "And the *whole* congregation of the Children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness. And the Children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full! for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger." The following is an extract from the first book of Josephus's *Treatise against Apion*, in which he takes occasion to enter into a long confutation of Manetho's account of the migration of the Israelites from Egypt, who at least seems to have known something of the ancient history of the Jews, and that they were a nation from the earliest times afflicted with the leprosy[1]. "*Ὁ γαρ Μανεθων ουτος, ὁ την Αἰγυπτιακην ἱστοριαν ἐκ των ἱερων γραμματων μεθερμενευειν ὑπεσχημενος, προειπων τους ἡμετερους προγονους πολλαις μυριασιν ἐπι την Αἰγυπτον ελθοντας κρατησαι των ἐνοικουντων, εἰτ' αὐτος ὁμολογων χρονω παλιν ὑστερον ἐκπεσοντας την Ἰουδαιαν κατασχειν, και κτισαντας Ἱεροσολυμα τον νεω κατασκευασασθαι. μεχρι μεν τουτων ἠκολουθησε ταις ἀναγραφαις. ἐπειτα δε δους ἐξουσιαν αὐτω, δια του φαναι γραψειν τα μυθευομενα και λεγομενα περι των Ἰουδαιων, λογους ἀπιθανους παρεβαλεν, ἀναμιξαι βουλομενος ἡμιν Αἰγυπτιων πληθος λεπρων, και ἐπι ἀλλοις ἀῤῥωστημασιν, ὡς φησι, φυγειν εκ της Αἰγυπτου καταγνωσθεντων. Ἀμενωφιν γαρ βασιλεα προσθεις ψευδες ὀνομα, και δια τουτο χρονον αὐτου της βασιλειας ὁρισαι μη τολμησας, και τοιγε ἐπι των*

[1] The Mexicans probably, derived the superstitious dread which they entertained of that disease from the Jews. Hernandez, describing the Copalli Quauhxiotl, or Arbor leprosa of the Mexicans, says it is "arbor excelsa et levis quæ facile membranam exteriorem exuat, unde nomen." *Rerum Medicarum Novæ Hispaniæ* lib. iii. p. 47. He alludes to the etymology of Quauhxiotl, which name is derived from *quahuitl* wood or a tree, and *xiuhtl* heaven, resembling no doubt the name which the Mexicans assigned to the leprosy, showing that they entertained the notion which was prevalent amongst the Hebrews, that it was *νοσος θεηλατος*, a divine judgment. Having observed in the 233rd page which follows, that *amoxtli* signifies reeds, it may be proper to refer to the authority of Torquemada, who says, describing the wretched state in which the Mexicans were when they arrived at the Mexican lake, that they were reduced to the necessity of covering themselves with the amoxtli, "yerva que se cria en la laguna." This account agrees with an historical painting of the same event which occurs towards the conclusion of the MS. of Boturini.

remarks, that although the Mexicans devoured the flesh of human victims, they were never seen to taste the blood; neither did they strangle those of smaller size, such as quails, but twisting the head from the body allowed the blood copiously to flow. The Jews abstained from blood on account of the prohibition in the fourth verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis: "But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat." Aristotle has observed in the following curious passage in the first book of his *Treatise concerning the Soul*, that some entertained the opinion that blood was really the life or anima: Ἕτεροι δ' αἷμα (την ψυχην ἀπεφηναντο) καθαπερ Κριτιας, το αἰσθανεσθαι της ψυχης οἰκειοτατον ὑπολαμβανοντες, τουτο δ' ὑπαρχειν δια την του αἵματος φυσιν. παντα γαρ τα στοιχεια κριτην εἰληφε, πλην της γης. ταυτην δ' οὐδεις ἀποπεφανται, πλην εἰτις αὐτην εἰρηκεν εκ παντων εἶναι των στοιχειων, ἡ παντα." "But others, like Critias, believe the soul to be the blood, supposing that perception is a property peculiar to the soul,

ἀλλων βασιλεων ἀκριβως τα ἐτη προστιθεις, τουτω προσαπτει τινας μυθολογιας, ἐπιλαθομενος σχεδον ὁτι πεντακοσιοις ἐτεσι και δεκαοκτω, προτερον ἱστορηκε γενεσθαι την των ποιμενων ἐξοδον εἰς Ἱεροσολυμα. Τεθμωσις γαρ ἠν βασιλευς ὁτε ἐξηεσαν. ἐπι δε τουτων μεταξυ των βασιλεων κατ' αὐτον ἐστι τριακοντα ἐνενηκοντα τρια ἐτη, μεχρι των δυο ἀδελφων Σεθω και Ἑρμαιου, ὡν τον μεν Σεθων Αἰγυπτον, τον δε Ἑρμαιον Δαναον μετονομασθηναι φησιν. ὁν ἐκβαλων ὁ Σεθως ἐβασιλευσεν ἐτη νθ. και μετ' αὐτον ὁ πρεσβυτερος των υἱων αὐτου Ῥαμφης ξε. τοσουτοις οὐν προτερον ἐτεσιν ἀπελθειν ἐξ Αἰγυπτου τους πατερας ἡμων ὡμολογηκως, εἰτα τον Ἀμενωφιν εἰσποιησας ἐμβολιμον βασιλεα, φησι τουτον ἐπιθυμησαι Θεων γενεσθαι Θεατην, ὡσπερ Ὡρ εἰς των προ αὐτου βεβασιλευκοτων. ἀνενεγκειν δε την ἐπιθυμιαν ὁμωνυμω μεν αὐτω Ἀμενωφει, πατρος δε Πααπιος ὀντι, Θειας δε δοκουντι μετεσχηκεναι φυσεως, κατα τε σοφιαν και προγνωσιν των ἐσομενων. εἰπειν οὐν αὐτω τουτον τον ὁμωνυμον, ὁτι δυνησεται τους Θεους ἰδειν, εἰ καθαραν ἀπο τε λεπρων και των μιαρων ἀνθρωπων την χωραν ἀπασαν ποιησειεν. ἡσθεντα δε τον βασιλεα, παντας τους τα σωματα λελωβημενους ἐκ της Αἰγυπτου συναγαγειν, γενεσθαι δε του πληθους μυριαδας ὁκτω. και τουτους εἰς τας λιθοτομιας ἐν τω προς ἀνατολην μερει του νειλου ἐμβαλειν αὐτον, ὁπως ἐργαζοιντο και των ἀλλων Αἰγυπτιων οἱ ἐγκεχωρισμενοι. εἰναι δε τινας ἐν αὐτοις και των λογιων ἱερεων φησι, λεπρα συγκεχυμενους. τον δε Ἀμενωφιν ἐκεινον τον σοφον και μαντικον ἀνδρα ὑποδεισθαι προς αὐτον τε και τον βασιλεα χολον των Θεων εἰ βιασθεντες ὀφθησονται, και προθεμενον εἰπειν, ὁτι συμμαχησουσι τινες τοις μιαροις, και της Αἰγυπτου κρατησουσιν ἐπ' ἐτη δεκατρια. μη τολμησαι μεν αὐτον εἰπειν ταυτα τω βασιλει. γραφην δε καταλιποντα περι παντων ἑαυτον ἀνελειν. ἐν ἀθυμια δε εἰναι τον βασιλεα. κἀπειτα κατα λεξιν οὐτω γεγραφεν. των δε ταις λατομιαις ὡς χρονος ἱκανος διηλθε ταλαιπωρουντων, ἀξιωθεις ὁ βασιλευς, ἱνα προς καταλυσιν αὐτοις και σκεπην ἀπομερισῃ, την τοτε των ποιμενων ἐρημωθεισαν Ἀβαριν συνεχωρησεν. ἐστι δ' ἡ πολις κατα την Θεολογιαν ἀνωθεν Τυφωνιος. οἱ δε εἰς ταυτην εἰσελθοντες, και τον τοπον τουτον εἰς ἀποστασιν ἐχοντες, ἡγεμονα αὐτων λεγομενον τινα των Ἡλιοπολιτων ἱερεων Ὀσαρσυφον ἐστησαντο, και τουτω πειθαρχησοντες ἐν πασιν ὡρκομοτησαν." It cannot be denied that there was almost as much reason for the Egyptians to retain a perpetual remembrance of the migration of the Children of Israel from Egypt, as the Jews themselves: and if in the age of Josephus and of Apion they had quite forgotten every circumstance connected with it, we can only express our wonder, and attribute the recollection of it, which was ever present in the minds of the Jews, to the unceasing sacrifices which were instituted by Moses in commemoration of that event: which sacrifices, although calculated to attain the object proposed, nevertheless inspired the ancient philosophers with a detestation for Judaism; and, as the Abbé Dubois asserts in the following passage extracted from his *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, greatly retard even now the progress of Christianity amongst the natives of Hindostan.

"To you who have some acquaintance with the education and customs of the Hindoos, I will put the following simple questions:

"What will a well-bred native think, when, in reading over this holy book, he sees that Abraham, after receiving the visit of three angels under a human shape, entertains his guests by causing a calf to be killed, and served to them for their fare? The prejudiced Hindoo will at once judge that both Abraham and his heavenly guests were nothing but vile pariahs; and, without further reading, he will forthwith throw away the book, containing (in his opinion,) such sacrilegious accounts.

"What will a Brahmin say, when he peruses the details of the bloody sacrifices prescribed in the Mosaical law in the worship of the true God? He will assuredly declare, that the God who could be pleased with the shedding of the blood of so many victims immolated to his honour, must undoubtedly be a deity of the same kind (far be from me the blasphemy) as the mischievous Hindoo deities, Cohly, Mahry, Darma-rajah, and other infernal gods, whose wrath cannot be appeased but by the shedding of blood, and the immolating of living victims.

"But, above all, what will a Brahmin or any other well-bred Hindoo think, when he peruses in our holy books the account of the immolating of creatures held most sacred by him? What will be his feelings, when he sees that the immolating of oxen and bulls constituted a leading feature in the religious ordinances of the Israelites, and that the blood of those most sacred animals was almost daily shed at the shrine of the God they adored? What will be his feelings when he sees, that after Solomon had at immense expense and labour built a magnificent temple in honour of the true God, he made the *pratista* or consecration of it, by causing twenty-two thousand oxen to be slaughtered, and overflowing his new temple with the blood of these sacred victims? He will certainly in perusing accounts (in his opinion so horribly sacrilegious,) shudder, and be seized with the liveliest horror, look on the book containing such shocking details as an abominable work, (far be from me, once more, the blasphemy, I am expressing the feelings of a prejudiced Pagan,) throw it away with indignation, consider himself as polluted for having touched it, go immediately to the river for the purpose of purifying himself by ablutions from the defilement he thinks he has contracted; and before he again enters his house, he will send for a Poorohita Brahmin to perform the requisite ceremonies for purifying it from the defilement it has contracted, by ignorantly keeping within its walls so polluted a thing as the Bible.

"In the mean while he will become more and more confirmed in the idea, that a religion which derives its tenets from so impure a scource is altogether detestable; and that those who profess it, must be the basest and vilest of men."—*Letters on the State of Christianity in India, by the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore*, p. 30.

and that perception exists by reason of the blood: for each of the elements has authority in its favour, except earth; and no one has been of opinion that the soul was that element, unless some may have said that it was a combination of all the elements, or all the elements themselves." It may here be remarked, that those authors who have most minutely described the sacrificial rites of the Mexicans, all agree that to sprinkle the blood of the victim "rociar le sangre," to smear it upon the walls of the temple *, and to anoint the face of the idol, and altar with it, were ceremonies performed by the officiating priests. Cortes tells Charles the Fifth, that on his first visit to the greater temple of Mexico, his companions discovered with horror that the interior walls of its chapels were encrusted with blood. Blood was also employed in the consecration of the high priest of the Totonacas. And Torquemada says that his head was anointed with it, as Moses anointed with blood the heads of Aaron and of his sons.—*Monarquia Indiana*, vol. ii. p. 180. The interpreter of the *Codex Vaticanus* is of opinion that the ceremonies of the Mexicans, as well as their sacrifices, may be urged as a proof of their being descended from the Jews. Garcia, in his famous *Treatise on the Origin of the Indians*, adopts in part that opinion: in part, it is necessary to add; for the conclusion to which his deep researches led him was, that the Indians of America, whether Mexicans, Peruvians, or others, were a mixed race descended from many different nations. He says in the Introduction to the third book of the *Origin of the Indians*, "Many have supposed, and the Spaniards generally who reside in the Indies believe, that the Indians proceed from the ten Jewish tribes who were lost in the captivity of Salmanazar king of Assyria, of whom Rabbi Schimon Luzati, who is named Sincha by Bartolocio, says, nothing is certain, nor is it known where they dwell. This opinion is grounded on the disposition, nature, and customs of the Indians, which they have found to be very similar to those of the Hebrews: and although learned men condemn, and are uninclined to assent to such a belief, I nevertheless have bestowed great diligence upon the verification of this truth (en averiguar *esta verdad*); and I can affirm that I have laboured in this more than in any other part of my work: and from what I have found thereto relating, I shall lay such foundations for the edifice and structure of this opinion and hypothesis, as will be well able to sustain its weight." The entire of Garcia's third book of the *Origin of the Indians* treats accordingly of the likeness which, in their laws, their customs, their moral qualities and habits, their ceremonies, their sacrifices, their mutual inclination to idolatry, and even in their early history,—the two nations bore to each other. In the first chapter he criticizes the passage of the apocryphal Book of Esdras, which induced the Jews themselves to think that they had colonized America; and others to treat with grave attention that singular history: the manner in which they might have crossed from the one continent to the other is also a subject of discussion. In the sixth chapter, which is the most curious of all, (a translation of which will be found in the Supplement †,) he institutes a comparison between the Jewish moral and ceremonial laws and those of the Mexicans, and shows how nearly in many respects they agreed. In the seventh he compares the Hebrew language with some of the American idioms: and in the eighth he replies, to some objections of Acosta.

It is sufficient in this place, in order more fully to corroborate the opinion of the interpreter of the Vatican

* The blood of the paschal lamb smeared on the door-posts was the sign which, when the destroying angel beheld, he was commanded to pass over the houses of the Israelites, when he slew the first-born of the Egyptians: and hence the origin of the Feast of the Passover, the most solemn of all the Jewish festivals, and of an institution commemorative of that signal act of Divine vengeance when the innocent died in the room of the guilty. No wonder that the Jews should ever afterwards have retained the recollection of this wonderful interposition of Heaven in their favour; and that in revolving ages, when the American soil was fated to be polluted with their accursed rites, they should have recorded in paintings the thick darkness that overspread Egypt, the sad prelude to maternal woe, and that the "*mighty hand and stretched-out arm*" should frequently be represented in their superstitious calendars. Boturini remarks, in the 52nd page of his *Idea of a New General History of America*, that the Mexicans were accustomed in the month of Hueytozoztli to sprinkle blood on the door-posts of their houses. And Sahagun makes mention of the same ceremony: "La fiesta se hacia al Dios Cinteotl, Dios del maiz, enramando lo exterior de los templos, casas, y puertas de juncos; *pero los de las puertas era preciso fuessen ensangrentados* de aquella sangre que se sacaban de las orejas y espinillas." "The festival was celebrated in honour of the god Cinteotl, who was the God of maize, on which occasion they strewed rushes on the outside of their temples, houses, and doors; but they were obliged to smear *the outsides of their doors with blood* which they had drawn from their ears and ankles." Cinteotle, it may be observed, was the god of harvest or of first-fruits, who was probably the same as Tonacatecutli, who is elsewhere named the God of abundance. The Mexicans, as Clavigero remarks, were fond of bestowing many epithets on the same deity, thereby denoting his various attributes. Hueytozoztli signifies, according to Boturini, "Sangria grande," (The great festival of the shedding of blood.)

† The original chapter is inserted in the Supplement.

Codex, to notice some few analogies which Garcia has pointed out; to which we shall add some others which have been mentioned by other writers. And first, with respect to the famous migration of the Mexicans from Aztlan to the country of Anahuac, which Garcia says was so like the pilgrimage of the Children of Israel from Egypt, that there were not wanting those who affirmed that the Indians had feigned the one after having heard of the other, "que no falta quien diga haverle fingido los Indios haviendo oido este;"—he observes, "From the Mexican history, and that which is related by Father Acosta, and Brother Augustin Davila the archbishop of Saint Domingo, it is evident that that people performed a pilgrimage and migration similar to that of the Children of Israel; so much so, that there have not been wanting those who have affirmed that the Indians feigned the one, after having heard of the other: for they say that the Mexican nation, which was that which arrived in New Spain from the Seventh Cave or lineage, departed from the provinces of Aztlan and Theuculhuacan by command of the idol named Vitzilopuztli, or rather of the Devil, who was in the idol whom they adored as God. He therefore commanded them to leave their country, promising them that he would make them princes and lords of all the provinces which the other six nations, whose departure had preceded theirs, had peopled; that he would give them a very abundant land, with gold, silver, precious stones, feathers, and rich mantles in profusion. They accordingly set out carrying their idol with them in an ark made of rushes, which was borne by four priests, with whom he communicated privately; informing them of the events of the journey, advising them of what was to happen, giving them laws, and teaching them rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices, causing the heaven to rain bread, and drawing from the rock water to quench their thirst,—with other marvels resembling those which God wrought in favour of the Children of Israel. They never proceeded a step without the approbation and command of this idol as to when they should journey on and where they should halt; and what he told them, they punctually obeyed. The first thing that they did wheresoever they stopped, was to prepare a habitation for their false god; and they always placed him in the middle of a tabernacle which they pitched, the ark being placed always upon an altar of the same form as that used in the Christian church. This having been done, they sowed the ground with corn and the other leguminous plants in use amongst them: but so implicitly did they obey their god, that if it seemed good to him that they should gather it, they gathered it; if not, on his commanding them to raise the camp, they left it all there for seed, and for the support of the old and of the infirm and weary, whom they intentionally left behind wherever they settled, pretending that thus the whole land would remain peopled by their nation.—Who will not own that this departure and migration of the Mexicans resembles the departure and pilgrimage of the Children of Israel from Egypt? since these, like those, were admonished to go forth and to seek a land of promise; and both the one and the other took with them their god as their guide, and consulted him in an ark, and built him a tabernacle: and accordingly he advised them and gave them laws and ceremonies, and they each in the same manner spent many years before they arrived at the promised land;—and that in this and in many other things there is a resemblance in what the Mexican histories relate to that which Holy Scripture informs us of the Israelites? And without doubt this is the case."—*Origen de los Indios,* lib. iii. cap. iii. sec. 5.

Acosta gives the following nearly similar account of the migration and pilgrimage of the ancestors of the Mexicans: "Annis ab exodo sex harum familiarum 320 elapsis, postquam Novam Hispaniam condidissent et habitassent, populosque certis statutis legibus coegissent: septima quoque familia natio Mexicana postmodum facta, ex antro suo egressa, per provincias Aztlan et Teculhuacan tetendit. Populus hic politicus, agilis, amabilis ac bellicosus erat. Hic simulachrum Vitzliputzli, de quo in prioribus multoties diximus, præcipue adorabat. Diabolus vero, qui per hoc idolum gentes istas regebat et moderabatur, mandatum ipsis dederat, ut sedes patrias deserentes, oras alias quærerent; et promiserat simul, quod eos principes ac dominos facturus esset omnium illarum provinciarum, quas sex priores familiæ coluissent. Terram enim se daturum iis perfœcundam, et tum auro ac argento, gemmisque, et rebus similibus nimiopere diffluentem. Pollicitis ergo his capti populi isti, solum avitum reliquerunt, et indagandis peregrinis terris sese accinxerunt, simulachrum suum quoquo versum secum proferentes, quod quatuor primarii sacerdotes in arcâ quâdam ex scirpis contextâ jugiter portabant. His vero sacerdotibus idolum omnia, quæ in peregrinatione eventura erant, secreto revelabat et simul, quâ arte singula declinanda essent, docebat. Sed et leges singulares, ac cultus ceremoniasque et sacrificia, quovis tempore præstanda, iis proponebat. Sine hujus consensu suasuque ne latum quidem pedem promovere audebant. Nam et quâ procederent, et ubi residerent, simulachrum subinde quasi digito ipsis designabat. Cujus quidem consilium in universis præcise sequi illos oportebat. Si quo loco habitandi gratiâ desiderent, primum omnium, quod aggrederentur, opus erat, ut idolo suo tabernaculum

conderent. Hoc in castrorum medio locabatur. Ara vero, cui simulachrum imponebatur, ad papisticarum ararum similitudinem extructa erat. Sacris constitutis, agrorum quoque curam habebant, quos frumento, pisisque, ac similibus conserebant. Idoli sui nutum tam serio attendebant, ut inconsulto ipso nihil agerent. Messem ipso suadente, metebant, discessionem imperante, castra nullâ morâ, frugibus universis in agris relictis, promovebant. Quas tamen, qui vel ægri, vel grandævi, vel timidiores in illis locis relinquerentur, in suos postea usus colligebant. Horum siquidem plurimos certo consilio post se subinde restites linquebant ut de gente suâ ac natione terræ quævis implerentur. Hæc Mexicanorum peregrinatio, filiorum Israël ex Ægypto egressui quâdam tenus similis videtur; quibus et ipsismet injunctum erat, ut terram benedictam occupatum egrederentur, deum suum in nube ducem, et in arcâ fœderis suasorem attente observantes. Idem quoque populus, priusquam in promissam terram veniret, multis annis vagatus est. Sic ergo non in hoc saltem, verum et in plerisque aliis, quorum in historiâ Mexicanâ mentio fit, quædam cum iis, quæ in Sacrâ Scripturâ de filiis Israël narrantur, similitudo et convenientia reperiebatur. Ex quibus manifestum est, Sathanam omnis fastus ac superbiæ principem execrandâ cacoseliâ Deum Creatorem semper in omnibus æmulari studuisse. Diabolus vero nullus usquam repertus aut cognitus fuit, qui miseros homines aut crudelius habuerit, ac ad cultus ac sacrificia immaniora et sceleratiora compulerit unquam, ac unus hic Mexicanorum Vitzliputzli. Qui populos hos ducebat, Mexi, summus quasi princeps vocabatur, unde postea et Mexico, et Mexicanorum nomen enatum est; cœterum hic quoque populus priorum exemplo lento gradu et velut interpolato itinere processit. Discretis enim aliquot locis sese dimisit, et agros coluit, sevitque et messuit, et habitacula condidit, sicuti vestigia horum in multis locis conspicua sunt. Tandem vero multis exantlatis laboribus ac periculis, in provinciam Mechoacam, id est, piscosam, delati, cum loci conditio et fertilitas omnibus arrideret, ibi castra metari decreverunt. At vero, cum quid facerent idolum consuluissent, hinc pergere jussi sunt. Devotis tamen obtestationibus ac supplicationibus id ab eo tandem impetrarunt ut aliquos de populo suo saltem ibi relinquere liceret, qui terram illam fœcundam ararent ac excolerent. Quibus annuens, quâ id industriâ facerent, instructionem simul necessariam idolum dabat. Ibidem ergo, cum populi insignis pars tam viri quam fœminæ in lacum Pazcuaro lavatum abiissent, cæteris idolum hoc consilium dedit, ut lavantibus clam vestes surriperent, et sine strepitu tumultuque motis castris inde abscederent. Hoc facto, cum cæteri balneo suaviter refecti, ex lacu rursus ascenderent, surreptas vestes simul et se lusos animadvertentes, non solum ærumnas suas ingenti dolore et ploratu luxerunt, sed erga profugos tam acerbo, et internecino odio exarserunt, ut et habitum simul et sermonem patrium mutarent. Ita enim factum esse historia testatur. Hoc tamen ad minimum est certissimum, Mechoacanos Mexicanorum hostes acerrimos semper extitisse. Unde Marchioni quoque de Valle, cum Mexicanos domuisset et fudisset, singulariter gratulati sunt." *Indiæ Occidentalis Historia.* Lib. vii. cap. iv.

The following more detailed description of the Mexican migration is taken from the second book of Torquemada's *Indian Monarchy:* "According to the paintings which the most curious of these Indians possessed, and which at present I have, it appears that in order to come from the former country which they forsook, to that which they now inhabit, they crossed some great river or small streight and arm of the sea, the picture of which seems to represent an island situated midway in the channel which it intersects. Deferring to another opportunity the expression of my own sentiments, and the opinion which I have formed as to who these nations may have been who have peopled this province of New Spain, which is the reason why I treat of that site; I now say that the principal cause of their undertaking this long journey and encountering the difficulties of the road, was, as they fabulously relate,—a bird which frequently appeared to them singing upon a tree, and repeating a note which they chose fancifully to construe into the word *tihui,* which means Now let us go; and as this note was repeated for many days and very frequently, a person, who was the *wisest* of their race and lineage, named Huitziton, turned the matter in his mind; and meditating on it, thought fit to avail himself of this song as a pretext for his intentions, saying that it was an invitation which some concealed deity gave them through the song of that bird: and in order to have a companion and coadjutor in his designs, he communicated the circumstance to another person named Tecpatzin, and said to him, Perhaps you are not aware of what the bird says to us. Tecpatzin replied that he was not. On which Huitziton said, What that bird commands us is, that we should go with it: it is therefore fit that we should obey and follow it. Tecpatzin, who had listened as well as Huitziton to the song of the bird, came over to his opinion; and the two together acquainted the people with the matter, who, persuaded of the great good fortune which awaited them, from the over exaggerations which these two knew how to employ, quitted their habitations, and followed the fortune which futurity had in store for them. Although all were of the same race and lineage,

still they did not all compose a single family, but were divided into four tribes: the first of which was called the Mexicans; the second, the Tlacochcalcas; the third, the Chalmecas; and the fourth, the Calpilcas. Others say that these families were nine; namely, the Chalcese, the Matlatzincas, the Tepanecas, the Malinalcese, the Xochmilcas, the Cuitlahuacs, the Chichimecas, the Mizquics, and the Mexicans. It is affirmed also by others, that the note *tihui* was only heard by Huitziton and Tecpatzin, but that that which uttered it was invisible. But however that may have been, since it is all fabulous, that which may hence be reasonably inferred and concluded is, that all agree as to their departure at the persuasion of something that instigated them. The Aztecas therefore quitted their country under the guidance of Tecpatzin and Huitziton, in the first year of their first cycle, for they commenced the computation of their years from that period; and proceeded some stages on their journey, in which they employed the space of a year, at the end of which they arrived at a place called Hueyculhuacan, where they remained three years. In this place and site they say that the Devil appeared to them in the form of an idol, declaring to them that it was he who had brought them out of the land of Aztlan, and that they should carry him along with them, as he would be their god and would favour them in every thing; and that they should know that his name was Huitzilopuchtli, who, as we have said in another part, is he whom the Gentiles named Mars the god of battles. He desired them to make him a chair and seat, in which they might carry him; which they immediately formed out of reeds: and ordered that four should be chosen from amongst themselves to be his servants; for which office Quauhcohuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, and Chimalman, were named: and the supreme chiefs who directed the troop were Huitziton and Tecpatzin, who were the heads of these families. All these arrangements afforded great satisfaction to the Aztecas, who perceived that now they should not pursue their journey blindfold, but should carry with them their god who would guide them, whose servants they named Theotlamacaztin, and the seat on which he was placed Teoycpalli, and the act of carrying him on their shoulders Theomama. This being the beginning of the Devil's proceedings amongst this people, they marched from that place to another, where they relate that there was a very large and thick tree where he caused them to stop, at the trunk of which they made a small altar upon which they placed the idol, for so the Devil commanded, and they sat down under its shade to eat: but whilst occupied in eating, a loud sound proceeded from the tree, and it cracked in the middle. The Aztecas, terrified at this sudden accident, considered it a bad omen; and surrendering themselves up to affliction, terminated their repast. And the chiefs of the families, doubtful as to the event, consulted their god, who taking aside those whom they now name Mexicans, said to them, Dismiss the eight families, and tell them that they may proceed on their journey, for that you wish to remain here and not to pass on further at present. The Mexicans did so: and although they felt regret at forsaking the others, inasmuch as they were all brothers and friends, and at rejecting their entreaties praying that they might all proceed together, they left them, and they prosecuted their journey.

"The one party being now separated from the other, the Mexicans, with whom the idol and god Huitzilopuchtli had remained, went to him, and asked him what he intended to do with them. On this, the Devil, who they say spoke by the mouth of the idol, replied, You are now apart and separated from the rest; and accordingly I wish, that as my chosen people you should no longer call yourselves Aztecas but Mexicans. And here it was that they first took the name of Mexicans. And at the same time that he changed their name, he put as a sign on their faces and on their ears a plaster of turpentine covered with feathers, stopping their ears by means of it; and he likewise presented them with a bow and arrows, and a Chitatli, which is a net in which they put Tecomates and Xicaras, telling them that these were the instruments which should prevail among them,—which was the case; for a bow and arrows are emblematical of wars. And they judged that he desired to typify to them, that with the bow, arrows, and warlike weapons, they should conquer many enemies, and make themselves lords of great provinces and kingdoms: and by the net they say that he signified the place and goal where they had to stop, which was the Lake of Mexico, where as soon as they arrived they became fishermen. With these insignia they proceeded on their way; the other eight families having gone before them, journeying on themselves by slow degrees. The place where the event which has been mentioned in the preceding chapter occurred, was called Chicomoztoc, which signifies The site and place of the Seven Caves; in which place they remained nine years. And hence it remains proved that the Mexicans, and all the other nations and families who came to people New Spain, do not derive their origin and beginning from these Seven Caves: since we have seen, by what has been said, that it was merely a place in which they dwelt in huts for the space and period of nine years. Wherefore Father Acosta, not possessing a complete account of the due succession of

these years, says, in the seventh book of his *Moral Philosophy*, that they derive their origin from these Seven Caves. Neither do the Indians absolutely affirm that by a cave they mean their origin and descent; whom Antonio de Herrera, the principal historiographer of the Indies, follows, in the second book, third decad, and tenth chapter, of his *History*. And I repeat the same of the historian Gomara, in his work entitled *The Conquest of Mexico;* where he says that the Mexicans proceeded from a country called Chicomoztoc, and that all the Mexicans and Nahuatlacas were sprung from a common father of the name of Iztacmixcohuatl; since, as we shall presently see, what that author there states is not verified. Leaving therefore these three writers in this place until we meet them in some other, let us pass on with the Mexicans from these Seven Caves to another place named Cohuatlycamac, where they stayed three years. In this place they say that the Devil practised a device upon them, which, although in itself insignificant, was the cause of great contention between them all.—There appeared in the middle of their tents and encampments two Quimillis, (which are two little bundles); and being desirous of knowing what was wrapped up within them, they proceeded to untie one of them, and found in the inside a very rich and precious stone, which shone with the brilliant lustre of the emerald. On seeing it so rich they were all amazed at beholding it; and each being covetous to possess it, the entire people were divided into two factions. Huitziton, who chanced to be present and was their principal leader, perceiving that they contended together on the subject of to which party the stone should belong, said to them, I am surprised, Mexicans, that you should set up such strong and violent opposition to each other on such slight and trivial grounds, without knowing the end that by so doing you propose to yourselves; but since there is another bundle before you, untie and open it, and you will see what it contains; and it is possible that it may be something more valuable, so that esteeming that more, you will value this less. Both the contending parties approved of the reasoning of Huitziton; they untied the Quimilli, and found in it two pieces of wood only: but as they did not sparkle as the stone sparkled, they set no value upon them, and returned to their former subject of contention. But Huitziton, who was the person who practised these frauds on the people and then explained their meaning, perceiving that that party which was afterwards called the Tlatelulcas were so obstinate in wishing to have the stone, told the others, with whom the appellation of Mexicans henceforward remained, to put away the cause of difference and to relinquish the stone to the Tlatelulcas, and to take themselves the two pieces of wood, since they would be much more necessary and of much greater value in the course of their journey, as they would presently perceive. They believing the words of Huitziton, took the pieces of wood, and gave the stone to the others; and thus they became reconciled. The Mexicans, anxious to know the secret of these pieces of wood, requested Huitziton to discover it to them. He, desirous of pacifying them, took them, and applying the one to the other, kindled fire with them; at which all present remained greatly astonished, for they never had seen any similar thing; and from that time the art of procuring fire in that way was known. It even further happened from this incident, that those who had obtained the stone repented of their choice, and wished to exchange bundles; but as the secret was discovered, the Mexicans would not consent, and each remained in possession of his own. From this time, although all these Aztecas continued their journey in one body, there no longer existed the same feelings of fraternity and friendship as before; for after this cause of dissension they retained sentiments of rancour and hatred the one against the other, and were split into parties, and without unanimity. Having left this place by the command of the Devil, they arrived at another, where they remained three years: from thence they passed on to Matlahuacallan, where they remained three other years; and thence to Apanco, where they rested five. They found in this place a numerous people, who chose to oppose the entrance of the new-comers as of men who were strangers to them; but Huitzilopuchtli, (who on every occasion favoured the Mexicans,) they say, protected and aided them until he rendered them masters of the place; dispossessing the former inhabitants of it, causing the waters of a brook that ran in the neighbourhood to overflow so violently, that if they had not made their escape with all possible speed, those who dwelt thereabouts would certainly have been drowned; who perceiving themselves deprived of their land and city in this manner, passed onwards and came to this district near the lake, instigated perhaps by some diabolical oracle. After the departure of those who had before inhabited the place, Huitzilopochtli told his people that he had performed that deed in order that the tribes who were dispossessed of their lands might proceed to cultivate those of the lake. It so happened likewise about this time, that a woman named Quilaztli, who accompanied them and who was a great sorceress, who by devilish art, they say, could transform herself into any form she pleased, wished to practise a jest upon the two captains and leaders, one of whom was named Mixcohuatl, and the other Xiuhnel, to whom, when engaged in hunting in the plain, she

appeared in the shape of a very beautiful and large eagle perched upon a Hueynochtli, which is a tree which we Spaniards call a Cimborio: and when the captains saw her they wished to shoot their arrows at her, thinking that she was in reality a natural eagle; and being on the point of discharging them, the witch, perceiving the danger and risk to which she was exposed, addressed them, saying, Captains, my object, as far as it was to turn you into ridicule, has been sufficiently attained; do not shoot me, since I am your sister Quilaztli, and of your people. The captains were indignant at her having turned them into ridicule, and told her that she deserved death for the jest she had practised upon them. She answered them, that if they wished to kill her they might try what they could do, but that she some day or other would be revenged. They made her no reply and departed, and she remained sitting on the tree, each retaining mutual bitter feelings. The time having now arrived for their departure from this place, by the command of the oracle they proceeded to another called Chimalco, where they remained six years; and on the fourth year after their arrival there the sorceress Quilaztli, recollecting the animosity which existed between her and the two captains before mentioned in their former place of residence, reflected on the grievance which she had received in the tunal tree when they wished to kill her; and dressing herself in warlike attire, went to them, and thinking to intimidate them, said to them, Now, you know me that I am Quilaztli, and you may think that your quarrel with me is such as you might have had with any other vile and mean-spirited woman; and if this is your opinion, you are deceived; for I am courageous and of a manly mind, and by my names you shall know who I am and my great force: for if you know me by the name of Quilaztli, which is the common name by which you call me, I have four other names by which I know myself. The first of which is Cohuacihuatl, which signifies the serpent-woman; the second, Quauhcihuatl, the eagle-woman; the third, Yaocihuatl, the warlike woman; and the fourth, Tzitzimicihuatl, which means the infernal woman: and according to the properties contained in these four names you shall see who I am, and the power which I possess and the evil which I can do to you: and if you wish to submit this truth to a trial by hands, I here challenge you to the combat. The two courageous captains, without fearing the arrogant words with which Quilaztli sought to intimidate them, replied: If you are as courageous as you represent yourself, we are not less so; but you are a woman, and there is no reason why it should be said of us that we take up arms against women. And without saying more to her they left her, displeased at seeing that a woman defied them: and they kept the matter a secret, that the people might not know it.

"At the expiration of the two following years, during which they resided there sowing and reaping and consuming the produce of their labours, they set out for another place, named Pipiolcomic, where they remained three years; and from thence they came to the place which they call Tulla. In this place they spent nine years, where they arrived much diminished in numbers, on account of having left behind them in the various places in which they sojourned on their journey many persons, old as well as young, whom they thus left behind as they proceeded, for prudential causes. Many traces exist in all these countries towards the North of this migration; of which I have seen, seven leagues to the south of Cacatecas, edifices and ruins of ancient habitations the greatest and most superb that can be imagined, of which we shall make mention in another place. I only notice them here as a proof of the edifices which they built, and of the people whom they left behind in the course of their long travels. Having arrived therefore at Tulla, and being desirous of making a considerable stay in that place, since it appeared to them that they had now made a very long pilgrimage, they chose a site close to a mountain named Cohuatepec, which signifies The Mountain of Serpents. Having there settled, the idol commanded the priests *in a dream* to dam up the water of a very large river that ran in the neighbourhood, in order that it might overflow the whole plain and encompass on every side the mountain where they dwelt, for that he desired to give them a sample of the country and habitation which he had promised to them. The dam having been made, the water spread and overflowed the whole plain, forming a very beautiful lake, surrounded with willows, poplars, and osiers which very shortly afterwards sprung up. It produced likewise rushes and reeds, and began to have great abundance of fish and water-fowl, such as ducks, herons, and widgeons, with which the whole lake was covered; and with many other sorts of birds, which at the present day the lake of Mexico plentifully supplies. The site likewise became covered with sedges and aquatic flowers, to which different kinds of thrushes resorted, some of scarlet plumage and others orange, whose melody, together with the songs of the birds scattered through the groves, which was no less sweet, rendered the place extremely delightful and agreeable. The Mexicans being in possession of so delicious a habitation, and forgetful of what the idol had told them,—that that site was only a sample and specimen of the

land which he intended to give them, began to think in concert with some amongst them who said that they ought always to dwell there, and that that was the place chosen by their god Huitzilopochtli, who from thence would put all his intentions into execution, being the lord of the four quarters of the earth. They relate that the idol was so angry at this, that he said to his servants, Why do they thus wish to transgress and oppose my will and commands? Are they perchance greater than me? Tell them, that I will take vengeance upon them before the morning, in order that they may not be so presumptuous as to give their opinion on any thing which I have determined, and that all may know that me alone they have to obey. These words having been pronounced, they affirm that they beheld the countenance of the idol so frightful and terrible that it struck great fear and terror into them all. They relate that on that night, whilst all were reposing, they heard in a quarter of the camp a great noise; and going to the spot in the morning, they found all those who had proposed the expediency of remaining in that place dead, with their breasts opened, and their hearts alone taken out: and he then *taught them* that most cruel kind of *sacrifice* which they have always used, of opening men's breasts and taking out the heart, which they presented to their idols, declaring that their god ate no other part of the sacrifice but the heart, as we have said elsewhere. Huitzilopuchtli having inflicted this chastisement upon them, commanded his false priests to break down the dam and mounds of the piece of water which formed the lake, and to allow the river, the course of which they had stopped, to run into its old channel, which they immediately did; and the whole lake emptying itself in that way, dry ground remained in its stead. After the lapse of some time, considering that the anger of their god would now have passed away, they consulted him, and he commanded them to raise the camp: and accordingly they departed from the boundaries of Tulla, and marched in the direction of the Great Lake of Mexico, in the same order and manner as has been described."

It is unnecessary to transcribe at greater length Torquemada's account of the Mexican migration. But as the authority of Herrera, the royal historiographer of the Indies, will have considerable weight with those who consider that his office must have given him access to a variety of curious documents relative to America, it may be proper to add what he says in the tenth and eleventh chapters of the second book of his Third Decad of the same migration: "Three hundred and two years had elapsed since the six lineages which have been mentioned quitted their country and peopled New Spain, where they had already greatly increased in number,—when those of the seventh lineage, who were the Mexicans, a civilized and warlike nation, arrived there; and as they worshipped the god Vitzilipuztli, he commanded them to leave their country, promising them dominion over the other tribes in a fertile and very rich land. They carried this idol in an ark of reeds (en una arca de juncia) on the shoulders of four priests, who taught them rites and sacrifices and gave them laws; and without his approbation they did not proceed a step. When they halted, they made an altar like that in use in the Catholic church, and placed the ark of the idol upon it in the middle of the camp: and they observed his directions respecting the cultivation of the ground, habitations, and other matters; for never did Devil hold such familiar converse with men as he: and accordingly he thought proper in all things to copy the departure from Egypt and the pilgrimage performed by the Children of Israel. The name of the chief who conducted this people was Mexi, from whence the proper name Mexico is derived. Wandering therefore about as long a time as the other tribes had done, cultivating the ground and making settlements, and encountering many dangers, they arrived at the province of Mechoacan, which name signifies The Place of Fish, on account of the many and beautiful lakes which it contains; and the land contenting them, they wished to remain in it: but as the idol would not allow them, although he gave his consent that they should leave there some of their nation, they passed on; who, as it appeared to them that they had been left behind deserted by the others, were always enemies of the Mexicans. This tribe having departed from Mechoacan, complained to the idol of a woman in the camp who was so great a sorceress that she wished to cause herself to be worshipped as a goddess. The idol commanded one of the priests who carried the ark to comfort the people, and to tell them to leave that woman and her family behind. Travelling on, therefore, without leaving any traces of their road, the sorceress, perceiving that she had been abandoned by them, settled in a place called Malinalco; and henceforward the inhabitants of that city were considered great sorcerers.

"The Mexicans having considerably diminished in numbers, stopped in order to recruit their strength in Tula, which name signifies The Place of the Tuna; and the idol commanded them to cause a river to overflow a large plain: and by the industry which he infused into them they surrounded the mountain called Coatepec with water, and made a vast lake, which they encircled with plantations and trees; and with the fish and the birds with which

it abounded the place became very delightful: on which account they wished to fix their abode in it. At which the Devil being incensed, commanded the priests to let the river flow in its former bed: and choosing to chastise the disobedient, they heard at midnight a noise in a certain part of the camp; and in the morning they found those dead who had discussed the question of remaining there, with their breasts opened and their hearts taken out; which they say was the occasion of their being taught to perform ever afterwards a similar kind of sacrifice. This punishment having been inflicted on them, and perceiving the plain converted into dry land on account of the water of the lake having been drained off, they proceeded with the consent of their god to Capultepec, an agreeable and verdant place situated about the distance of a league and a half from Mexico, where they fortified themselves. The other nations, instigated by the descendants of the sorceress of Malinalco, wished by force of arms to drive them from thence; but behaving with valour they passed on to Atlacuyabaca, a town belonging to the Culuas, and there entrenched themselves."

It will be perceived that this account of the Mexican migration by Herrera, though very brief, corresponds nearly in all its circumstances with the others. It is much to be regretted that an important chapter in Torquemada's *Indian Monarchy*, which would have thrown much more light on this subject, should never have been allowed to be printed. This chapter, forming the first of the second book of the *Indian Monarchy*, the place of which is supplied in the printed editions by the second chapter, was inscribed "De como el Demonio quiso remedar á Dios, escogiendo pueblo, el qual fundo en los Mexicanos." "How it has been the wish of the Devil to substitute himself in the place of God, by taking a chosen people, which he constituted in the Mexicans." The editor of the second edition of the *Indian Monarchy* calls this chapter "el fundamento ó clave de la idea de esta obra," "the foundation or key to the work:" and says in his Preface, that he extremely regretted being obliged to omit it; but that he did not think it *convenient to request license to publish it.* But he shortly afterwards adds, that his regret had diminished on finding the same conception delineated with greater brevity and clearness by the learned Garcia, of the order of Friar Preachers, in his exquisite treatise concerning the Origin of the Indians. He then inserts in the Preface the passage from the fifth section of the third chapter of the third book of the Origin of the Indians, which contains an account of the Mexican migration, omitting the sentence, "i tanto que no falta quien diga haverle fingido los Indios, haviendo oido este;" alledging as his reason for inserting this passage, that "he wished to cite to the letter the authority of so learned a man; not only in order to supply the deficient chapter, although Father Augustin de Betancur follows more closely in his Theatro Mexicano the author; but that this work may more easily be understood, which treats of this subject as a proposed matter of discussion, and in order that no one may judge that to have been neglect which was *obedience.*" We learn from these expressions of the editor, that he had perused the first chapter of the second book of the *Indian Monarchy*, and that on comparing the accounts given by Garcia and Betancur of the same migration of the Mexicans, he found that they nearly corresponded with Torquemada's; but that although Betancur's was more conformable to that contained in the omitted chapter, he preferred, on account of its *conciseness* and the greater celebrity of its author, to insert that taken from Garcia.

Of Betancur's relation we can say nothing, not having had the opportunity of consulting the *Theatro Mexicano;* but it may be found in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of the second part of that work; and it probably points out other features of analogy between the Mexican migration and the pilgrimage of the Israelites from Egypt. Torquemada's account is singularly confirmed by an original Mexican painting, which once formed a portion of the historical museum of Boturini, and which is mentioned in the Catalogue annexed to his *Idea of a New History of North America*, page x. No. 1. This painting consists of twenty-three pages, folded in the usual manner of Mexican paintings, and corresponds so exactly with the description given by Torquemada of the Mexican migration, that it is not improbable that it was one of those paintings representing that subject to which he alludes as being actually in his possession. The first page contains a picture of the island of Aztlan, and the passage of the Mexicans across a river or arm of the sea, and likewise their arrival at Hueyculhuacan in the first year of one of their lesser cycles *, as also the image of their god Huitzilopochtli speaking to them through the mouth

* Their larger cycle consisted of fifty-two years, which was divided into four lesser cycles of thirteen years each. It was at the commencement of one of these lesser cycles, in the year Ce Tecpatl, or One Flint, that the Mexicans set out on their migration from Aztlan. In pointing out a supposed connection between the sign of the Flint in the Mexican calendar and the Jewish rite of circum-

of the bird. The second page represents the eight Aztec tribes, and the four priests appointed to carry the chair of the god. In the third is the tree at the foot of which they made the small altar on which they placed his image, the trunk of which cracked suddenly whilst they were eating. The affliction with which they were overwhelmed in consequence, and their consultation with their god, who took the Mexicans aside and told them through his priest to separate themselves from the other tribes, is also represented in this page. The act of separation is marked by the six footsteps, placed near the figure, denoting the Mexicans, three of which occur in the following page; and the time, by the symbol of night painted above. Perhaps the festival which the Aztecas are here celebrating was that of Atamal, or of unleavened bread, which took place on the sign of One Flint. The fourth page represents the Mexicans prosecuting their journey alone under the guidance of Huitzilipochtli. The symbol of sound proceeding from the mouth of the idol, denotes that he went before and pointed out the way. The plaster of turpentine and feathers which he put as a sign upon their faces on changing their names from Aztecas into Mexicans, seems also discernible on the faces of the recumbent figures; but whether they are about to be sacrificed, or some other ceremony to be performed upon them, the painting itself does not clearly indicate. The bow and arrows, and Chitatli or net, which Huitzilopochtli bestowed on his people as a type that he would make them lords of great provinces and kingdoms, occur likewise in this page; and by the figure of the eagle transfixed with an arrow might be meant the strength of the enemy whom the Mexican arms were fated to subdue. This figure might at first be supposed to refer to the story of the sorceress Quilaztli, who changed herself into an eagle in order to turn the two captains of the Mexicans into jest: but that event happened in Apanco some years afterwards, and the Mexicans were at this time only just about to leave Chicomoztoc: besides, although ready to discharge their arrows at the eagle, when their sister discovered herself to them they merely retired in displeasure without shooting at her. The Chitatli or net, in which Torquemada says they put Tecomates and Xicaras, which are a kind of cups, occurs likewise in the figure of the Mexican month Quecholi, in the eighth page of the First Part of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, and is there marked with the letter c, and explained to be "Talega de comida para la guerra," "a bag of provision for war." Torquemada takes occasion, in pointing out Chicomoztoc (where Huitzilopochtli commanded the Mexicans to separate themselves from the other tribes, and changed their name from Aztecas into Mexicans) as the second place at which the Mexicans arrived after their departure from Aztlan, to confute the supposed error of Acosta, Herrera, and Gomara, who had said that that nation proceeded originally from Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves, by adducing the historical paintings themselves of the Mexicans; and, as he adds, "neither do the Indians absolutely affirm that by a cave they mean their origin and descent," he seems also to refer to their traditions. He further remarks, that what Gomara says of the Mexicans and Nahuatlacas (which latter appellation according to Peter Martyr was peculiarly bestowed on the Acolhuacans, because four principal cities, the largest of

cision, we only repeat a remark made by some of the old Spanish writers; but in referring the particular sign of the Flint, now under consideration, to the command delivered by God to Moses to circumcise his son previously to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, it must be admitted that their opinion acquires fresh weight. Indeed, the whole passage in the fourth chapter of Exodus in which mention is made of Zipporah's *taking a stone* and circumcising her son,—which event immediately preceded Aaron's conference with Moses in the Mount of God,—(the literal meaning of Teocolhuacan or Hueycolhuacan; for Colhuacan is a crooked mountain, and Teocolhuacan the crooked mountain of God: and the mountain represented in the first page of the MS. of Boturini was distinguished by both these appellations, which are not to be confounded with those of Culhuacan and Aculhuacan, which signify, the former simply "the bone of the arm which reaches from the shoulder to the elbow;" and the latter, "water upon that bone;" which places, as well as Colhuacan and Teocolhuacan, are represented in the *Collection of Mendoza* by their appropriate symbols),—in which mountain he had appeared to the latter, and spoken to him from the burning bush,—deserves to be compared with Torquemada's account of the Mexican migration, undertaken under the auspices of the two leaders, Mexi or Huitziton and Tecpatzin, the former of whom pretended that a bird out of a bush or a tree had invited him to conduct the Mexicans from Aztlan, or that it was their god Huitzilopuchtli who had spoken to him through the mouth of the bird. The following is the passage of Exodus alluded to, which is a rock upon which many a Scripture commentator has foundered: "And it came to pass by the way, in the inn, that the Lord met him (Moses), and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me. So he let him go: then she said, A bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision. And the Lord said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went and met him *in the Mount of God* (Mount Horeb), and kissed him. And Moses told Aaron all the words of the Lord, who had sent him, and all the signs which he had commanded him. And Moses and Aaron went, and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel. And Aaron spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed: and when they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped."

which was Tezcuco, were under the dominion of their monarch,) being sprung from a common father of the name of Iztacmixcoatl, is not verified. The apparent contradiction which exists between these writers, has undoubtedly proceeded from the double sense in which the Mexicans were said to have proceeded from Seven Caves or Chicomoztoc, and from the eight Aztec tribes having been confounded with the eight different nations which peopled New Spain. These nations were, the Chichimecas, the Nonoalcas, the Michiuacans, the Couixcas, the Totonacas, the Cuextecas, the Olmecas, and the Xicalangas; under the first denomination all the Aztec tribes were included: and as the Mexicans, like the Hebrews, were great genealogists, they pretended that they were all sprung from a common father named Iztacmixcoatl, and fancifully represented in their paintings each nation proceeding from a separate cave, except the Olmecas and Xicalangas, who came out of the same cave. It should here be observed, that the symbol which has been supposed to mean night, in the third page of the painting of Boturini, representing a cave and seven units, signifies undoubtedly Chicomoztoc. The eighteen pages which follow, contain little more than the names of the places at which the Mexicans arrived in the course of their migration, and the number of years which they stayed in these several places. In the thirteenth page, the two bundles, the one containing a gem and the other two pieces of wood, which separated the Mexicans into two parties, appear to be represented. As fire was obtained from the cane, the figure of a cane shooting forth seems to have been substituted for the pieces of wood. It must not be supposed, because the painting of Boturini, which is in simple outline, uncoloured, and on thick pasteboard of Metl, does not record the various marvels which Garcia, Torquemada, Acosta, and Herrera testify that the Mexicans believed to have occurred in the course of their pilgrimage from Aztlan,—such as heaven raining bread; water flowing at the command of their god from a dry rock; a small brook suddenly overflowing its banks, and causing the enemy to flee before them; the punishment of those who murmured against the will of Huitzilopochtli, and wished to remain in Tulan instead of proceeding onwards to the promised land; the frequent consultations which the priests held with their god, and the answers which they received;—that if more detailed paintings of this migration had been saved from the overwhelming destruction in which the annals of the New World were involved (for in Tezcuco alone, according to Clavigero, Zumarraga the first bishop of Mexico caused a little mountain of paintings to be collected in the square of the market-place, and burnt), we should not have been acquainted with the history of this pretended migration in its minutest circumstances; since the national vanity of the Mexicans must have been so highly flattered at believing themselves to be the chosen people of God, who had wrought the most extraordinary miracles in their favour on their quitting Aztlan, himself forsaking heaven to be present in their camp as their legislator and the guide of their way, and assuming the titles of Yaoteotle * and Tetzauhteotl, (the god of armies, and the terrible god to strike fear and dismay into the breasts of their enemies): and it is probable that they would have made this the subject of their finest paintings †. It would appear, from a passage in Boturini's *Idea of a New History of North America,*

* Sahagun says that Tezcatlipoca was also called Yaotl, which name scarcely differs from Yaoteotle.

† It cannot be doubted, from what Boturini says of the Mexicans singing in the court of their temple the great exploits of Huitzilopuchtli, "las grandezas de Huitzilopuchtli," that they, like the Jews, recorded in hymns the miraculous events of their own history. And that they represented likewise in paintings their famous migration from Aztlan, and the signs and wonders wrought in their favour by their tutelary deity, is asserted by Torquemada, in the following passage of the sixteenth chapter of the tenth book of his *Indian Monarchy,* wherein he describes the ceremony of making, adorning, and carrying the image of Huitzilopuchtli in the Mexican month Toxcatl: "Delante de estas Andas llevaban una manera de lienço, hecho de papel, que tenia veinte braças de largo, una de ancho, y un dedo de grueso. Este lienço, hecho de papel, llevaban muchos Mancebos, asidos con unas saetas, con mucho recato; porque no se quebrase, ni lastimase, todo pintado, en cuias pinturas debian de ir escritas todas las haçañas, que en su favor entendian aver hecho, y todos los Blasones, y epitetos, que le daban, en recompensa de las Victorias, que les concedia. Iban cantando delante de este falso Dios sus haçañas, y proëças, acto à solo Dios debido, à quien los de su Pueblo cantaron, diciendo, Dios de vengaças, que obra libremente; y otros (en otra parte) cantemos à Dios, que gloriosamente se ha mostrado, hecho un Marte Divino, y un castigador de maldades, anegando al Rei Faraon, y matando toda su cavalleria. Pero no ai que maravillar, pues vamos probando, en toda esta obra, ser este maldito engañador, un remedador de Dios, y de todas las cosas à que se le puede asimilar, lo qual el mismo Dios le ha permitido, y disimulado por sus ocultos secretos, y juicios, y por las cosas que su Divina Magestad se sabe. Llegado à lo alto del Templo cogian, y arrollaban este papel, y sentadas las Andas en su lugar, le ponian asi arrollado à los pies del Idolo, y se bajaban todos, quedando solos aquellos Satrapas, y Sacerdotes, que eran de vela, y guarda aquella noche, hasta la mañana siguiente, que era el Dia de la Fiesta. Esta Procesion, y Baile venia à concluirse, con la puesta del Sol, y à aquella misma hora hacian ofrenda de Tamales, y otras comidas à la imagen, y lo mismo hacian al amanecer de el Dia siguiente todos los de el Pueblo, en sus Casas à

that he possessed several ancient Mexican paintings representing the migrations of the Aztecas and the Tultecas; and it may not be impossible that the painting which he was bringing over to Spain to present to the king, which he says was taken from him by the English, together with many papers of importance besides wearing apparel and jewels, on board the Spanish ship named the *Concord*, in which he had embarked for Spain in the year 1744, might have been that which had belonged to Don Ferdinand de Alba Yxtlilxochitl, who had received it from the kings of Tezcuco, his ancestors; the subject of which was the migration of the Tultecas and the Chichimecas, and which Boturini believed was taken from the Teoamoxtli, or divine book of the Tultecas.—The passage alluded to in the *Idea de una Nueva Historia* is the following:

"On this supposition in so obscure a night, in a sea of such literary storms, amidst so many difficult rocks, I have found no other light, no other calm, no other haven, but in the histories of the Indians themselves, amongst which I have chiefly sought out the most ancient Tultec accounts. I have already mentioned in the fourteenth section, No. 2, the proficiency which that nation had attained in the mechanical arts; and I here add their easy method of refining metals, the secret of which I have long investigated from motives of public utility. The excellence which they had attained in the science of astronomy, and in the intercalation of their calendar, remains yet to be noticed in the twentieth section, No. 2, and in the twenty-seventh section, No. 2; and that which relates to their history, in the twenty-first section, No. 1, where it will be seen how careful they were to preserve to posterity the memory of ancient events by means of maps painted with figures, symbols, characters and hieroglyphics. One of these, which was probably taken from the Teoamoxtli, was in the possession of Don Ferdinand de Alba Yxtlilxochitl, with many others of the Chichimecan nation, as is evident from testimony which I have seen, and which originally belonged to the Caciques of his family: and the said author acknowledges that by their assistance he could write

los Idolos, que tenian de este mismo Dios Huitzilopuchtli." "They carried before this litter a kind of painted roll of paper, ninety feet in length, one in breadth, and as thick as the finger. A number of young men carried this roll of paper, supporting it with arrows very carefully, that it might not be torn or injured, its surface being entirely covered with paintings; in which paintings it was necessary that all the mighty acts which he (Huitzilopuchtli) was believed to have performed in their favour, and all his titles, and the epithets which they had bestowed upon him, in return for the victories which he had granted them, should be recorded. They walked in procession before this false god, singing his prowess and glorious deeds,—an act which was due to God alone,—before whom those who were his chosen people sung, saying, 'God of vengeance, who freely workest;' and on other occasions, 'Let us sing unto God, who has gloriously manifested himself, assuming the character of the divine god of battles[1] and of the chastizer of iniquities, who swallowed up king Pharaoh in the waves, and slew all his cavalry.' But this need cause no surprise; since we prove in the whole course of this work, that that cursed deceiver seeks to substitute himself for God in every thing in which he can liken himself to Him; which God himself has permitted and overlooked by his own secret counsels and decrees, and for reasons which His Divine Majesty himself knows. When they had ascended the upper platform of the temple, they folded up this roll of paper; and the litter having been laid down in its proper place, they put the paper so folded up at the feet of the idol, and all retired, those priests and satraps alone remaining, who watched and kept guard that night until the following morning, which was the day of the festival. The procession and dance terminated at sunset, at which hour precisely they made an offering of tamales and of other provisions to the image; and all the people on the morning of the following day made a similar offering in their respective houses to the idols which they had of this same god Huitzilopuchtli." The offering of tamales here noticed was a bread-offering, which the Mexicans, like the Jews, presented at their temple, and which perhaps it was only lawful for their priests to eat. It is probable that Torquemada, in comparing the songs of the Mexicans in honour of Huitzilopuchtli with those which the children of Israel sang in commemoration of their escape from Egypt, wished the readers of his *Indian Monarchy* to revert to that *omitted* chapter in his work in which he likens the migration of the Mexicans from Aztlan to that of the children of Israel from Egypt; all the circumstances attending which were, it is to be presumed, recorded in the painted roll which was carried in procession and afterwards laid at the feet of Huitzilopuchtli. How much is it to be regretted that not a single Mexican painting of this description has been preserved, which would have thrown so much light on a mysterious page of history, and made superstition yield one of her strongest holds.

[1] The epithet of Teoyaotlatohuehuitzilopuchtli was also bestowed on Huitzilopuchtli, which is in fact the same proper name with other titles added to it, the literal meaning of which is, The divine god of battles, or The god Yao, (for from his other name Yaotl, by which, according to Sahagun, he was sometimes known, it is probable that the religious wars of the Mexicans received their appellation; and hence perhaps the tradition that *he introduced wars into the world,*) The Lord Huehuitzilopuchtli; the compound term being formed out of the Mexican words *teo* divine, or *teotl* god, *yao* war, or *yao* or *yaotl,*—an epithet of the supreme deity of the Mexicans; *tlato* lord, and Huitzilopuchtli with *hue,* great, prefixed to it. It is singular that Huitzilopuchtli should also have been called *the ineffable;* but since that epithet seems to relate to the pronunciation of some one of his names, it would be interesting to know precisely what that name was.

both the Tultec and Chichimecan histories, which paintings I possess in my archives. He afterwards states, that the above-mentioned original Tultec map recorded events of the greatest antiquity, especially the confusion of tongues which took place at the time of the Tower of Babel, which happened, according to the Tultec calendar, in the year Ce Tecpatl, One Flint, on which occasion seven Tultecas, who assisted at the building of the said tower, perceiving that they could not understand the others, separated themselves, together with their wives and sons; and after having travelled in Asia during a certain number of ages, which they called Huehuetiliztles, arrived at last in the country of New Spain, which was then named Anahuac, and proceeding in an inland direction till they reached Tula, established there the court and metropolis of their empire. A more capital or clearer account than this could not in my opinion be desired, especially since it is accompanied with their successive travels and arrival in New Spain, with the events which befell them on their journey, duly recorded in the years in which they happened, according to the order of the characters of their calendar, which I will compare in the General History with our European years. But as some who are not skilled in the use of Indian paintings may be embarrassed by the consideration that the Tultec Indians who separated themselves from the other nations in the plain of Sennaar were only seven, whilst the colonies that proceeded from them, as well in Asia as in America, were innumerable, we anticipate their objection by saying, that it was the custom of the Indians to introduce but few figures in their paintings, under which were reckoned numerous tribes and nations; and accordingly the said seven Tultecas, whose names the above-mentioned Don Ferdinand specifies, must be understood to have been seven principal heads of extensive lineages, which were hidden under the names of their leaders. What is here alledged is confirmed by another map of the Chichimecan empire, in which we see painted the arrival of the foreign kings who entreated the Emperor Xolotl to give them lands to settle in, without finding the representation of any of the captains or vassals who accompanied them; and the same thing is observed in many paintings of the Mexicans, in which the nine tribes or nine nations which entered with them into the continent of New Spain are represented only by nine captains, each of whom bears on his shield the arms of his nation." *Idea de una Nueva Historia General,* page 110.

Torquemada's account of the Mexican migration having been verified by the concurrent testimonies of three such eminent historians as Garcia, Acosta, and Herrera, and likewise by an original Mexican painting, we shall now proceed to point out some of the analogies which exist between the early history of the Mexicans and that of the Jews, having first inserted here the explanation of the names of several places which occur in Boturini's painting, which are written under them in old and faded characters, and to which the figures in the plates refer:—1. .... ilhuitl-cacan Chicomoztoc. 2. Panhualaque. 3. Colhuacan. 4. Chimalman. 5. Quetzalatl. 6. Cuauhcohuatl. 7. Cohuatl. 8. Oncan quitlamamlique Mixtcoal. 9. Oncan quinnotz Mixtcoal. 10. Cuextecatl Chocayan. 11. Cohuatlcamac. 12. Azcapotzalco. 13. Acalhuacan. 14. Ecatepec. 15. Cohuatitlan. 16. Tecpaiocan. 17. Pantitlan. 18. Pantitlan. 19. Atlacuihuaan. 20. Chapoltepec. 21. Chimalaxocl. 22. Huitzilihuitl. 23. Coxcoxth. 24. Colhuacan. It is certainly very remarkable that the first page of that painting, the subject of which is the commencement of the Aztec migration, or their departure from the land of Aztlan, should present many such analogies. The Mexicans, like the children of Israel, began their journey by crossing an arm of the sea on the sign Ce Tecpatl, the first sign of one of their lesser cycles; and it is said in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, in the second verse, "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you."

As the Israelites were conducted from Egypt by Moses and Aaron, who were accompanied *by their sister Miriam**, so the Aztecas departed from Aztlan under the guidance of Huitziton and Tecpatzin, the former of whom is named by Acosta and Herrera, Mexi, attended likewise by their sister Quilaztli, or, as she is otherwise named, Chimalman or Malinalli, both which latter names have some resemblance to Miriam, as Mexi has to Moses; in reference to which Hebrew proper name it may be observed, that Josephus, in the fifth chapter of the second book of his *Jewish Antiquities,* derives it from the Egyptian words *mo* and *yses,* the one signifying water, and the other those that had been saved from the water, "το γαρ ὑδωρ Μω οἱ Αἰγυπτιοι καλουσι, Ὑσης δε τους εξ ὑδατος σωθεντας;" and in the Mexican language, Amoxtli signifies *flags* or *bulrushes,* the derivation of which name, from *atl* water and *moxtli,* might allude to the flags in which Moses had been preserved. This coincidence is merely noticed here because the reasons of names are not always accidental; and since acatl and amoxtli are both Mexican

* From the laudatory manner in which Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are together made mention of in the fourth verse of the sixth chapter of Micah, it would appear that the Jews considered Miriam in the light of a leader of the pilgrimage of their forefathers from Egypt.

names for reeds and rushes, and Egypt is designated in Scripture the country of the river, hence it may be imagined why the symbol of a reed surrounded with water signifies in the first page of the painting of Boturini the country called Açatlan, corrupted by the Spaniards into Aztlan, from which the Mexicans proceeded; and in the third and fourth pages may be the hieroglyphic of a proper name, which may be pronounced Amoxtli, meaning in the same way, the person who had been saved from the water, or in the flags*. It should also be remarked, that neither of the male figures in the first page have any symbol attached to their heads distinguishing their names; but as the four priests who are represented in the following page as carrying the ark of Huitzilopochtli, one of whom is Chimalman (and Miriam, it will be recollected, was of the tribe of Levi), have their respective names painted above them, and the symbol of the reed does not occur among them, although in the third page that symbol designates the name of the person through whose mouth their god is reproving his people, and commanding the Mexicans to separate themselves from the other tribes,—it may hence be inferred that the reed was the symbol of the name of one of the two leaders of the Mexicans represented in the first page, of him we should suppose who conducted the Aztecas across the streights of the sea, which is symbolically expressed by the act of rowing a canoe. It deserves also to be noticed, that the figure of a pyramid is painted in the island of Aztlan; it is needless to observe, that that portion of Egypt which the ancients called the Delta, was an island. With respect to the proper name Tecpatzin, by which the other leader of the Mexicans was designated, since *tecutl*, a crown or mitre, enters into the composition of it, from whence comes *tecpan*, a palace, it might signify the person who wore the mitre; and the two proper names Mexi and Tecpatzin would seem extremely applicable to Moses and Aaron. The Israelites are said in the twelfth chapter of Exodus to have sojourned four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; and although the fortieth verse of that chapter, wherein it is so stated, has greatly perplexed commentators, since from the call of Abraham to the period of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, a period no longer than that had elapsed, still Acosta's account of the Mexican migration from the provinces of Aztlan and Teculhuacan having taken place three hundred and twenty years after that of the six other tribes, has something analogous in it to what is said in the Pentateuch of the first departure of the Hebrews under Abraham and Lot out of Egypt, and their second departure in the third century afterwards under Moses and Aaron. The account of Acosta does not however agree with Boturini's painting of the Mexican migration, in which the tribes are all represented as leaving Aztlan at the same time, and they do not separate till after their arrival at Chicomoztoc. The circumstances under which the Israelites and the Mexicans commenced their pilgrimage are very analogous. It says in the third and following chapters of Exodus, that Moses being employed in keeping sheep in Mount Horeb, God appeared to him in a burning bush, commanding him to go to Pharaoh and to desire him to let the children of Israel depart from Egypt, promising that he would bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey, and renewing his covenant with them at the institution of the passover, again enjoining the rite of circumcision, "that his covenant might be in their flesh for an everlasting covenant," informing Moses that his name was Jehovah, by which name he was till then unknown to them, and that he would perform great signs and wonders, and would compel Pharaoh to let the Israelites depart from Egypt. Plagues were accordingly sent on Egypt, the two last of which were darkness over all the land of Egypt, except in the habitations of the Israelites, for three days; and the death of the first-born, both of man and beast. Moses in the tenth and twelfth chapters of Exodus thus describes these two last plagues: "And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick

* Sahagun gives the following account of Mecitl, the leader of the Aztec migration, in the fourteenth section of the twenty-ninth chapter of the tenth book of his *History of New Spain*, from which it would appear that the Mexicans believed that their leader had been nourished in a cradle formed of the leaf of the aloe, which is not unlike the Hebrew tradition of Moses having been preserved in an ark made of bulrushes. "This name Mexicatl was formerly pronounced Mecitli, being compounded of *me*, which is the abbreviation of *metl*, the name of the maguey (the American aloe), and of *citli*, which signifies a hare; it should therefore properly be pronounced Mecicatl, but *c* having been changed into *x*, it has been corrupted into Mexicatl. This name originated, as the old Indians affirm, from the leader or chief of the Mexicans, who conducted them to these parts when they arrived hither, having been named Mecitl, who immediately after his birth received the name of *citli*, which means a hare, and who having been nourished in the large leaf of an aloe instead of a cradle, was thenceforward called Mecitli, which name may be interpreted the man who was nourished in the leaf of the aloe, who when he grew up became a priest to idols, and held personal converse with the Devil, on which account he was much esteemed and respected by his vassals, who paid ready obedience to his commands, and assuming the name of their priest, called themselves Mexicas or Mexicac, as the ancients relate."

darkness in all the land of Egypt three days: they saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. And it came to pass, that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharoah that sat on his throne unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle." The children of Israel are afterwards conducted from Egypt by God himself, who proceeds before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them on the way, and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light to go by day and night. It should also be observed, that the name of Jacob having been before changed by God into Israel, the Hebrews took the name of Israelites. Reference to Torquemada's description of the migration of the Mexicans from Aztlan, and of the appearance of their god to them in Chicomoztoc, will show how many analogous circumstances the Mexican history presents at its very commencement to that of the Jews; but the painting of Boturini seems actually to represent Huitzilopochtli appearing in a burning bush in the mountain of Teoculhuacan to the Aztecas; for the symbol of a mountain and their god in the middle of a bush, from whence proceeds smoke, occurs in the first page. The reasons for supposing that smoke and not sound is here signified (for the symbols of smoke and sound are similar in uncoloured Mexican paintings), are that they are not painted as coming from the mouth of their God, though no near or intervening object prevents the symbol of the voice being painted in its proper place, as is the case in the fourth page, where the head of the priest bearing the god on his shoulders interposes, so that the symbol of sound is necessarily distant from the mouth of the idol; and secondly, that they are so numerous: whereas sound is generally represented by only one or two of those little symbols, and smoke by many, as may be seen in the symbol of the proper name Chimalpopoca, which means a smoking shield, and was the name of the third king of Mexico. This rule is, however, by no means invariable. Mention has already been made of Chimalman or Quilaztli as accompanying the Aztecas from Aztlan; and Torquemada and Herrera both agree that when the Mexicans had proceeded as far as Apanco, a quarrel originated in the camp between the two Mexican captains and Quilaztli, which Herrera says was caused by the presumption of the latter, who wished to be worshipped by the people as a goddess. They accordingly punished their sister by putting her out of the camp and leaving her behind on the road, who seeing that she had been deserted by her tribe, founded the city of Malinalco, which was inhabited by her descendants, who were accounted famous for their skill in sorcery. Moses informs us in the twelfth chapter of Numbers, that the sedition of Miriam and Aaron at Hazeroth, and the presumption of the former, caused a quarrel between them, and that Miriam, who in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus is called a prophetess, was punished with the leprosy*, and shut out from the camp for seven days. Acosta says, that when the Mexicans arrived in the province of Mechoacan, being charmed with its fertility, the people all wished to remain there, which their god refusing to consent to, they next entreated that a portion of their tribe might be permitted to settle in that place; to which he assented, and suggested to them the

* Two diseases to which the Jews were very subject have much perplexed modern physicians; one of which was the leprosy, and the other the being possessed with Devils,—a malady peculiar to themselves, and which Galen and Hippocrates would certainly have noticed if ever they had visited the Holy Land. It is very remarkable that the Mexicans, as we learn from the following passages of Sahagun's History of New Spain, should have been acquainted with both these diseases: "Decian que el dicho dios que se llamaba Titlacaoan, daba à los vivos pobreza y miseria, y enfermedades incurables y contagiosas de *lepra*, y bubas, y *sarna*, y hidropesia; las quales enfermedades daba quando estaba enojado con los que no cumplian, y quebrantaban el voto y penitencia que se obligaban a ayunar, ó si dormian con sus mugeres, ó las mugeres con sus maridos, ó amigos en el tiempo del ayuno." Historia Universal de las Cosas de Nueva España. Lib. iii. cap. ii. This god Titlacaoan, as Sahagun observes elsewhere, was Tezcatlipoca, whom the Mexicans believed to be "Dios de los Dioses," (the god of gods,) and he it was who sent upon them the plagues of the scab and the leprosy, with both which Moses frequently threatens the Jews. It is in the twenty-first chapter of the first book of the same History that mention is made of the superstitious fear which the Mexicans entertained of Devils entering into them. "Decian tambien que si à alguno se le *secaba* la mano ó el pie, ó le temblaba la cara, ó le temblaba la boca ó los labios, ó *si entraba en él algun demonio*, todo esto decian que acontescia porque estos dioses de que aqui se trata, se habian enojado con él." The evil spirit which entered Saul we must suppose entered by the permission of God, but not by his command; although the Jews probably understood in the latter sense the tenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel: "And it came to pass on the morrow, that the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, *and he prophesied* in the midst of the house; and David played with his hand, as at other times: and there was a javelin in Saul's hand. And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it. And David avoided out of his presence twice." In the thirty-seventh page of the lesser Vatican MS. the representation of a person afflicted with the scab or leprosy seems to occur. Since the small-pox was a complaint certainly unknown to the Indians before the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them, and perhaps likewise the measles, this painting cannot possibly refer to the former, nor probably to the latter.

stratagem of stealing away the clothes from a considerable number of their companions whilst they were bathing in the lake of Pazcuaro: and hence Acosta asserts, that the party who had been robbed of their clothes, and who were thereby necessarily compelled to remain behind and to people the province of Mechoacan, entertained ever afterwards, though originally of the same tribe, the greatest enmity against the Mexicans. This account seems to contain a confused allusion to the hatred which always existed between the Samaritans and the Jews, and to the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians of their jewels at the time of their departure from Egypt, as is recorded in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth verses of the twelfth chapter of Exodus: "And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: And the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians." The appearance of Tezcatlipoca to the Mexicans in their migration, on the top of the mountain called Tezcatepec, amidst fire, smoke, and darkness, (to the circumstances attending which apparition the composition of the proper name refers*,) has something in it analogous to

* This name is compounded of *tezcatl*, which means a mirror, referring to the proper name Tezcatepec, which signifies The Mount of Mirrors, *tlil* dark, and *poca* smoke; and its signification is The god who appeared in smoke and darkness on the mountain of mirrors. The Mexicans formed their mirrors out of blocks or tables of the stone yztli; but a table of stone of opaque substance might still be metaphorically named a mirror, if the laws of God were therein engraved. The Jews call the Talmud the mirror of God.

The Abbé Chiarini, Professor at the University of Warsaw, has proposed to publish a translation of the entire Talmud in French; a work which would greatly advance the cause of knowledge and of truth, by exposing error, superstition, and imposture in all their native deformity. It is to be hoped that the following critical remarks, extracted from the 112th Number of the *Revue Encyclopedique*, will not deter the learned Abbé from prosecuting his laudable design:

" Nous avons eu déjà occasion d'entretenir nos lecteurs du projet formé par quelques hébraïsans de Pologne, de donner au public une traduction française du Talmud. (Voy. *Rev. Enc.*, t. xxx. Mai 1826, p. 565.) On appréciera facilement l'importance d'une semblable entreprise, si l'on veut se rappeler que ce code sacré des juifs modernes n'a jamais été traduit dans une langue européenne[1]. Aujourd'hui, comme M. l'abbé Chiarini, professeur de langues et d'antiquités orientales à l'Université de Varsovie, vient de nous adresser divers mémoires sur ce projet dont l'idée première lui appartient, nous croyons devoir le faire connaître plus complètement, sans toutefois entrer dans des développemens que ne comporte point la nature de notre recueil.

" La religion juive est assise sur deux bases: l'une est la loi écrite, l'autre la loi orale. La loi écrite est contenue dans la Bible; la loi orale se trouve dans la vaste compilation, nommée Talmud. Si nous croyons les rabbins, Moïse reçut les deux lois sur le mont Sinaï. La première devait être mise par écrit et livrée aux idiots comme aux savans; la seconde devait être communiquée de vive voix aux seuls savans, pour qu'ils se la transmissent les uns les autres. *On conçoit que cette prétendue loi orale, dont jamais Dieu n'avait parlé à Moïse, n'était qu'une pure invention des docteurs*, qui, se trouvant gênés par la Bible, ouvraient ainsi un champ indéfini à leurs systèmes bizarres, comme à leur ambition. Le caractère de cette loi était de rester traditionnelle, de ne jamais être fixée; cependant, elle finit par s'élever au rang de loi écrite. Les événemens expliquent cette contradiction singulière. Le christianisme avait jeté l'alarme parmi les juifs; il tournait contre eux des armes qui leur appartenaient, et marquait chaque jour par un triomphe nouveau; le judaïsme semblait n'avoir plus qu'à mourir sous les coups d'un ennemi si puissant. Aucun lien n'unissait les docteurs de la loi dispersés dans l'Europe et dans l'Asie; les traditions colportées de l'orient à l'occident n'étaient plus soumises au contrôle de la synagogue. C'est alors que des rabbins conçurent l'idée de raffermir leur religion, en écrivant les traditions. Par ce moyen, le judaïsme retrouvait des dogmes que le christianisme ne pouvait pas lui ravir; ces dogmes étaient appropriés à son état misérable; ils se montraient néanmoins pleins de jeunesse et d'énergie, tels enfin qu'il les fallait à un peuple dévoué au malheur et animé des sentimens les plus hostiles contre les nations étrangères à son culte. Le Talmud opéra donc la reconstruction du judaïsme. Cette reconstruction fut éminemment vicieuse, elle s'appuya sur des principes absurdes et immoraux; mais elle fut si solide qu'aujourd'hui encore elle passe pour inébranlable.

" Le signal de ce grand changement fut donné par Jehuda le saint, qui, vers la fin du 2e siècle de notre ère, entreprit d'écrire les traditions dans le livre intitulé Misna. Un siècle après parut la Gemara. Ces deux ouvrages réunis forment le Talmud; ils parurent à Jérusalem. Trois siècles plus tard, on sentit la nécessité d'écrire un nouveau recueil de traditions; car les décisions des rabbins continuaient à se succéder et à usurper chacune à leur tour l'autorité de la loi écrite. On rédigea donc à Babylone un second Talmud. Si l'on examine avec quelque soin ces deux compilations, on trouve que l'esprit de haine contre les non-juifs et le délire d'imagination des rabbins ont augmenté à proportion que le christianisme faisait plus de progrès. Ainsi, le judaïsme paraît plus outré dans la Gemara de Jérusalem que dans la Misna, et l'on n'aperçoit plus aucune modération, aucune trace de bon sens dans la Gemara de Babylone. Cependant le Talmud babylonien est le plus répandu parmi les juifs, ou plutôt c'est le seul qui soit étudié et cité par eux. Ils cherchent à justifier cette préférence, en accusant d'obscurité le Talmud de Jérusalem; mais la véritable raison, c'est que les traditions se renouvelant sans interruption, les dernières devaient être réputées les meilleures. Le crédit du Talmud babylonien est donc naturel, quoique très-funeste.

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[1] Les califes de Cordove l'ont fait traduire en arabe par un Juif espagnol, nommé R. Joseph. On peut voir quelques détails sur ce rabbin, dans l'ouvrage intitulé *Les Juifs d'Occident*, 3e partie, p. 17.

the appearance of God on Mount Sinai to the Israelites. Tezcatlipoca, as Torquemada asserts, was the Jupiter of the ancients, and the god whom the Mexicans considered supreme over all; he therefore was probably the

" Cette compilation immense est divisée en six ordres et en soixante-sept livres ou traités; accrue par des additions postérieures à sa rédaction, elle remplit douze énormes volumes in-folio. Tel est au moins le nombre des volumes de l'édition publiée à Venise, en 1520, par Daniel Bomberg. C'est sur cette édition non censurée, et sur celle de Cracovie (1602-5, 7 vol. in-fol.), où les passages retranchés par ordre des papes ont été rétablis, que M. l'abbé Chiarini se propose de travailler.

" Expliquons le plan arrêté par cet orientaliste aussi savant que courageux.

" Traduire le Talmud, c'est-à-dire l'ouvrage le plus obscur, le plus diffus, le plus incohérent que l'on puisse imaginer, ouvrage qui n'est pas écrit en hébreu, mais dans une langue faite exprès, et qui est composée d'hébreu, de chaldéen, de syriaque, de persan, d'arabe, de grec, de latin...; traduire, dis-je, le Talmud me paraissait une tâche suffisante pour remplir la vie d'un homme. Aussi ai-je été grandement surpris, lorsque j'ai appris que M. Chiarini, au lieu de borner ses efforts à l'achèvement de sa version, entreprenait une foule d'écrits qu'il me paraît bien difficile qu'il puisse terminer, même en tenant compte du travail des deux coopérateurs qu'avec beaucoup de raison il a cru devoir se donner.

" La traduction du Talmud doit être précédée par la publication d'un livre intitulé: Théorie du judaïsme, appliquée à la réforme des juifs de tous les pays de l'Europe, et qui paraîtra à la fois en français, en allemand et en polonais. Dans cet écrit seront exposés les motifs qui ont porté les traducteurs à entreprendre leur version du Talmud.

" Le premier traducteur, que je suppose être M. Chiarini, dans un des mémoires manuscrits qu'il nous a envoyés, rend compte des études par lesquelles il a fait précéder la traduction du premier volume. Il nous apprend que cette partie de l'entreprise étant achevée, au lieu de poursuivre la traduction des onze autres volumes, il s'est tout à coup arrêté pour composer une Théorie du judaïsme, appliquée à la réforme des israélites du royaume de Pologne; ouvrage très-considérable, et qui semble rentrer tellement dans le plan de celui que j'ai cité plus haut, que je suis porté à croire que ces deux écrits, malgré la diversité de leurs titres, n'en forment qu'un seul. La solution de ce doute ne se trouve pas dans les mémoires que j'ai sous les yeux.

" Le second traducteur ne s'est pas non plus exclusivement occupé de la version entreprise. Je le vois travailler à un extrait de tous les proverbes, sentences et maximes morales qui se trouvent dans le Talmud, afin de composer un catéchisme destiné à l'instruction de la jeunesse israélite. Ce même traducteur prépare, en outre, un écrit dans lequel il discutera les diverses opinions émises sur le Talmud, et appréciera le mérite ou le danger des doctrines talmudiques, d'après la tendance et l'influence de ces doctrines.

" Enfin, le troisième traducteur, chargé de consulter les commentaires et les différens extraits du Talmud, pour en tirer les matériaux qui doivent entrer dans les notes de la version, vient d'achever un rituel de pratiques et de coutumes religieuses des juifs d'aujourd'hui.

" Si tous ces écrits sont conformes à l'analyse que M. Chiarini en présente, il faut reconnaître qu'ils sont enfantés par un esprit vraiment philosophique, et qu'une profonde science resplendit en eux; mais peut-on néanmoins ne pas être surpris de voir trois personnes réunies pour traduire le Talmud, s'occuper de travaux qui ne sont pas précisément nécessaires à une version de ce recueil immense? A peine entrés dans la carrière, leur faut-il déjà des délassemens? Je redoute cette disposition de l'esprit qui porte à reculer sans cesse les bornes d'un sujet, parce qu'elle me semble exclusive des qualités nécessaires pour mener à son terme une vaste entreprise.

" Je m'arrête peu sur ces doutes, qui ne sont peut-être que des préventions, et je pose la question suivante: Quels sont les avantages qui peuvent résulter d'une traduction française du Talmud?

" Faciliter à un peuple la lecture et l'étude de ses livres sacrés est généralement une chose si féconde en bons résultats, qu'on doit la regarder comme une obligation imposée soit aux ministres du culte, soit aux gouvernemens, soit aux simples particuliers que leurs lumières élèvent au-dessus de leurs concitoyens. Mais si ces livres sacrés, au lieu de n'offrir qu'un heureux développement des principes de la morale, altéraient au contraire ces principes; s'ils bouleversaient les dogmes fondamentaux de la religion; s'ils étaient de nature à troubler les consciences, à aigrir les esprits, à affaiblir même le sentiment religieux; si, enfin, ils n'avaient acquis le caractère sacré qu'à l'aide d'une coupable usurpation, devrait-on travailler à les répandre? Devrait-on renverser les obstacles qui peuvent contrarier leurs succès? Je ne le pense pas. Choisissez dans ces livres ce qu'il y a de moins mauvais, jetez un voile épais sur le reste, et vous aurez fait ce que la raison me semble conseiller.

" M. Chiarini veut traduire le Talmud dans la langue la plus répandue de l'Europe; or, voici ce qu'il pense du Talmud: Son génie malfaisant, dit-il, porte des coups funestes et invisibles au genre humain du milieu des ténèbres épaisses qui l'environnent. Qui pourrait calculer combien il a contribué et contribue encore à multiplier les malheurs qui affligent la terre? etc. ... Voilà le livre qu'il veut faire passer dans la langue universelle. Disons mieux: voilà le poison qu'il veut faire circuler. Je croyais qu'il était reconnu depuis bien des siècles qu'on ne pouvait réformer le judaïsme qu'en ruinant le Talmud et en élevant sur ses débris la Bible aujourd'hui si dédaignée. Telle fut au moins la pensée du grand Maïmonides[1], et de cette école des rabbins anti-traditionnaires, qui chercha avec une si louable persévérance à épurer le judaïsme en simplifiant le Talmud; elle ne put réussir, mais nous n'en devons pas moins reconnaître la sagesse des idées qui l'animaient. Je suis loin de penser que ce soit une chose facile que de ravir aux juifs le livre qui les a faits ce qu'ils sont, qui les a réunis quand la Providence les dispersait, et dont le tems a consolidé le pouvoir; mais, ce qui est très-aisé, c'est de ne point lui donner un surcroît de publicité, de ne pas le rendre plus clair, plus usuel, de ne pas le livrer aux idiots comme aux savans. On ne peut rien arracher par la force à un peuple aussi obstiné que le peuple juif. Si donc on veut le dégoûter du Talmud, il faut laisser dans

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[1] The great Maimonides (as he is surely here named in derision) was as prejudiced a Jew as ever lived, but less ignorant than the generality of his countrymen.

same as Huitzilopuchtli: and as Garcia affirms that that deity taught the Mexicans rites, ceremonies and sacrifices, causing the heaven to rain bread, and drawing from the flint water to quench their thirst, the occasion of his doing so, it may be presumed, was when he appeared to them on the top of the mountain of Tezcatepec. It is

l'obscurité ce livre dangereux, se garder de l'offrir à la discussion et à la critique des chrétiens, et attendre sans impatience le moment où un philosophe sage et prudent comme Mendelsohn viendra décider ses coreligionnaires à reporter leurs études sur les livres de Moïse. Si l'on commence la réforme du judaïsme par la discussion du Talmud, on n'aura fait qu'ouvrir une carrière illimitée à toutes les divagations de l'esprit judaïque. En citant Mendelsohn, j'ai rappelé le nom du plus beau génie qu'ait produit Israël depuis Maïmonides; eh bien! parcourez tous les écrits de ce sage, et dites si jamais il a recommandé je ne dis pas la traduction du Talmud, mais seulement l'étude de ce livre. L'auteur du Phedon connaissait trop bien sa nation, il respectait trop la raison humaine, pour commettre une telle faute.

"Je dois, au reste, rendre justice à M. Chiarini, et reconnaître que, quand il a conçu le projet de traduire le Talmud, il songeait moins à le répandre parmi les juifs, qu'à le faire connaître aux chrétiens, espérant que ces derniers acquerraient par cette traduction les moyens de confondre la mauvaise foi des rabbins, de faire sentir à tous les juifs l'énormité de leurs erreurs, et par conséquent d'écraser le talmudisme. Cette idée me paraît si extraordinaire que je crois devoir rapporter les propres paroles du professeur: 'Que l'on rapproche, dit-il, par une version du Talmud les lois et les rites barbares, les maximes haineuses et fanatiques, les contradictions palpables, les propos fabuleux, les ergotismes et les jeux de mots et de lettres qui constituent le canevas et la broderie de ce même livre; qu'on le rapproche, dis-je, de nos lois, de nos mœurs et de nos lumières, et l'état de notre civilisation et nos discussions produiront insensiblement la réforme désirée; car la raison des juifs, quelque limitée qu'on veuille la supposer sous ce point de vue, ne pourra point manquer de désavouer des principes et des préjugés dont elle sera contrainte de rougir aux yeux du monde entier. La synagogue ne pourra plus crier à l'imposture et à la calomnie, lorsqu'une version du Talmud aura démontré enfin que la tendance de ses doctrines est plus pernicieuse encore que nous ne pouvons le faire voir ici.'

"Ainsi donc les juifs respecteront le Talmud, tant qu'il sera écrit en mauvais hébreu: si demain on le traduit en bon français, ils l'abandonneront. Comment peut-on se prêter à de semblables illusions[1]? Les chrétiens ont écrit et répété contre le Talmud tout ce qu'il était possible de dire. Les juifs ne s'en sont pas émus; il fut un tems où il était de mode d'établir des controverses publiques entre les chrétiens et les juifs. M. Chiarini se rappelle sans doute la célèbre conférence qui eut lieu devant l'anti-pape Benoît XIII. Tout fut dit, de part et d'autre, pour et contre le Talmud. Qu'en est-il résulté? rien que quelques apostasies préparées et payées en secret. Les sectateurs consciencieux du Talmud sentaient leur passion pour ce livre croître à mesure qu'il était exposé aux attaques des chrétiens; ils se montraient plus obstinés, plus intraitables qu'auparavant, et les hommes sages des deux religions s'accordaient à blâmer ces combats qui ne résolvaient aucune difficulté[2]. Si de tels moyens n'ont pu conduire au succès dans des siècles où la passion des controverses religieuses était universelle, comment admettre qu'ils auraient plus d'effet aujourd'hui que les questions de théologie n'excitent plus d'intérêt?

"Il faut se faire de justes idées sur la force des opinions religieuses, et ne pas croire qu'un peuple abandonnera sa religion, parce que des argumentateurs lui auront démontré que cette religion est mauvaise. Les changemens en une matière aussi grave trouvent leur principe moins dans la volonté et la conscience des individus, que dans les révolutions morales et politiques qu'éprouvent les sociétés. Les efforts isolés disparaissent au sein de ces grands mouvemens, et ils n'ont pas le droit de se vanter du succès[3].

"Une traduction du Talmud n'aura pas les glorieux résultats qu'annonce M. Chiarini. Les juifs se garderont de descendre dans l'arène: s'ils y descendent, ce ne sera pas pour combattre sur une traduction que toutes les synagogues auront anathématisée, comme fille de la haine et de l'erreur; ils demanderont que la controverse soit reportée sur le texte même; et alors, à quoi aura servi cette longue et fastidieuse version[4]?

"Pénétré de respect pour le caractère et les talens de M. l'abbé Chiarini, j'ai cru devoir rechercher la source des illusions qui se sont emparées de son esprit, afin de la lui indiquer avec franchise. J'ai relu tous ses mémoires, et je suis resté convaincu que son erreur provient uniquement de la persuasion où il est que, pour réformer les juifs, il faut commencer par réformer le judaïsme. Pour moi, je pense absolument le contraire, et voici mes motifs: Avant d'ensemencer un champ, il faut le défricher. Avant d'entreprendre une tâche aussi rude que la réforme d'un système religieux, il faut préparer la nation qui doit recevoir cette réforme. Si cette nation est plongée dans l'ignorance, avilie par la misère, abrutie par une longue proscription, pourra-t-elle se montrer accessible aux séductions d'une philosophie épurée, et se réveiller de sa torpeur pour s'élever à la connaissance des véritables principes religieux? Non assurément: améliorez l'état social de cette nation, donnez-lui les idées d'ordre, de sagesse et de patience qui lui manquent; instruisez-la, détachez-la

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[1] This is a very false argument; since it is not the language or the style of composition of the Talmud that has caused it to be respected, but its doctrines and traditions believed by the Jews to be divine; and the Abbé Chiarini proposes, by exposing the absurdity of those traditions and the immorality of those doctrines, to make the Talmud contemptible even in the eyes of the Jews.

[2] The religious controversy which took place two years ago in Dublin between Mr. Pope and Mr. Macguire, on the truth and merits of their respective creeds, was attended with exactly the same results. The account of this controversy, which has been printed and is attested by the signatures of the disputants, is curious and interesting.

[3] The attempt is nevertheless laudable, because the end proposed is useful.

[4] They will probably be silent, or they will at last pay a debt which they have long owed to mankind, by abandoning the entire of their vicious system.

also very remarkable that the Mexicans should have solemnized his festival exactly three times in the year, as the Israelites were also commanded, in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus, to appear thrice in the year before the

de ses habitudes haineuses, de ses vices héréditaires, de son avilissante cupidité ; quand vous aurez opéré ces heureux changemens, vous pourrez diriger ses regards vers ses livres sacrés ; elle comprendra la nécessité de les soumettre au jugement de la raison[1] et de les purger de ce qu'ils peuvent offrir de mauvais : son esprit, dégagé des impressions du malheur et de l'ignorance, s' élèvera sans efforts aux plus hautes considérations morales[2] ; et la réforme, appelée par tous les vœux, accueillie avec applaudissement, s'opérera d'elle-même. Supposons M. Chiarini distribuant ses écrits aux rabbins et aux juifs de la Pologne, de l'Allemagne, et de l'Alsace. Combien en sera-t-il parmi eux qui comprendront tout ce qu'ils renferment de sage et de vraiment philantropique ? Admettons, au contraire, qu'ils ont été mis dans les mains des juifs portugais, rien alors ne s'oppose à ce que nous croyions que de tels ouvrages ont trouvé de dignes appréciateurs, et qu'ils pourront être vraiment utiles. D'où vient cette différence ? Elle vient de ce que les juifs portugais, comme les juifs de Hollande, sont dans un état moral satisfaisant, tandis que les juifs d'Alsace, ainsi que ceux de Pologne, restent en général étrangers à la civilisation des contrées qu'ils habitent, et que, tout entiers aux soins de leur commerce, il serait impossible de leur faire comprendre seulement ce qu'est une réforme religieuse. Je le répète, on ne doit songer à reconstruire le judaïsme qu'après que l'état moral et civil des juifs aura été amélioré.

" Telle fut la pensée de Napoléon, lorsqu'il convoqua son grand sanhedrin, en 1807. Cette assemblée, jugée si sévèrement par M. Chiarini, avait pour mandat de mettre autant que possible la population israélite de la France en harmonie avec le reste des Français[3]. Elle ne régla que l'état relatif de la société juive ; elle ne s'occupa ni de la Misna, ni de la Gemara ; elle ne fit point traduire le Talmud ; elle ne prêcha pas la réforme ; elle fit mieux, elle donna aux juifs français une organisation civile, préférable à celle des juifs de quelque époque et de quelque pays que se soit. Grâce à sa sagesse, une restauration du judaïsme en France pourra s'opérer un jour. Ni nous ni nos enfans ne le verrons luire ce jour ; mais enfin il arrivera, si, comme je l'espère, nos concitoyens israélites ne se lassent pas de marcher dans les voies d'améliorations ouvertes par le grand sanhedrin.

" Après avoir considéré la traduction du Talmud comme élément d'une réforme religieuse, M. Chiarini examine les services qu'elle pourrait rendre à l'histoire, à la chronologie et à la littérature ; en ramenant la question à des termes plus simples, en renonçant à un vain espoir, M. Chiarini obtiendrait les suffrages de tous les amis des lettres. Le Talmud est un monument des écarts de l'esprit humain ; sous ce raport, il a droit à une mention dans l'histoire des religions et dans celle de la philosophie. Mais faudra-t-il traduire intégralement un ouvrage en 12 volumes in-folio, qui de l'aveu commun ne se recommande que par l'excès de sa bizarrerie et de son absurdité[4] ? Songez au tems, au savoir, aux frais qu'exigera la publication d'une version du Talmud, et au mince profit qu'en tirerait la littérature. Quels sont les écrivains qui la liront dans un but historique ou littéraire ? Quelques consciencieux érudits, ou quelques curieux. Mais les premiers savent l'hébreu, et ne sont pas gens à s'en rapporter à la parole d'autrui. Quant aux seconds, les écrits des deux Buxtorff, de Bartolocci, de Wolff, d'Einsenmenger, de Basnage, de Rossi et de tant d'autres, satisferont leur curiosité passagère. Je ne vois donc point, même dans ce cas, des motifs suffisans pour entreprendre l'immense travail dont il est question.

" Je ne veux pas prétendre toutefois qu'il soit impossible de composer aujourd'hui un ouvrage curieux sur le Talmud. Le savant, versé dans la connaissance de l'hébreu rabbinique et de la philosophie juive, qui ferait un extrait simple et méthodique du Talmud, qui choisirait tout ce que ce code contient de relatif à l'histoire, qui mettrait en lumière et expliquerait quelques-uns des symboles intéressans que l'on y trouve, pourrait offrir au public un volume digne d'être reçu avec faveur, et qui compléterait les notions déjà acquises sur l'état des écoles philosophiques de l'Asie dans les premiers tems de notre ère. L'Operis Talmudici brevis recensio de Jean Buxtorff est un ouvrage conçu dans cette idée, mais qui ne peut passer que pour une esquisse : le refaire sur une base plus large serait une chose utile. Voilà, à mon avis, tout ce que la littérature demande à l'orientaliste qui veut rendre ses travaux sur le Talmud profitables au monde savant.

" Si je n'avais pas attaqué l'entreprise de M. Chiarini dans son principe, je me serais permis de critiquer le parti qu'il a pris de traduire le Talmud en Français, la langue latine me paraissant sous tous les rapports plus convenable[5]. Je lui aurais fait observer que la

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[1] The Jews will never, as long as they continue to be Jews, submit to try the Talmud by the *test of reason,* nor is it likely that they will ever acknowledge the old law to be abolished ; or in other words, become converts to Christianity. We do not fear that we shall strengthen prejudices which can receive no accession to their native force by observing that it is a very remarkable fact, that the last ordinance in the Old Testament is an injunction to the Jews to preserve inviolate the laws of Moses ; nor do we recollect any passage in the course of it which seems to contemplate the abolition of the old law, although to many of the Levitical institutions the words 'everlasting' and 'throughout your generations,' in reference to the particular law promulgated, are frequently added.

[2] Eutopian expectation.

[3] The grant of a perfect equalization of civil rights to the Jews from the respective governments of every country which they at present inhabit, would display an enlightened spirit of legislation, and be the means most likely of making them good citizens, and believers no longer in the Talmud ; since it is a principle inherent in human nature, to listen to the arguments and to attend to the advice of those whom we know to be benevolently disposed towards us, and really to desire our welfare.

[4] They have other equally absurd books.

[5] Because only a few learned men and some curious persons would read a Latin translation of the Talmud, which is a language much less generally understood in Europe now than it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Lord. Torquemada says in the twentieth chapter of the tenth book of his Indian Monarchy, that the Mexicans celebrated the festival of Huitzilopochtli in the fifth, the ninth, and the fifteenth month of their calendar, which last month was named Panquetzalliztli: and Peter de los Rios says that the festival of Tetzcatlipoca was kept three times in the year. The same writer also relates, that when the Mexicans in the course of their migration had arrived at Apanco, the people of that province were inclined to oppose their further progress, but that Huitzilopochtli aided the Mexicans by causing a brook that ran in the neighbourhood to overflow its banks. This reminds us of what is said in the third chapter of Joshua, of the Jordan overflowing its banks and dividing to let the priests who bore the ark pass through. Torquemada and Herrera both record the arrival of the Mexicans at Tulan, and describe how highly they were enchanted with the situation of the mountain Cohuatepec; and that consequently, being unwilling to proceed further in search of the promised land, they wished to fix there their permanent residence, murmuring against the will of Huitzilopochtli; who inflicted a dreadful vengeance that night upon them in the camp, slaying all those that had spoken of remaining in that place. Moses in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers thus describes the rebellion of Korah against himself, and his own conduct on that occasion: "Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi; and Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben, took men; and they rose up before Moses with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown. And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them; Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord? And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face: and he spake unto Korah, and unto all his company, saying, Even to-morrow the Lord will show who are his, and who is holy; and will cause him to come near unto him; even him whom he hath chosen will he cause to come near unto him." And in the twenty-eighth and following verses of the same chapter Moses adds, "And Moses said, Hereby ye shall know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works; for I have not done them of mine own mind. If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; then the Lord hath not sent me: but if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, and they go down quick into the pit; then ye shall understand that these men have provoked the Lord. And it came to pass, as he had made an end of speaking all these words, that the ground clave asunder that was under them; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods. They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them; and they perished from among the congregation. And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them; for they said, Lest the earth swallow us up also. And there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense." Moses afterwards says, in the forty-ninth verse, that fourteen thousand seven hundred of the others died of the plague. The cause which led to the punishment of the Mexicans, it will be immediately perceived, was very different from that for which the Israelites so severely suffered; for although on other occasions the children of Israel had incurred the displeasure of God, by murmuring against proceeding further on their journey and by wishing to return back to Egypt, Moses here expressly states that Korah and the Israelites were punished for sedition against himself and Aaron, as Aaron and Miriam had been before punished for sedition against himself alone. But it is in the dreadful nature of the vengeance inflicted, and in the new and

langue française n'est pas très-répandue parmi les rabbins, et qu'il est douteux qu'on l'écrive correctement en Pologne, où la version est censée devoir paraître.

"Je ne terminerai pas cet article sans m'excuser près de M. l'abbé Chiarini du grand nombre d'objections que je viens de diriger contre son projet. J'ai cru servir ses intérêts en lui montrant ce qui me paraît être la vérité. Ce n'est pas sans une véritable peine que l'on voit un homme doué de rares connaissances, et animé de l'amour sincère de l'humanité, se jeter dans une enterprise qui ne doit pas être terminée, ou qui, si jamais elle parvenait à sa fin, n'indemniserait point par d'heureux résultats les efforts d'une vie qui pourrait se consumer dans des traveaux moins pénibles et plus utiles. Je sais que mes doutes ne décideront pas M. Chiarini à abandonner le projet qu'il a conçu. On ne renonce pas à de flatteuses illusions parce qu'une voix isolée et inconnue s'est élevée contre elles; mais qu'il veuille bien se rappeler ce qu'à regret je lui prédis: en admettant qu'il termine sa traduction, il ne trouvera ni dans les gouvernemens, ni dans les particuliers, assez d'encouragemens pour pouvoir la mettre au jour. Puisse-t-il ne pas se préparer des regrets pour un tems où ils seraient inutiles!"—ARTHUR BEUGNOT.[1]

[1] In this prediction M. Beugnot may easily be mistaken.

uncommon kind of death by which both the Mexicans and the Israelites died, as well as its suddenness, that the two examples are parallel. Torquemada observes that Huitzilopochtli had in the beginning informed the Mexicans that the mountain of Cohuatepec was to be only a specimen and sample of the promised land, and that they were not to consider it a permanent residence: and we are informed in Deuteronomy, that Moses, on account of having incurred the displeasure of God in the wilderness, was not permitted to enter the land of Canaan, but was commanded to ascend to the top of Mount Pisgah, in order that he might have a sample and specimen of the land flowing with milk and honey which the Israelites were about to possess. The same writer also says, that as Moses and Aaron died in the wilderness without reaching the land of Canaan, so Huitziton and Tecpatzin died before the Mexicans arrived in the land of Anahuac. This coincidence appears to him deserving of notice; but still, if the number of years which the Mexicans employed in their migration be considered, the reverse would have been highly improbable, even allowing for the patriarchal ages to which the early Chichimecas attained; for according to tradition Xolotl lived two hundred years, and his sister one hundred and fifty: neither would it have appeared extraordinary that Moses himself should have died without entering the promised land,—he being fourscore years old before he left Egypt,—if he had not informed us that God's displeasure was the cause, and that otherwise we might have been predisposed to imagine that a man so highly favoured would have also been rewarded with long life, a blessing upon which the Jews set such high value. Further analogies might be traced between the early history of the Jews, as recorded in the Pentateuch, and that of the Mexicans. It is unnecessary, however, to point them out here, as the account which we have taken from Torquemada's works, of the Mexican migration, terminates with the history of their residence in Tulan and Cohuatepec, and of their departure from those places. But since mention has been made of Xolotl, (whose symbol Boturini says was an eye, indicative of prudence,) who conducted the first colony of Chichimecas or Chichimexi from the country of Amaquemecam to that of Anahuac, (which name means the Valley of the Lake,) we cannot refrain from observing that his history, in some of its circumstances, is not unlike Joshua's: like Joshua, before he himself enters the country of the Tultecas he sends spies to explore the land, and the report of his son Nopaltzin induces him to advance. He then proceeds a short way into the country, as far as Tenayucan, where numbering the people he finds them to be more than a million; and each individual of this mighty host being ordered to throw a single stone, *twelve* large hillocks of stones were formed, which Torquemada says, on the authority as it would appear of ancient paintings, existed in his time. This account of Xolotl numbering the people so nearly resembles what is said in the fourth chapter of Joshua, of the children of Israel being commanded by that chief on crossing the river Jordan to throw stones for a memorial, and is so curious, that we shall transcribe at full length the passage of Joshua, and likewise that alluded to in Torquemada. In the Book of Joshua it says; "And it came to pass when all the people were clean passed over Jordan, that the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying, Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man; and command ye them, saying, Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones; and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the lodging-place where ye shall lodge this night. Then Joshua called the twelve men whom he had prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man: and Joshua said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the Lord your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel; that this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? then ye shall answer them, That the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever. And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded, and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the Lord spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, and carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged and laid them down there." Torquemada thus describes, in the eighteenth chapter of the first book of his Indian Monarchy, the memorial, consisting of twelve heaps of stones, which Xolotl commanded the Chichimexi to leave to their posterity of their having taken possession of the country of the Tultecas: "If I should feel disposed to pass on without enumerating the people who arrived at this place, I should wrong History, since it is her province to mention their number; and if I should declare it, I fear that it will appear incredible: but since these are not speculative calculations which beget opinion, but facts which I find recorded, if the ancient paintings are true and not false,—I proceed to say, that, according to

their account, the people who were scattered through those caves and districts exceeded a million in number; for besides the six kings and lords who came with Xolotl, there were more than twenty thousand other chiefs and captains of inferior rank, who brought each of them in their train more than a thousand persons, whom Xolotl and the other six lords who had departed together with him from their own kingdoms and provinces commanded. But in order that the ears of the prudent and discreet reader may not be scandalized in consequence of this number appearing excessive, I affirm that in the neighbourhood of the city which is at present called Tenayucan, which at that time was the capital of as large a kingdom as this, there is a place where there are twelve hillocks of stones, which are those which were collected together when the people were numbered, each person carrying one and throwing it on the heap, the sight of which causes astonishment in the beholder: and if it be considered that every separate stone was thrown by a single individual, no difficulty will be found in believing that the number of the people was as great as has been said. The place accordingly received the appellation of Nepohualco, which signifies The place of numbering. There is another reason that induces me to believe that their number must have very been great, which appears highly probable; which is, that the Chichimecan nation came in search of the inhabitants of the land, with the determination and resolution to make war upon them as their mortal enemies; and if it be necessary to prepare a sufficient force to subdue an enemy beyond their own limits, double as large a force will be requisite to conquer them in their own territory. It is therefore credible that they came in such vast and numerous squadrons, as men who meditated not only fighting, but conquest, and to remain thenceforward lords of the country." Torquemada proceeds afterwards to say, that Xolotl having taken possession of the land of Anahuac, *portioned it out* amongst his followers; and that after the lapse of some time he advanced as far as Tulan, the capital of the ancient Tultecas. It will be recollected that the first thing Joshua did on entering the promised land was to divide it amongst the Israelites; but that it was not until many years afterwards that the Jews conquered Jerusalem from the Canaanites. As Joshua likewise found giants in the land of Canaan whose race he extirpated, who were called Zamzummims by the Ammonites, as Moses says in the second chapter of Deuteronomy, who were descended from the giants the sons of Anak, compared with whom the Israelites appeared in their own sight as grasshoppers, so the Chichimecas found a remnant of the Quinametin or Tzocuillicxeque, who were giants, on their arrival in Anahuac, who, as Acosta relates in the third chapter of the seventh book of his Indian History, were destroyed by the Tlaxcaltecas, one of the Chichimecan tribes, by means of the following stratagem. They made a feigned treaty with them and invited them to a banquet; when the giants becoming intoxicated with wine, men who had been concealed rushed upon them: and although on recovering from the surprise caused by the suddenness of the attack the giants made a vigorous resistance, tearing off branches from the trees to defend themselves, yet their arms having been previously taken from them, whilst in a drunken state, by the Tlaxcaltecas, they were all to a man cut off. The analogies already pointed out in the Mexican and Jewish histories being too numerous to be merely accidental, we shall endeavour in this place to account for them on grounds which we hope may appear both reasonable and probable. It will be recollected that Garcia says, "que no falta quien diga haverle fingido los Indios, haviendo oido este;"—"there were not wanting those who affirmed that the Indians feigned the one (their own early history) after having heard the other (the early history of the Jews)." This without recurring to miracles appears to be the key to the whole mystery. The Chichimecas are said to have been a nation whose arrival and dominion in New Spain was subsequent to that of the Tultecas, by whom they were civilized and instructed in various of the useful arts of life, especially in that of refining metals and in working in gold and silver; with whom they contracted alliances, and finally united so as to form but one nation; retaining however still the appellation of Chichimecas, or merely prefixing *teo* to the name, as the mass of the people were of that race and the Tultecas were comparatively but few in number. Since, however, the Mexican or Nahuatlacan language, which was that which was spoken by the ancient Chichimecas, prevailed throughout so many provinces of New Spain, each distant the one from the other, it is impossible to suppose that the Chichimecas were not the indigenous population of that country, forming one of the seven nations inhabiting that part of the continent of America, whose dominion in New Spain being later than that of the Tultecas, might have laid the foundation for the opinion that their arrival in that country was later also. The Tultecas were most probably Jews who had colonized America in very early ages, bringing along with them the knowledge of various mechanical arts, and instructing the Indians in them; but especially propagating amongst them their own religious doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and superstitions, which seem to have pervaded the New World from one end of that vast continent to the other; and even to have extended to some of the islands in the

Pacific Ocean; for we read in Captain Cook's Voyages of the rite of tabooing, or consecrating and putting apart, or making unclean for a definite period of time, both animate and inanimate things; and also that the natives of some of those islands, which were probably peopled from America, practised circumcision.

It has been remarked by Lord Bacon "that knowledge is power;" but how much more powerful is superstition! On the supposition therefore that a colony of Jews had in early ages arrived in America (and there can be no difficulty in conceiving that that which took place at a later period might have happened a thousand years before, that is to say, an accidental voyage over the Atlantic), it would not have been strange that they should have been able to acquire an ascendancy over the barbarous Indian tribes, by employing as occasion required both the above-mentioned weapons; or that they should have succeeded in establishing in the New World such an empire as that of the Tultecas, which probably was of a theocratic nature, resembling that of the Ingas of Peru, who carefully impressed on the minds of their subjects that they were of a distinct race, of nobler origin, and possessing a divine right to rule over them: neither would it have been surprising that the Indian nations, becoming more civilized, should at last have shaken off the Tultec yoke. But as it may be objected that this supposition contradicts History, for that the famous empire of the Tultecas after having flourished for so many centuries was overthrown, not by the operation of external causes, or by the rebellion of its own subjects, but by Tetzcatlipoca, the supreme deity of the Mexicans, who, becoming jealous of their prosperity, destroyed Tula, banished Quecalcoatle their last king, and exterminated the people by pestilence and famine,—the answer is easy, that the whole account, as referring to Tula the capital city of the Tultec monarchy in the New World, is fabulous, and that the Tultec empire must have been ruined by other than miraculous causes. But since History is silent respecting them, in the absence of the knowledge of facts we must have recourse to conjecture; that which appears most probable is, that the Tultecas having civilized the surrounding Indian nations, and established their sway over them for some centuries, those nations in time threw off the yoke, partly by arms and partly by treaty, producing concession on the one side and an admission to a participation of power on the other. Such examples of political compromise between contending parties are not unfrequent in history; and by a similar mutual agreement the Sabines and the Romans, who were distinct nations till the reigns of Romulus and of Servius Tullius, became thenceforward united into one people. The reason for supposing that the dominion of the Tultecas had rather merged into that of the Chichimecas from causes such as have been alluded to, than that a violent and successful rebellion had broken asunder the link between master and slave and placed the Tultecas in the condition of the latter, is the estimation in which they were held long after their empire had passed away; and the pride which the Chichimecan sovereigns felt in being descended from them; for the Emperor Xolotl, according to Torquemada, married the prince Nopaltzin his eldest son, who succeeded him on the throne, to Azcatlxochitl a Tultec princess, the daughter of Huitzitzilin and Pochotl. It may here be remarked, that the proper name Azcatlxochitl seems to be a syncope for Aztecatlxochitl, which name would signify The Rose of the Aztecas; and if this name was not bestowed on that princess after her marriage to Nopaltzin, as a sign that she had been adopted by the Chichimecan nation, when that of Chichimecatlxochitl would have appeared more proper, it would afford grounds for supposing that the Tultecas were also called Aztecas, and that they had proceeded from Aztlan; the whole solution of the difficulty, which, the longer we meditate on the history of the Mexicans and that of the other nations of New Spain, more closely presses upon us,—namely how to account for the extreme similarity which their history, their laws, their rites, ceremonies, and superstitions present to those of the Jews,—would be found in the fact that the Tultecas were Jews who had colonized America, and established an empire in that continent which lasted sufficiently long to leave an indelible impression of itself on the state of civilization and on the customs and institutions of the New World; from whom likewise many of the Indian tribes might with much probability have borrowed a portion of their early history, especially the account of their pretended migration. The following is a short account of the Tultecas, extracted from the fourteenth chapter of the first book of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy. "The Tultecas, according to ancient histories, were the second race that peopled this country after the giants, of whom mention has been made in the preceding chapter, especially that corner and portion of it which is called New Spain. These Tultecas took possession of those provinces as lords, the future proprietors of the soil; they relate of them that they were acquainted with the creation of the world, and that the former race of mankind had been destroyed by the deluge; with many other things, the memory of which they preserved in paintings and history. They also say that they knew that the world would again be destroyed by fire, which is the same as they relate of the ancients, who inscribed many

things on two pillars, the one of metal and the other of brick or of stone, in order that when the conflagration took place, the pillar of brick might be preserved. But as I do not possess as much certainty on this subject as the state of the case requires, I do not care to profess deep faith concerning it,—I merely affirm that Tulteca is a name which is employed to designate an architect,—since the people of that nation were great architects; as may still be seen in many parts of this kingdom of New Spain, in the ruins of their principal edifices in the city of San Juan Teotihuacan, and especially in Tulla, Cholulla, and in many other cities and states. They say that these Tultecas proceeded from a region situated to the West, and that they brought seven lords or captains with them, named Tzacatl, Chalcatzin, Ehecatzin, Cohuatzon, Tzihuac-cohuatl, Tlapalmetzotzin, and, the seventh and last, Metzotzin.

"They arrived likewise in a large body, consisting of women as well as of men, who had been banished from their own country and nation. They add also that they brought with them maize, cotton, and the other seeds and vegetables which grow in this country, and that they excelled in working in gold and precious stones, and in manufacturing many curious things. They left their own country, which they named Huehuetlapallan, in the year which they designated Ce Tecpatl, and travelled for a hundred and four years, wandering through many different parts of the New World, until they arrived at Tulantzinco, where they reckoned an age which had elapsed since they quitted their own land and country. The first city which they founded was Tulla, situated at the distance of twelve leagues from Mexico towards the North, and more than fourteen from the above-mentioned site of Tulantzino, with which they probably at that time became dissatisfied, although the soil is good: they accordingly left it on their East, and took up their residence in the said city of Tulla, to the West. The first king who governed in that capital was named Chalchiuhtlanextzin, and his reign commenced in the year Chicome Acatl, in the fifty-second year of which he died. He was succeeded by Ixtlilcuechahuac in the same year, who reigned for a similar number of years: for it was a law amongst the Tultecas, that their kings should reign no longer than fifty-two years, nor for a shorter period if they lived and so desired; for their Xiuhtlalpile, which they named an age, consisted of that number of years, at the expiration of which cycle of fifty-two years their successor entered on his government even in the lifetime of his father: but if the sovereign died before this number of years was completed, then the republic took the direction of affairs until the arrival of the said year, when the installation of the legitimate successor immediately took place. Huetzin succeeded Ixtlilcuechahuac in the government, Totepeuh Huetzin, and Nacazxoc Totepeuh. He was succeeded by another king named Mitl, who built the temple to the goddess called The Frog; queen Xiuhtzaltzin was his successor, who reigned four years. To her succeeded Tecpancaltzin, who was otherwise named Topiltzin, in whose time the Tultecas were destroyed. This king had two sons named Xilotzin and Pochotl, from whom the kings of Culhuacan in after times descended, who escaped with other lords and meaner persons into different parts of this kingdom of New Spain, especially to the shores of the Lake of Tezcuco and to the coasts of the North and the South Seas: for since all things in this mortal life have their termination, inasmuch as they are subject to corruption, as Saint Paul says, the Divine Majesty of God permitted these nations and tribes to end and pass away, and others to introduce themselves in their place, who might follow them and repeople the provinces which they had deserted, and which time had laid waste, since nothing is exempt from decay. The Tultecas were large in stature and well made, as the histories of the Aculhuas relate. They wore long white tunics, and were unwarlike in their disposition, and more addicted to the art of sculpturing in stone, which the name Tulteca signifies, as we have already observed, than to any other art. The manner of their destruction, ruin, and downfall, as it was reported by the very few who were left remaining in the country, was, that having been persecuted and oppressed by a certain king and kings for the space of more than five hundred years, it appeared to them that that persecution proceeded from the anger of their gods,—for they were very great idolaters; they determined therefore to hold a general assembly, composed of all the priests, princes, and considerable lords, in a place called Theotihuacan, which is at present distant six leagues from the great city of Mexico towards the North, for the purpose of celebrating festivals to their gods, in order to please them, and to cause them to lay aside the great anger which they believed that they had conceived against them. Having therefore assembled together, and already commenced the celebration of the festivals, to which, on the first rumour of them, a vast multitude of the people had flocked, in the midst of the solemnities a huge giant appeared, and began to dance with them; and although, as might be expected, they admitted the unexpected phantom into their company, not without some dread, which his presence was well calculated to inspire, on account of his vast stature, his

hideous appearance, and long and withered arms: nevertheless they confronted him; believing that the occurrence was inevitable, for that he had come by the orders of their false and unworthily revered gods, who at each turn which he took with them in the dance clasped them in his arms, and deprived of life, (like another Hercules Actæon,) as many as came within his grasp. The phantom in this manner caused great destruction on that day amongst the dancers. On another day the Devil appeared to them in the figure of another giant, with hands and fingers very long and tapering, and dancing with them strangled them; and in this manner the Devil killed many of them on that day. On another occasion (since they continued the celebration of their festivals in order to see what would be their result, and to hear the desired oracle, to obtain which they kept these festivals to their false gods,) the same Devil appeared to them on a high hill situated in the said part facing the West, in the figure and form of a very fair and beautiful child, seated upon a rock, with a putrid head, the pestilental effluvia of which, like some deadly and venomous poison, killed many of them. Those who were present perceiving the great evil which the sight and presence of this object had caused them, determined to seize it, and dragging it along the ground, to remove it to a great and wide lake, which was within a short distance of that place, which now is named the Lake of Mexico; and although they strove and attempted with all their might to do so, they found it impossible, as the strength of the Devil was greater who resisted and opposed them. In the midst of the struggles and exertions of the Tultecas to stir the boy from that place, and to carry him to the lake, the Devil appeared to them, and told them that it was fit by all means that they should forsake the country if they wished to save their lives, for that remaining in their present possessions, the future only held out to them deaths, ruin, and calamities; and that it would be impossible for them to escape these dangers except by absenting themselves from them; and that it was his request that they would follow him, and that he would establish them in a place of security, and would conduct them to a place where they might pass their lives in tranquillity and repose. The afflicted Tultecas perceiving that their misfortunes were incurably on the increase, and that the surest way of remedying them was to take his advice, approved of it; and deserting the country, departed under his guidance, some to the North and others to the East, according to the part which was allotted to each in a vision which he revealed to them; and accordingly they peopled Campech and Quauthemala, as may be collected from the Aculhuan histories, which are characters and figures with which the natives of that country write."

To this account of the Tultecas we shall subjoin the history of Quetzalcohuatl, their last king, which is taken from the twenty-fourth chapter of the sixth book of the same author:

"Quetzalcohuatl signifies The Feathers of the Serpent or The Feathered Serpent; and this kind of serpent, the name of which these Indians bestowed on their god, is found in the province of Xicalanco, which borders on the kingdom of Yucatan, on the road from that of Tabasco. This god Quetzalcohuatl was greatly celebrated by the inhabitants of the city of Cholulla, and esteemed in that place as the greatest of their gods. This Quetzalcohuatl, as true histories relate, was high priest in the city of Tulla, since it was from thence that he went to Cholulla; and not as the bishop Brother Bartholomew de las Casas says in his Apology, (which is in manuscript,) from Yucatan; although he was in that peninsula, as we shall presently have occasion to mention. They record that he was a white man, tall in stature, with a broad forehead, long and black hair, and a large and round beard. The natives say that Quetzalcohuatl was a great artist and very ingenious, and that he taught them many mechanical arts, especially the art of cutting precious stones, which they name Chalchihuites, which are stones of a green colour, which they highly value; as likewise to cast silver and gold, and to manufacture other articles; who, on the Indians perceiving that he possessed such great ingenuity, was held in much estimation, and reverenced as a king in that city: and hence it happened, that although a lord named Huemac governed them in temporal matters, Quetzalcohuatl in spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs was supreme, and as it were Pontifex Maximus. Those who are very desirous of aggrandizing this their god, pretend that he possessed palaces made of green stones resembling emeralds, others built of silver, and others of scarlet and white shells, others formed out of all kinds of timber, others of turquoise stones, others of rich and valuable feathers. They say also that he was very rich, and abounded with every thing that he could desire. They say that his vassals were very obedient to him and very swift footed, who were called Tlanquacemilhuique; and that when they wished to make any proclamation in the kingdom, and to promulgate any of the commands of Quetzalcohuatl, a crier ascended a high mountain in the neighbourhood of the city of Tulla named Tzatzitepec, where he proclaimed with a loud voice what Quetzalcohuatl had ordered and commanded, and that his voice was heard at the distance of a hundred

leagues and more, as far as the coast of the sea: and this they affirm as a fact. Father Bernard de Sahagun, when giving this account, says that, being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night at an unseasonable hour such a voice, which appeared to him to exceed all human limits and force; and that, inquiring on the following day in the morning what so loud a voice could be, the Indians answered him that they were calling to the labourers from the Tecpan or market-place, to go and work in the maize-fields. If it be true that this voice was heard at such a distance, it is quite evident that it could not be human, but must have been the art and contrivance of the Devil, who spread it or feigned it in those places where the sounds were heard and the commands promulgated. And this may be credited as true and a fact which really happened; since the Deceiver could as easily have deceived them in this matter as in others in which he deceived them. They say that at the time in which he was their lord the maize was most abundant and the gourds a yard long and very thick, and that the stalks of maize, like trees could be climbed, being so large and thick that one alone was a burthen sufficient for a man; and that every other kind of grain was large and most abundant; that they sowed and gathered cotton of all colours,—white, scarlet, pink, orange, and of many and various other hues; and that there were in the same city of Tula many different species of birds, such as the Xiuhtototl, the Quetzaltotl, the Zaquan, and the Tlauquechol, with many other sorts, which sang sweetly and melodiously: that there were Cacao trees of all kinds: that his subjects were very rich and stood in need of nothing, nor suffered famine or scarcity of any kind: that Quetzalcohuatl did penance, piercing his legs and drawing forth blood from his body, with which he smeared the thorns of the Maguey, and bathed himself at midnight in a fountain named Xiuhpacoya; and from him they say that the priests and ministers of the Mexican idols derived this custom. Quetzalcohuatl therefore being in the midst of all this pomp and majesty, and enjoying his prosperity, the Indians say that a great magician called Titlacahua, which is the name of another god, as we have already observed, went to Tula, and assuming the figure and appearance of an old man entered the city, in order to see Quetzalcohuatl; and after mutual salutations had taken place between them, the pretended old man said: Lord, knowing your intentions, and how desirous you are to depart to a kingdom far removed from hence, and likewise having been informed by your subjects that you are sick and ill, I have brought you a certain draught, which on drinking you will attain the fulfilment of your wishes, which will be to go to the kingdom which you desire, and to have health sufficient to be able to undertake the journey, and you will at the same time forget the fatigues and labours of life and that you are mortal. Quetzalcohuatl, perceiving that his intentions had been discovered by this pretended old man, inquired of him where he had to go? To which Titlacahua answered, That it had already been determined by the supreme gods that he should go to the kingdom of Tlapalla, and that it must be so; for that another old man was waiting there in expectation of him. Quetzalcohuatl on hearing this replied, That he had said right, that he was very desirous to go; and that if the journey was to be accomplished by these means, that he was welcome; and taking the cup in his hand he drank the liquor which it contained. The reason that induced Quetzalcohuatl so readily to accede to the proposal of Titlacahua was his anxious wish to make himself immortal and to enjoy eternal life; and to attain that object he used all imaginable exertions. This report was generally current amongst the Mexicans, as Father Sahagun testifies, which was the cause of Motecuhçuma's so easily persuading himself that it was him when he learned the arrival of the Spaniards on the coast, as we relate in his book.

"It was the belief of Quetzalcohuatl on this occasion that that old man's business was to certify the matter to him; Quetzalcohuatl after having drank this beverage, lost all self-possession and began to weep copiously and bitterly; his heart became immediately moved within him, and he determined to go to the country called Tlapallan. With this resolution, which he had now formed in consequence of the art and incantations of the magicians, he caused whatsoever he possessed made of silver and of shells to be burned, and buried other precious things beneath mountains and beds of rivers; and as he was a magician he changed the Cacao trees into others of a different kind called Mizquitl; and he commanded every species of bird which solaced and charmed that region to fly away to the country of Anahuac, which is more than a hundred leagues distant from Tula: and afterwards Quetzalcohuatl commenced his journey, forsaking his city and persecuted by this magician and sorcerer, who had prevailed against him; and arriving at a place called Quauhtitlan, where there grew a large thick and spreading tree, leaning against it, he desired one of his pages to give him a mirror, and looking into it he saw that his face appeared older than it had before been, and exclaimed, I am now old: and the place was on that account named ever afterwards Huehuequauhtitlan, which signifies 'near the old tree' or 'near the tree of the old man;' and taking up stones, he

flung them at the tree, and lodged them all within its trunk, where they remained for many years afterwards. He left that place; and many of those whom he took with him accompanied him on the road along which he passed, playing flutes and other instruments. He came to another place, which is a mountain close to the city of Tlalnepantla, two leagues from the city of Mexico, where he seated himself on a stone; and laying his hands upon it, left there the impressions of them, the marks of which are at the present day quite visible: and those who dwell in the vicinity of that place believe it to be an undoubted fact that Quetzalcohuatl had left them; and I have taken great pains to inquire into the truth of it; and they have assured me that it was the fact: besides which I have found it very punctually recorded by writers highly deserving of credit. The place was accordingly then called, and is still called, Temacpalco, which signifies 'in the palm of the hand.' Quetzalcohuatl accordingly proceeding on his journey by the way of the sea coast to the kingdom of Tlapalla, the magician Titlacahua in company with two others, who had likewise been engaged in the deception practised at Tula and in many others undertaken with the intention of destroying that city, met him, for the sole purpose of retarding him on the way and impeding his journey; and inquiring of him where he was going, he replied, To Tlapalla; when they said, To whom then have you entrusted the kingdom of Tula, and who will do penance there? to which he answered, That that was no longer his concern, for that it was fitting that he should prosecute his journey: and being further asked the purpose of his going to that country,—he said, That persons had come to invite him on the part of the king of it who was the Sun. This fable or imposture was very generally current amongst the Indians of Mexico; and Father Bernard de Sahagun relates, that in the city of Xuchimilco certain Indians inquired of him where Tlapallan was, and that his reply to them was, That he did not know; as neither did he know or understand at that time the drift of the question, for he had not as yet become acquainted with those things, for it was fifty years before he wrote his History, and consequently very few years after the conversion and entrance of the Gospel into those countries. He adds, that they then continued putting captious questions to him, in order to see whether we monks and Spaniards knew any thing of their antiquities. The magicians therefore perceiving the obstinacy and delusion into which Quetzalcohuatl had been persuaded, made no further effort to detain him, but compelled him to leave behind him the instruments of all the mechanical arts which he was taking away with him, and some workmen, in order that after his departure the Indian republic might not stand in need of such things. Quetzalcohuatl afterwards threw into a fountain all the rich jewels which he carried with him; and from that time the fountain was named Cozcaapan, which signifies The water of strings of beads or of precious chains; and is at present called Coaápan, which means The water of the serpent, which in fact it was, for this man's name was Quetzalcohuatl, which signifies The feathered serpent. In this manner he prosecuted his journey, experiencing some annoyances from his enemies the magicians until he arrived at Cholulla, where he was received as we have said elsewhere, and afterwards worshipped, as a god. Here he remained some time; and after he was driven from thence they entertained so lively a recollection of him that they adored him as a god: and they did so on three accounts: first, because he taught them the art of working in gold and silver which they had not till then either known or seen in that country, which all the inhabitants of the said city pride or prided themselves on throughout that province; secondly, because he never wished nor permitted sacrifices of the blood of slaughtered men or of animals, but only bread, roses, flowers, incense, and other sweet perfumes; and thirdly, because he forbade and prohibited with much success wars, robbery, and murder, and other injuries which are done by men to each other. They say that whenever they named in his presence bloodshed, or war, or any other evils calculated to afflict humanity, he turned aside his head and stopped his ears, in order not to see or hear them. They likewise praise him for his great chastity and uprightness, and his exceeding temperance in many other things. This god was held in such veneration and reverence, and his shrine was so frequented and honoured with vows and pilgrimages throughout all those kingdoms, on account of his peculiar attributes, that even the enemies themselves of the city of Cholulla bound themselves to make pilgrimages to it; and they went in security, and the lords of the other provinces and cities had their chapels and oratories with their idols and images there; and he alone of all the other gods was called in that city Lord, as a term of excellence, so that when any one swore or affirmed by our Lord, he was understood to mean Quetzalcohuatl, and none besides, although they had many other gods whom they held in high esteem: and this was all on account of the great love which they felt and bore towards him for the three above-mentioned reasons; which was the real fact, for in truth the dominion of Quetzalcohuatl was sweet, and he exacted no service from them but easy and light things, instructing them in such as were virtuous and prohibiting

such as were wicked, evil, and injurious, teaching them likewise to abhor them. Hence it appears, and will appear more clearly below, that the Indians who celebrated and celebrate human sacrifices did not do so voluntarily, but from the great fear which they entertained of the Devil, on account of the threats which he held out to them, that he would destroy them and send bad seasons and many misfortunes upon them, except they duly performed the worship and service which they owed him as a tribute and a mark of vassalage, from the right which he pretended to have acquired over them many years before. They declare that he remained with them during the entire period of twenty years, at the expiration of which he departed, prosecuting his journey to the kingdom of Tlapallan, taking along with him four principal and virtuous youths of the same city, whom he sent back to them from Coatzaqualco, a province situated at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from this city towards the sea. Amongst the other doctrines which he delivered to them, he charged them to tell the inhabitants of the city of Cholulla that they might be certain of the arrival by sea, at some future time, from a region situated towards the rising sun, of white men with white beards like him, and that they would become lords of those lands, and that they were his brothers. These Indians accordingly always expected that that prophecy would be fulfilled; and when they beheld the Christians, they immediately called them gods, as we have observed in the proper place, the sons and brothers of Quetzalcohuatl, although after they knew them and had experienced their works, they no longer believed them to be divine; for in that city a signal massacre was perpetrated by the Spaniards, unequalled till that time in the Indies, or perhaps in most other parts of the globe. Others say that the people of Cholulla always believed that he would return to govern them and to console them; and that when they saw the ships of the Spaniards coming, they said that their god Quetzalcohuatl was now returning, and that he was bringing the temples over the sea in which he intended to dwell: but that when the disembarkation took place they remarked, These gods are many, it is not our god Quetzalcohuatl. The four disciples who had been sent back by Quetzalcohuatl were immediately received by the citizens as their lords, who divided the whole state subject to them into four tetrarchates, or principalities, to each of whom was given the fourth part of the government of that province, the form of the constitution having been till that time republican and not monarchical. He was the god of the air, and his temple was round and very sumptuous. The ancients constituted Juno the goddess of the air because she was the sister of Jupiter, on whom Cicero observes they bestowed the government of the sky, as the dialogues of Ennius and Euripides show; and to Juno they assigned the air, on account of its similarity and local vicinity: for as two brothers are persons nearly allied, inasmuch as they are united by the closest ties of affinity, without either blood or relationship in the ascending degree separating them, since they are both sprung from the same trunk,—so it is with the sky and the air, although fire be an intermediate element, and they assigned the air to the female sex, on account of its gentleness and delicacy. These are the words of Cicero. For the same reason the Indians dedicated the air to Quetzalcohuatl, on account of the softness and sweetness of his disposition in his intercourse with all men, never desiring the harsh and irksome things which the others esteemed and coveted. As amongst the Indians the god of the air was Quetzalcohuatl, so Juno with the ancients was the goddess of that element; and they who err in the essential point, which is the attributing divinity to created things, may well err in adventitious circumstances, making it either male or female; since neither the one or the other were gods, or possessed power over the air, as we acknowledge of the true God and his son Jesus Christ, who in a tempest which happened at sea, when he was in a bark sailing with his disciples on a certain occasion, commanded the storm to cease and the hurricane to be still, which accordingly followed and came to pass. We must also observe that Quetzalcohuatl was sincerely attached to the worship, ceremonies, and adoration of idols, and that he himself instituted many rites, ceremonies, and festivals to the gods; and they consider it as certain that he invented the calendar. He had priests who were called Quetzalcohua, which appellation signifies, religious persons and priests of the order of Quetzalcohuatl. He left behind him a lively remembrance of himself amongst those nations; and they say that women who were barren and without heirs made offerings and sacrifices to this god, in order that they might become pregnant. He was, as we have observed, the god of the winds; for they attributed to him the power of bidding the winds to blow or to be hushed. They likewise said that Quetzalcohuatl swept the way in order that the gods named Tlaloque might descend in showers. They adopted this notion, because generally a month before the rains commence violent winds prevail throughout the entire of New Spain. They say that this god Quetzalcohuatl, whilst in this mortal life, wore long vests reaching to the feet from a sense of decency, with a mantle above interspersed with red crosses. They preserved certain green stones which had belonged to him with great veneration, and esteemed them as reliques, one of which

resembled the head of a monkey, carved nearly to the life. He had a very sumptuous and large temple in the city of Tula, the ascent to which was by many steps, so narrow that they did not allow room to the entire foot. His image had a very ugly face, a large head, and a thick beard: they placed it in a recumbent posture, and not on its feet, and covered up with mantles; and they say that they did so as a token that he had again to return and to reign over them; and that out of respect to his great majesty, it was proper that his image should be covered up; and that they placed it in a recumbent posture to denote his absence,—like one who reposes, who lays himself down on his side to sleep,—and that on awakening from that sleep of absence he would raise himself up and reign. The inhabitants of Yucatan venerated and reverenced this god Quetzalcohuatl, and named him Kukulcan, and said that he had come thither from the West, which is from this quarter with respect to which Yucatan is situated to the east. They add moreover, that the kings of Yucatan descend from him whom they called Cocomes, which signifies, judges." Little doubt it is to be supposed can be really entertained as to who the Tultecas were. That Las Casas was firmly persuaded that the Indian tribes were a mixed race descended from the Jews, is evident from his own words: *Loquela tua manifestum te facit,* as recorded by Torquemada. If the work of that illustrious prelate,—who was intimately acquainted with Columbus, whose Life he wrote, and who was one of the first Spaniards who proceeded to the continent of America immediately after the conquest, where he must have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with recent traditions, if not of witnessing the ancient religious rites,—had ever been published, we should have known his reasons for coming to that conclusion: that Bishop was too rational to adopt the later hypothesis, embraced by such eminent historians as Acosta and Torquemada, that the Devil had actually counterfeited the history, laws, rites, ceremonies, and customs of the Jews, in the New World. But he imagined, with more probability, that the Jews had really colonized America.

It is much to be regretted that we possess no history of the religious tenets and customs of the Mexicans composed by those who first had the opportunity of witnessing them and verifying them by facts before their eyes. The soldiers of Cortes, who were the first Spaniards who visited Mexico, were men quite unqualified for such an undertaking; and whatever analogies the Mexican religion might have presented either to that of Christians or Jews, they would have been too ignorant to have perceived them. An ecclesiastic alone would have been a fit person to have taken upon himself such a task; and, unfortunately, ecclesiastics received no encouragement to write histories of that nature; nor does it appear that they were allowed to publish them, since the works of Mendieta, of Toribio de Benavente, otherwise named Motolinia, (a copy of whose valuable history Doctor Robertson seems to have procured from Spain, but of which he evidently made no use *,) and of Olmos and Sahagun, have never been printed; and strange to say, the royal historiographer of the Indies, Herrera, attempts to discredit the relations of these first preachers of the Gospel in New Spain †, and speaks in disparaging terms of Torquemada; which may account for the work of the latter author having become so excessively rare, not more than a century after its first publication, that the editor of the second edition says that he despaired for a long time of being able to procure a copy of it in all Spain: but reasons, too long here to be recited, perfectly convince us, that the office of royal historiographer of the Indies was instituted quite as much for the purpose of veiling as of developing truth. And certainly, in an age and in a country where the authority with which a person wrote was so nicely scrutinized as the crite-

* Doctor Waddilove, who was chaplain to Lord Grantham, at that time the English ambassador at the Court of Madrid, procured Doctor Robertson copies of some very curious Spanish MSS. relating to America, a list of which he has inserted immediately after the Preface to his History of America. One of these, described as consisting of more than six hundred pages, divided into three parts, the last of which is said to have treated of the hieroglyphics in use amongst the Indians, though mentioned there anonymously, it cannot be doubted was the manuscript of Toribio de Benavente, to whose authority Dr. Robertson occasionally refers. This MS. is probably still in England; and if the Scottish historian's valuable collection of Spanish books and MSS. was not dispersed after his death, the publication of it would throw new light on the antiquities of America. [Since writing the above, we have been informed on undoubted authority, that Dr. Robertson's collection of Spanish books and MSS. was sent from Scotland to London about fifty years ago, and there sold, after having been first offered for sale to the University of Edinburgh, which declined making the purchase.]

† Herrera, enumerating the works that had assisted him in the composition of his own History, speaks in the following contemptuous manner of Torquemada and the authors whose authority he had followed, denying that the histories of New Spain and Mexico, composed by the first Spaniards and religious missionaries who had visited America, possessed authority: "los quales (manuscriptos) sè cierto, que no vio *el autor, que ha sacado una Monarquia Indiana;* i demas de anteponer á todos los dichos á

rion of his merit, a man like Herrera, who really possessed the talents, if he had not all the candour of an historian, had it in his power, if he felt disposed, to depreciate by animadversion, and to consign to oblivion by criticism, the works of contemporary historians who did not write with the same authority. It must however be confessed that the Decads of Herrera, as far as the geography and natural history of America are concerned, are at least a work of great merit and utility: but it will be recollected that, when treating of the religion and antiquities of America, he wrote in the Escurial; and hence mysteries are for the most part unnoticed, and plain facts only recorded. It may further be remarked that, although he owns that he was assisted in the composition of his History by the writings of Las Casas, he does not adopt the sentiments of that learned prelate, (whose continued residence in the Indies for fifty years must have afforded him the opportunity of collecting many facts on which to reason,) that the mixture of so many Jewish rites with Indian superstitions was to be accounted for on the supposition that America had been colonized by the Jews. But without stating his reasons for dissenting from him, he assumes it as an undoubted fact, that the Devil had taken to himself a chosen people in the New World, and counterfeited in them the history of the children of Israel and their pilgrimage from Egypt *. The observation which we have made above, that ecclesiastics were not encouraged to communicate what they knew from intercourse with the natives, and the perfect knowledge which they had acquired of the Indian languages and of the religion and antiquities of America,—which languages it must be recollected that Cortes and his companions understood nothing of,—is further confirmed by the fact, that two works, which would have thrown so much light on the history of America as The American Chronicle of Las Casas, and The Universal History of New Spain by Sahagun, should never have been published. The former of these works must have been of enormous magnitude, if we may judge of the size of the whole from only having seen that part of it which is preserved in the British Museum, which includes the Preface and the first eight books. Las Casas explains in the Preface, which is very long, the reasons that induced him to undertake the work, which were primarily of a religious nature; although it would appear that he was also desirous of opposing a true history to the many false relations and misrepresentations which he complains that writers on the affairs of America had unblushingly published. Peter Martyr and Gomara seem to be the only authors whom he excepts from this sweeping condemnation; and on their accounts he says entire dependence may be placed. It is extraordinary, considering the celebrity of the author, and the many years which he devoted to the composition of his History, and the consequently well-known fact of the existence of such a work, that it should have been so carefully preserved from every eye. Nicholas Antonio and Pinelo both name it. But it does not appear that the former saw any of it, or the latter more than a part; for neither of these learned men describe it by its right title, or notice its division by the author into Decads, or mention the number of books of which it consisted, which was fifty-eight, or the subject-matter of any of them: but Antonio imagines that the Apologetica Historia and the Historia General was the same; although Remesal had enumerated them as distinct works. And Pinelo, admitting that they were different, believes the Apologetica Historia to have been the Historia del bien y favor de los Indios, which Antonio cites amongst the writings of Las Casas as a work different from either of the former, calling it "magnæ molis opus," and by the Latin title of De Juvandis et Fovendis Indis. Pinelo says, in his Epitome de la Bibliotheca Occidental, page 570, that The General History of the Indies, distinct from the Apologetic, comprehended a period of sixty years, beginning at the year 1492, and continued down to 1552; that it

los Padres Olmos, Sahagun, i Mendieta, *que no tienen autoridad,* entiende que no se puede hacer historia sin haver estado en las Indias, como si Tacito para hacer la suia, huviera tenido necesidad de ver a Levante, Africa, i al Setentrion. Por lo qual, i por la poca cuenta, que los escritores de nuestros tiempos tienen de conservar la memoria de los primeros Descubridores, siendo merecedores de mucha gloria, me ha parecido decir aqui lo referido, i *que no sabria juzgar, qual es mas en este autor, el ambicion ó el descuido en guardar las reglas de la historia.*" — Dec. vi. lib. iii. cap. xix. The attempt *captare popularem aurem,* by insinuating that Torquemada had not done justice to the merits of the first conquerors of America, but had praised his own order and the clergy at their expense, is quite unworthy of an author like Herrera. He had, beyond doubt, powerful motives, neither disagreeable to, or not understood by, the clergy of his own age, to induce him to disparage Torquemada as a writer; but his having done so must greatly lower him as an author in public esteem.

* He assumes this fact, but is very reserved in stating the reasons that induced him to do so, and very concise in his account of the Mexican migration. The same reserve actuating other Spanish writers who possessed equal means of obtaining information with Herrera, has nearly robbed the world of a secret, which it is to be hoped may still be brought to light.

existed in manuscript in the royal archives of Simancas, where he saw it in the year 1626, when by command of the Supreme Council of the Indies he examined the contents of that deposit; and that it likewise existed in manuscript in the library of the Count de Villa Umbrosa, in three volumes, two of which the annotator to Pinelo's Epitome supposes, unless they were copies made from them, had come into the possession of James Krisius, a clergyman at Amsterdam, from perceiving The Natural History of the West Indies by Don Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, in two volumes, mentioned in the catalogue of his library; and the third he thinks might have been another work inserted in the same catalogue with the title of The History of the West Indies. These three volumes, formerly belonging to Krisius, are at present in the British Museum. The third volume, which is a very large folio, is a mere transcript of the other two, which are likewise folios, and in hand-writing evidently much more ancient. They contain only eight of the fifty-eight books into which Las Casas had divided his history, and treat entirely of the life and voyages of Columbus, and the settlement and discovery of the different West Indian Islands. The religion however of the natives of Haiti, and their various superstitions and fables, Las Casas expressly says, that he reserves the description of for another part of his work; which portion containing an account, as it is to be supposed, of the ancient history of America, and of the religious rites and ceremonies of the Indians, was perhaps called apologetical, because he might have endeavoured to palliate in it, in some measure, manners and customs which were used as a plea by the greedy proprietors of encomiendas to press the crown to deprive the Indians of all civil rights, and to reduce them to the condition of absolute slavery. And how could that learned prelate have set up a stronger defence for the Indians, than by showing that their institutions were partly derived from the Jews,—however time, through the perversion of traditions, might have corrupted them? That The Apologetical* History treated of the religion of the Indians is evident; since Torquemada says that Las Casas asserted, in his Apology, in manuscript, that Quecalcoatle went from Tula to Yucatan; and that Apology must have been The Apologetical History.

A Spanish writer, giving a sketch of the life of Las Casas, says, speaking of his History: "El mismo Las Casas, en el año 1556, puso de puño propio una nota, diciendo que dejaba su Historia en confianza al Colejio de la orden de Predicadores de S. Gregorio de Valladolid, i rogando a los prelados que a ningun seglar, ni a los colejiales, la diesen á leer por tiempo de 40 años, i que pasado este termino, se pudiese imprimir, si convenia al bien de los Indios i de España." "Las Casas himself, in the year 1556, added a note to it with his own hand, saying, that he bequeathed his History in confidence to the College of the Order of Friars Preachers of Saint Gregory in Valladolid, requesting the prelates not to allow any layman or the collegians to read it during the period of forty years, at the expiration of which time it might be printed, if it was for the advantage of the Indians and of Spain†. Don Martin de Navarrete says, in the 71st page of the Introduction to his Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles, the first volume of which was printed at Madrid in 1825, that The General History of the Indies—(it would appear from the way in which he expresses himself that he conceived

* By Apologetical may be meant simply some after-writing of Las Casas, in which he had replied to objections, either started by himself in some of his foregoing books, or made by other persons, such as the famous Doctor Sepulveda. In this sense the Bishop of Llandaff entitled his Answer to Paine's "Rights of Man," "An Apology for Christianity,"—a title which His late Majesty did not much approve.

† We have elsewhere been guilty of a mistake in ascribing to Las Casas the words "if it was for the good of religion;" although politics and religion being in his age completely identified in Spain, the one could not be expressed without the other being implied. The politics however of the sixteenth century could never have caused the Academy of History at Madrid to decide against publishing the work of Las Casas, when the matter was referred to them at the end of the seventeenth. The Spanish government has always exercised a discreet judgment relative to the publication of books, and in this respect has studied as much as any government could the advantage of its Indian subjects: but still the sparing way in which it would appear from the following passage of the *Indian Monarchy* of Torquemada, that the first generation of the Indians who became subject to the Spanish yoke were allowed to acquire an acquaintance with Scripture history, may have prevented them from being able to compare any portion of their own ancient mythology with that History, and from making the interesting discovery of whether the Teoamoxtli was the history of the Pentateuch consigned to paintings: "Este capitulo de carta quadró mucho al Emperador; porque lo mismo le aconsejaron en España las personas que consulto sobre este negocio, en particular dos hermanos, famosisimos letrados, los quales á pedimento y mandado de su magestad, *hicieron una instruccion y doctrina, mui docta y curiosamente ordenada, de como se les avia de dar á entender á estos Indios las cosas de nuestra fé, y misterios de ella, por manera de historia, conforme á la relacion que tenian de su capacidad.*"—Monarquia Indiana, lib. xv. cap. i.

it to be the entire work) are preserved in three volumes in that capital, the two first of which are in the library of the Royal Academy of History, and the third in the Royal Library; and that it ended in the year 1520. In this case, Don M. Navarrete must have mistaken the half of Las Casas's History for the whole; as Las Casas expressly states in the Preface to the American Chronicle, that it consisted of six Decads, each of which comprised the history of ten years, except the first, which, beginning with the events of 1492, ended at 1500. It is probable that the general title of Las Casas's History was The American Chronicle, which the author divided into two parts, each consisting of three Decads, to which he gave a separate title, calling the first The General History, and the last The Apologetic History. That learned prelate himself declaring that he employed thirty-two years in the composition of this work, which comprised the history of the West Indian Islands, and likewise that of the Continent of America, of Peru, and Yucatan, as well as of Nicaragua, Chiapa, Guatemala, Mexico, and the other kingdoms of New Spain, we need not feel surprised that it should have extended to six folio volumes; but that no portion of a work so interesting should have ever been published, either by the religious Order to which he bequeathed it, or by public authority, or by private individuals, cannot be ascribed to accidental causes*. Sahagun, in the Prologue to his Universal History of New Spain, expressly says that he was impeded in the progress of his work by the great discouragement which he met with from those who ought to have favoured it; "el gran disfavor que hubo de parte de los que debieran favorecer la obra". And he states in his second book, that "in the midst of the commendations bestowed upon it in the chapter of his Order, which was held in the year 1569, it appeared to some of the definitors that it was contrary to their vow of poverty to expend money on writing such histories: and they therefore obliged the author to discharge his amanuensis, and to write with his own hand whatever he thought proper; who, as he was then more than seventy years old, and on account of the trembling of his hand, could not write at all, or procure a dispensation of that order, his writings remained for more than five years without any thing further being done with them. In the mean time the Provincial deprived the said author of them all, and scattered them over the province. After the lapse of some years, Brother Miguel Navarro came as commissioner to those parts, and recovered by ecclesiastical censures the said books at the request of the author. Nothing more was done at that time respecting them, nor was there any one to favour the author's bringing to a conclusion his translation of them into Spanish, until the arrival of the commissioner-general Brother Rodrigo de Segura, who saw them, and was much pleased with them, and desired the author to translate them into Spanish, and provided him with every thing necessary for transcribing them anew." This account is given nearly in the words of Sahagun, who adds, that "the encouragement which he received from the commissioner-general was owing to the anxious desire which Don Juan de Ovando, president of the Council of the Indies, felt to see the work." Grateful for the assistance which he had received from the commissioner Rodrigo de Segura, he dedicated it to him, overwhelming him with eulogies for having redeemed it,—rescuing it, as he declares, from beneath the earth, and even from under the ashes, "sacandola debajo de tierra y aun de debajo de la ceniza." The original manuscript of the Universal History of New Spain contained, according to the author's testimony, three columns in each page; in the first of which was written the Spanish translation, in the second the history of New Spain in the Mexican language, and in the third the explanation and definition in Spanish of certain Mexican words and phrases. From the account which Sahagun has himself transmitted to us of the accidental manner in which his work was preserved after having been taken from him by the Provincial of his Order, and the various parts and books of which it was composed scattered and dispersed, and not recovered till some years afterwards by means of ecclesiastical censures, there will always remain a doubt, on account of the great age of the author when he set about reuniting the different parts, whether his History, as it has been handed down to us, is complete. He was nearly eighty years of age when he commenced that task, and his memory it is to be supposed must have been somewhat impaired; so that having further to direct his attention to the completion of the translation of the Mexican text into Spanish, it would not have been surprising,—had some chapters, or even books, and those perhaps not the least curious, been wanting,—that he should not have undertaken the recomposition of them †.

* Torquemada remarks, "tuvo Las Casas muchos i poderosos enemigos, porque *dijo grandes verdades*." "Las Casas had many and powerful enemies, because he spoke great truths."

† Having, since writing the above, been so fortunate as to procure a copy of The History of Sahagun, which was transcribed about forty years ago by the hand of the Spanish librarian Muñoz, we are enabled at least to pronounce some opinion on

Sahagun further complains, that he was forcibly deprived of a very valuable painting representing the great temple of Mexico, with the square or court in which it was inclosed, and the other temples and buildings surrounding it, which he says was sent to Spain. It is very evident that every thing in Mexico calculated to draw attention to the ancient history of the country, more especially if connected with religious recollections, was carefully removed from

this copy, which appears to be mutilated, though it still consists of two folio volumes. The chapters (which are remarkably short, compared with those in The Indian Monarchy of Torquemada, in the Decades of Herrera, and in Garcia's Origin of the Indians,) appear to be sometimes a mere epitome of the original chapters. The famous migration of the Mexicans or Aztecas from Aztlan is described in such a manner, that it would seem that the author either wrote under restraint or under the actual fear of being again forcibly deprived of his writings, or at least with no inclination to give his readers much information on the subject; for he is infinitely less circumstantial in his account than Betancourt, Garcia, and Torquemada; the last of whom diffusely treated of that migration in the omitted chapter in the first volume of his Indian Monarchy, minutely comparing the events recorded of it with the Mosaic account of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel from Egypt, in order to prove how exactly the Devil had counterfeited God, in first selecting a chosen people, and in afterwards leading them forth with signs and wonders on a journey for to take possession of a promised land, and giving them laws, rites, and ceremonies on the way. *All the hymns, eighteen in number,* which are noticed in the index to the first volume, which the Mexicans sung to their gods, are likewise wanting[1]; and it is probable that either Sahagun himself left them out when he recompiled his History, or that the person who copied his original MS. was not permitted to transcribe them. From the equivocal manner in which Sahagun speaks of these hymns at the conclusion of the appendix to his second book, (" Es cosa muy averiguada, que la cueva, bosque, y arcabuco, donde el dia de hoy este maldito adversario se absconde, son los cantares, y psalmos, que tiene compuestos, y sele cantan, sin poderse entender lo que en ellos se trata, mas de aquellos que son naturales, y acostumbrados à este lenguage; de manera que seguramente se canta todo lo que el quiere, sea guerra, ò paz, loor suyo, *ò contumelia de Christo,* sin que de los demas se pueda entender,") the latter was probably the case. But besides these omissions, various contradictions occur in the course of this History which Sahagun could hardly have fallen into. It also terminates in an abrupt and unfinished manner; and far from giving the Mexican account (as he professes in the prologue to the last book to do) of the events of the war between the Spaniards and the Mexicans,—such as of the death of Montezuma and of some of his sons; the former of whom, according to Indian tradition, was assassinated by the command of Cortes, and not killed by the blow of a stone on the head from the hands of his own subjects, as stated by the Spaniards; and the latter intentionally massacred by them, when they were compelled to retreat by night from Mexico,—he adheres closely to the Spanish relation of those events. Neither does he say a word of Quauhtemotzin, the last king of Mexico, having been put to the torture by Cortes, to compel him to reveal the secret of his hidden treasures, which all Spanish writers record. A very material contradiction is found between the statement made in the seventeenth chapter of the twelfth book of this History and that contained in the seventh chapter of the eighth book, as regards the first seizure of Montezuma by the Spaniards. It says in the seventeenth chapter, which describes Montezuma's reception of Cortes and his entrance into Mexico, that they immediately proceeded together to the palace, and that from that moment Montezuma became the prisoner of the Spaniards, as they never again lost possession of his person: " Desque los Españoles llegaron à las casas reales con Motecuzoma, luego le detubieron consigo; *nunca mas le dexaron apartar de si;* y tambien detubieron consigo à Ytzquauhtzin, governador de Tlatilulco. A estos dos detubieron consigo, y à los demas dejaron ir." Whilst in the seventh chapter of the eighth book, we read that the seizure of Montezuma did not take place till some days after the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico: " Quando llegaron cerca de las casas de Mexico, saliò Motecuzuma à recibir al capitan y à todos los Españoles de paz; juntaronse en un lugar que se llama Xoloco, un poco mas acà que es cerca de donde està agora el hospital de la concepcion, y fue à 8 de Diziembre del dicho año. Despues de haver recibido al capitan como ellos suelen con flores y otros presentes, y despues de haver hecho una platica el dicho Motecuzuma al capitan, luego se fueron todos juntos à las casas reales de Mexico, donde se aposentaron todos los Españoles, y estuvieron muchos dias mui servidos, *y dende à pocos dias que llegaron, hecharon preso à Motecuzuma.*"

Another very remarkable contradiction of real facts, as well as a manifest improbability, in the historical narration, is found in the fourteenth section of the twenty-ninth chapter of the tenth book of Sahagun's History, where he says that the Amoxoaqui, or wise men, who came with the colony to Tamoancha, re-embarked, and carried away with them all the paintings which they had brought with

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[1] Since these hymns or psalms, as Sahagun entitles them, were probably poetical compositions of a sublimer strain,—and no specimens even of common Mexican poetry have been preserved by the Spanish historians, who nevertheless commend in the highest terms the proficiency of the Mexicans in that art, extolling at the same time their language for its softness, richness, and the beauty of its metaphors,—it is much to be regretted that they should all be wanting, and that the second book of the History of Sahagun should have been deprived of this valuable addition. It is probable, however, that of the twelve books into which his *Universal History* is divided, the third and the sixth are those which have been most mutilated: since from the former we might have expected to have learned more of the real history of Quecalcoatle and of the Tultecas; and in the latter we might reasonably have looked for some prayers addressed to that deity, whom the Mexicans honoured next to Tezcatlipoca; and since Sahagun, in his dedicatory address to Roderic de Segura, says of this latter book, " Hic sextus omnium major, cum corpore tum vi grandi tripudio jubilat;" whereas in its present state it is scarcely as long as the eleventh, or even as the second with the omitted hymns,—it is evident that some careful hand must have pruned away those parts which were deemed to be superfluous.

sight immediately after the conquest. Stone idols and pieces of sculpture were mutilated or buried; paintings were burned; temples and edifices, which from their size it was impossible to destroy, were suffered to fall into local oblivion: and magnificent monuments of ancient art, such as the temples of Palenque and the palaces of Mictlan, are passed over unnoticed by Spanish authors.

The Mexican paintings seem at a very early period to have become objects of suspicion and mistrust, even in Europe. The first that were sent to Spain came along with the other presents which were brought from the infant colony of Veracruz to Charles the Fifth in the year 1519, by Portucarrerius and Montejius. Peter Martyr mentions them in the eighth chapter of his fourth Decad: but although he says that they came from Coluacana, there is some reason to imagine that they might have been procured from the island of Acuzamil or from Yucatan, as his description corresponds more exactly with the painting which is preserved in the royal library of Dresden, which is certainly not Mexican, than with any others which we have seen; and that painting, containing characters resembling those surrounding the cross discovered in the temple of Palenque, which is situated on the borders of Yucatan, was probably a painting of that province: some of the symbols contained in it are not very unlike Hebrew letters. Peter Martyr gives the following description of these paintings in an epistle addressed to Leo the Tenth: "We have sayde before, that these nations have bookes; and the messengers who were procurators for the new colony of Coluacana, together with other presentes brought many of them with them into Spayne.

"The leaves of their bookes whereon they write, are of the thin inner rinde of a tree, growing under the upper barke. I thinke they call it Philyra; not such as is within the barke of willowes or elmes, but such as we may see in the woolly and downy partes of dates, which lyeth within the hard outward rinds, as nets interlaced with holes, and narrow spots. Those mashes or little nettings they stampe in a morter together with bitumen, and afterwarde being softened, binde and extend them to what forme they please; and being made hard again, they smeere and annoynt them with playster, or some matter or substance like playster. I thinke your Holinesse hath seene table bookes overstrewed with playster beaten and sifted into fine dust, wherein one may write whatsoever he pleaseth, and after with a spunge or a cloath blot it out, and write thereon again*. Bookes also are cunningly made of the fig tree timber, which stewards of great houses carry with them to the market, and with a penne of mettall

them that treated of their rites, ceremonies, and mechanical arts, "Llevaron consigo *todas* las pinturas *que havian trahido* de los ritos y de los oficios mecanicos;" four only of their number remaining with the colony in Tamoancha, who invented new paintings, by which they regulated time and the duration of the year, calculated nativities, and interpreted dreams:—since it may reasonably be demanded, if they were only to be taken back again, for what purpose did the Amoxoaqui bring those paintings with them to Tamoancha, and why were their countrymen to be put to the trouble of inventing new paintings? The contradiction of real facts is contained in the following very curious passage: "Se sabia por las pinturas que se quemaron en tiempo del Señor de Mexico que se decia Ytzcoatl, en cuyo tiempo los Señores y los principales que habia entonces acordaron y mandaron que se quemasen todas, por que no viniesen à manos del vulgo y viniesen en menos precio." "It might have been ascertained, (viz. the length of time which the colony remained in Tamoancha,) from the paintings which were burned in the reign of the king of Mexico who was named Ytzcoatl, in whose time the lords and principal men then living resolved and commanded that they should be *all* burned, that they might not fall into the hands of the common people, and so come into disrepute." The natural inference to be drawn from this singular account of the burning of the Mexican paintings in the reign of Ytzcoatl, whose death occurred in the year 1440, according to the interpreter of the Collection of Mendoza,—only sixty-two years before the reign of Montezuma,—is, that the total destruction of the mythological paintings of the Mexicans was not so much owing to the zeal of Zumaraga and the Spanish missionaries, as to the Mexicans themselves; and it was probably framed with the view of favouring that conclusion. But the existence even still of several of these paintings in Europe is sufficient to confute the assertion of Sahagun, which is itself so extraordinary and difficult to reconcile with what he elsewhere writes of the many ancient Mexican paintings with which he was aided in the composition of his History,—that, except we can suppose that Ytzcoatl and the principal lords only sought out those paintings that recorded the length of time that their ancestors spent in Tamoancha, and caused them to be burned, sparing all the rest, without any assignable reason for making the exception, we must judge the passage itself containing the account to be an interpolation, or if genuine, to have been dictated to Sahagun by those whom to obey, he well knew, might be the means of ensuring the preservation of his History to posterity, but to reject whose warnings would be the certain way to consign it to oblivion. It is probable that Sahagun, when engaged in the recompilation of his History, after it had been taken away from him and again restored, received three cautions: first, to write nothing to prove that the Jews had colonized America; secondly, to be guarded in what he said of the Devil's having imitated God by taking to himself a chosen people in the New World, and counterfeiting the rites and ceremonies of the Jews; and thirdly, not to advance the hypothesis that Christianity had ever been preached to the Indians, or to treat too largely of the history of Quecalcoatle.

* This passage has been expunged from the common edition of the three first Decads of Peter Martyr; but it is found with some variety in Hakluyt's complete edition of the eight Decads, printed in Paris in the original Latin in the year 1587, octavo.

sette downe the wares which they have bought, and blot them out againe when they have entred them in their bookes of accompt. They make not their books square leafe by leafe, but extend the matter and substance thereof into many cubites. They reduce them into square peeces, not loose, but with binding and flexible bitumen so conjoyned, that being compact of wooden table bookes, they may seeme to have passed the hands of some curious workmen that joyned them together. Which way soever the booke bee opened, two written sides offer themselves to the view; two pages appeare and as many lye under, unlesse you stretch them in length, for there are many leaves joyned together under one leafe. The characters are very unlike ours, written after our manner lyne after lyne, with characters like small dice, fishhookes, snares, files, starres, and other such like formes and shapes, wherein they immitate almost the Egyptian manner of writing, and between the lines they paint the shapes of men and beasts, especially of their kings and nobles. Wherefore it is to bee supposed that the worthy acts of every kings auncestors are there set downe in writing, as we see the like done in our time, that oftentimes the printers insert the pictures of the authors of the matter delivered, into generall histories and fabulous bookes also, to allure the mindes of such as are desirous to buy them. They make the former wooden table bookes also with art to content and delight the beholder, being shut, they seeme to differ nothing from our bookes. In these they set downe in writing the rites and customs of their lawes, sacrifices, ceremonies; their computations also, and certayne astronomicall annotations, with the manner and time of sowing and planting." It is singular that Peter Martyr, after having given this accurate account of the contents as well as of the appearance, form, and manner of folding of the Mexican paintings, should, only two years afterwards, in the year 1521, say in the tenth chapter of his fifth Decad, addressing Pope Adrian the Sixth, "I have heeretofore sayde that they have books, whereof they brought many; but this Ribera saith, that they are not made for the use of readinge, but that those characters garnished and beautified with divers images and proportions, are examples and patternes of thinges, from the which workmen may draw out examples for the fashioning of jewels, sheets, and garments, to beautify them with those proportions, as I see sempsters every where in Spaine, and those who with fine needles make silken chaine worke, roses, and flowers in linnen cloath, and many kindes of formes, to delight the eye that beholds them; the formes and proportions of all which workes they have in particular samplers of linnen cloth, by direction whereof they instruct younge maydens and girles. What I should thinke in this variety I knowe not. I suppose them to bee bookes, and that those characters and images signifie some other thinge, seeinge I have seene the like thinges in the obeliskes and pillers at Rome, which were accounted letters, consideringe also that we reade that the Caldeis used to write after that manner."

It does not appear that Peter Martyr had the opportunity of seeing any more of these books, or that any further presents of that kind were sent to the king of Spain; as among the various presents which were afterwards transmitted by Cortes to Charles the Fifth, which Peter Martyr describes at great length, books are no where enumerated, nor does he mention them again in his succeeding Decads. Ribera, from whom Peter Martyr received the information that the Mexican paintings were merely patterns for clothes and jewels, was the intimate friend and companion of Cortes; he had been two years in New Spain, and had acquired a knowledge of the Mexican language, as Peter Martyr elsewhere says; he must therefore have known the real nature and use of those paintings: and what his motive could have been in saying that they had no signification or meaning, it would be difficult to explain. Rigid orders were shortly afterwards given to the bishops and clergy in New Spain to cause them all to be burned; and those orders were so strictly obeyed, that in a few years scarcely any paintings could be found in the possession of the Indians. Other causes, however, besides the two which have been mentioned,—that is to say, the original destruction of the Mexican paintings, and the subsequent discouragement which those who were inclined to write histories whilst traditions were still recent experienced,—conspired to leave the page of American history almost a blank. Spain passed some extraordinary laws, prohibiting lawyers, surgeons, litterati, Moors, Jews, heretics, and the descendants to the third generation of persons suspected by the Inquisition, and foreigners of all sorts who had not received a license at Seville, from passing over to America.

It will be immediately perceived that in this list of proscriptions the learned professions generally, except the ecclesiastical, were included, and the rule applied to native Spaniards. But what, it may be inquired, could have been the reason for these prohibitions? Gomara simply states, that the Emperor forbade lawyers to go to America, lest they should promote litigations, and litterati lest they should impede conversions, ("estos porque uviesse menos pleitos, y aquellos porque no estragassen la conversion.") Boturini therefore, it is to be supposed, was banished

from Mexico, and his property confiscated on the latter account. The reason for surgeons being forbidden to settle in America is not specified: they are generally men of superior acquirements; but still they might have been disposed to study their separate interests, and not to be the first to interpose their good offices to make up the quarrels which the lawyers were likely to create*. From whatever causes, however, these regulations may have proceeded, it is evident that they were calculated, by preventing men of information from going to America, to retard and check the progress of knowledge, and to allow the veil of oblivion to fall over the history of the New World. It may perhaps be said, that if learned men were prohibited going of their own accord to America, the kings of Spain not unfrequently sent them there; and that thus Hernandez the celebrated naturalist composed a History which cost Philip the Second sixty thousand ducats, of which Claude Clement observes,—with reference it is to be supposed to the designs of that monarch never having been completed, by the manuscript of Hernandez remaining in an unpublished state in the library of the Escurial,—"qui omnes libri et commentarii, si prout affecti sunt, ita forent perfecti et absoluti, Philippus II. et Franciscus Hernandius haud quaquam Alexandro, et Aristoteli hac in parte concederent."

It is surprising that a work of that kind, which was not confined to the natural history of New Spain, but embraced its political history likewise, should never have been printed. How many errors the illustrious Buffon would have avoided could he have availed himself of it. Only one reason can be assigned for an epitome merely of that part of it which related to natural history having been published by the Lyncean Academicians at Rome in the year 1651; namely, that there was no wish to draw the attention of Europe to the subjects of which it treated, which the publication of the writings of so learned a man would undoubtedly have done. But other writings, besides those of Hernandez, which would have been valuable to history, have mysteriously disappeared. The Bibliotheca of Pinelo, a work the express object of which was to illustrate the history of America by references to and extracts from valuable and unpublished MSS. preserved in the most famous libraries of Spain and the public archives, especially in those of Simancas, to which the author, through the interest of the Duke de Medina de las Torres, obtained access, exists only in an epitome; and of the larger work a learned writer has observed, "not a leaf has been found." Garcia's History of the Peruvian Monarchy, to which he frequently refers in his Origin of the Indians, is also unknown. Siguenza's Mexican Cyclography is stated to have been lost through the negligence of his heirs; and many other interesting works are said to have perished, or been lost in a similar manner. It has been remarked above, that the office of Royal Historiographer of the Indies does not appear to have been instituted solely for the purpose of promoting the cause of truth and the increase of knowledge: and it may be further observed, that the Council of the Indies, which took cognizance of all works treating of America, requiring that they should be, previously to publication, submitted to a strict censureship, with the power of recalling or prohibiting, even after publication, any work they thought fit, proceeded in a diametrically opposite spirit. The entire system indeed of licensing and censuring works of literature exercised in Spain a baneful influence upon learning; and the number of licenses of this kind which the law required should be affixed to works of very inconsiderable extent, was really excessive, when there could be no doubt moreover that each censor would be sufficiently Argus-eyed. Boturini's small work, entitled "Idea de Una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional, fundada sobre Material copioso de Figuras, Symbolos, Caracteres y Geroglificos, Cantares y Manuscritos de Autores Indios ultimamente descubiertos," which was published in Madrid in the year 1746, notwithstanding his dedication of it to the king, and his preliminary protest, has six different licenses for publication prefixed to it: the first is the Censure of Pedro Fresneda of the Company of Jesus; the second is the License of Don Miguel Gomez de Escobar, Ordinary Inquisitor; the third the Judgment of Doctor Joseph Borrull, Judge in the supreme Council of the Indies; the fourth the License of the Royal Council of the Indies; the fifth the Approbation of the Reverend Juan de la Concepcion, bare-footed Carmelite and Qualificator of the Inquisition; and the sixth the License of the Royal Council of Castille, to which the signatures of the Corrector General of His Majesty, Don Manuel de Rivera, and of his secretary, Don Miguel Fernandez Munilla, are also added. The preliminary protest is as follows: "Although the occasion of writing this Historical Idea has obliged me to meditate upon the secret and scientifical

* In the present day scientific men of this profession have incurred another imputation; but we should say "Summa scientia summa pietas;" or at least that the mind of man, which naturally feels sentiments of veneration and of love towards the Great Author of its existence, as it becomes more enlightened and better informed has those innate sentiments heightened and increased.

paintings of the Indians; nevertheless, so far am I from separating myself in the slightest degree from the purity of the Catholic religion, in which I was born, that I would rather readily die in its defence; and whatever I say here, I submit with the most humble obedience to the judgment and correction of our holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic mother Church."

At this distance of time, when the state of the world is so different from what it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it may not be readily conceived how easy it was for the Council of the Indies, through the power vested in it of permitting or prohibiting the general circulation of all writings relative to America, to keep the rest of Europe in a state of darkness as to the history of that continent. For three centuries those who composed successively that Council, seem to have exercised their functions of censors with the greatest vigilance. If powerful patronage or inadvertence on their part suffered in the first instance any obnoxious work to appear in print, it was sure soon to be recalled. Thus the History of the Indies, by Gomara, which was dedicated to Charles the Fifth, and the Conquest of Mexico, by the same author, which was dedicated to Don Martin Cortes, the son of the celebrated Cortes, became prohibited books soon after their first publication. But there were other works against which a silent war was waged in Spain.

The Ocean Decads of Peter Martyr, and the Indian Monarchy of Torquemada, were works of this class. Those justly celebrated Decads, eight in number, written in an epistolary style, were addressed to the two Sforzias, dukes of Milan, and to the popes Leo the Tenth, Adrian the Sixth, and Clement the Seventh; and notwithstanding their great merit as monuments of history and the purity and elegance of the Latin in which they are composed, they have sunk into complete oblivion. Hakluyt published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth a complete edition of the Ocean Decads, which he printed in Paris and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh; a copy of which at the present day it is impossible to procure. That edition contains besides a map, a wood-cut representing two of those kind of crosses, which were discovered in America, called Saint Andrew's, which exactly resemble the cross in the first page of the Collection of Mendoza, in which was founded the city of Mexico. Pinelo says that Vasco imputed in his Chronicles of Spain, some freedom of opinion in religious matters to Peter Martyr; perhaps Vasco might have attempted in that way to account for the scarcity of Peter Martyr's writings in Spain, and the disrepute into which they seemed to have fallen: if so, it was an unfounded surmise, and the accusation was one from which Pinelo, by referring to the eulogium bestowed upon Peter Martyr by Paul Jovius, at once exculpates him. Terminating the digression into which we have been led by the consideration of the causes which have so long conspired to keep Europe in a state of ignorance with respect to the history of America, we shall only further remark that the history of Peru is enveloped in much greater obscurity than that of Mexico. Doctor Robertson supposes that this is owing to the circumstance of Pizarro and the conquerors of Peru having been men of inferior education to Cortes and his followers; as if it were immediately on the first conquest and occupation of a country, before any knowledge of the language spoken by the natives can be attained, that conquerors and their soldiers usually set about writing histories. That learned writer in his History of America, has himself given so decided a preference to the authority of Cortes, from whose relation nevertheless he never feels the least scrupulous to deduct what he pleases on the score of exaggeration, that he seems almost to have overlooked the writings of other historians, especially those of Torquemada and Acosta; and hence he has fallen into great errors. The real cause of less being known of the history of the Peruvian empire than of the Mexican, notwithstanding Garcilasso de la Vega, himself of the race of the Ingas, wrote in the latter end of the sixteenth century a History of Peru, is probably, that Peru was discovered many years after the conquest and discovery of Mexico; and Europe was not to be surprised a second time by the sudden appearance of fresh Ocean Decads and more mythological paintings.

We do not doubt that if the writings of the licentiate Polus had ever been published, more would have been known of the history of Peru; since Acosta, speaking in the twenty-third chapter of the fifth book of his History of the Indies of those writings, says, "De his qui plura sciturit, is quæ Licentiatus Polus ad Archiepiscopum civitatis de los Reyes Don Jeronymo de Loaysa commentatus est, evolvat, ubi rerum mirarum et variarum plenum catalogum, magnâ diligentiâ a dicto scriptore congestum reperiet." Though none of the Peruvian paintings have been preserved, it is highly probable that the Peruvians, like the Mexicans, employed paintings to commemorate historical events, and to perpetuate the rites and ceremonies of their religion. If Acosta is of a different opinion, it must be recollected that that learned writer composed his History many years after the empire of the Ingas had been destroyed: and that however studious he might have been of truth, he was sometimes mistaken; as when he says,

that circumcision was not a rite in use amongst the Indians. The Peruvian paintings might have been burned immediately after the conquest of Peru; and perhaps it was thought unnecessary to send any of them to Europe, as specimens of Mexican paintings had been already sent. Amongst the more civilized tribes of Indians dwelling on the banks of the Oronoco, paintings were discovered by the Spaniards; and Baron de Humboldt says, that father Narcissus Gilbar, a Franciscan, obtained some paintings from the Indians inhabiting the shores of the Ucayale, which he afterwards sent to Lima, where several persons with whom the Baron was acquainted had seen them. But if some uncertainty exists whether paintings were in use amongst the Peruvians, all authors agree that they preserved the memory of past events for several ages by means of knotted cords, called Quipus; and as the Peruvian mythology was as complex as the Mexican, and their history went as far back, the names of persons being in the same way preserved in the recollection of distant generations, it is almost impossible to conceive the nature of these quipus*, except we suppose that certain sounds and syllabic associations might have been connected with each differently coloured and differently formed knot. Rosales says, in his History of Chili, that an army of Spaniards having been lost, their retreat and history was discovered some years afterwards, by mention being made of them in the Quipus. The possibility of an army being lost may be called in question: but when it is recollected that the provinces bordering on Peru were wholly unknown to the Spaniards, and their extent almost boundless, and that a Spanish army in America at the commencement of the fifteenth century frequently did not amount to more than two or three hundred men, there is nothing so improbable in the supposition.

The Peruvians when first discovered by the Spaniards had already attained a high degree of civilization; and it would appear from a passage in Gomara's History of the Indies, that the Spaniards were struck by the resemblance of some of the tribes of Indians in that part of America to Jews. "Son todos muy ajudiados en gesto y habla, ca tienen grandes narizes, y hablan de papo. Ellas andan trasquiladas y faxadas, y con anillos solamente. Ellos visten camisas cortas que no les cubren sus verguenças, e traen coronas como de frailes, sino que cortan todo el cabello por delante y por detras, e dexan crecer los lados."—*La Istoria de las Indias*, fo. lx. "They are all very like Jews in appearance and voice, for they have large noses and speak through the throat. The women cut off their hair and wear girdles, and they alone use rings. The men dress in short shirts, scarcely studying decency in their apparel, making themselves bald like monks, except that they shave off the hair from the front and the back of their heads and allow it to grow on the sides." Gomara elsewhere says that some of the Indians of the Andes wore *turbans*, which the Spaniards imagined was to conceal some deformity of the head. Having already pointed out the numerous analogies which the history of the pretended migration of the Mexicans presents to that of the Jews as recorded in Exodus, we shall now notice the singular conformity which exists between many of the Hebrew laws, as contained in Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and the other books of the Pentateuch, with those of the Indians. It is scarcely necessary to observe that it is the legislative and not the executive power in a state that stamps a national character on the people; and that while that is formed and grows up under the former, it is merely modified by the latter accordingly as the laws are less or more duly enforced. By their Codes of Laws posterity has a right to judge every nation according to the immutable principles of right and wrong, the knowledge of which is implanted in the breast of man, and to which it is as absurd to attribute either age or youth, as it would be to assign those accidents to space. The common law of every state in Europe has been confessedly

* Some Quipus, alledged to be Peruvian, and to record the annals of the Peruvian empire, are in Lord Kingsborough's possession; they are contained in a large gilt box formed out of a solid piece of wood, curiously carved on the top with the figure of a man seated upon a winged quadruped, with the representations of various animals around, and on the bottom with snakes; at the angles are four images, as it would appear, of four of the Ingas, and on the two principal sides the likenesses of the famous Temple of the Sun at Cusco, and of that of the Moon. These Quipus, which perhaps are Chilian instead of Peruvian, and modern instead of ancient, if they are a forgery, at least display great ingenuity on the part of the person who composed them. They consist of knotted strings of catgut, which are fastened in loops upon different rings, each ring forming a separate history, and the loops following in their proper order on the rings; the first loop being read downwards,—or in other words, the knots counted from the upper extremity which joins the ring to the lower extremity which meets it again: these knots are of different colours, and it is impossible not to imagine that in the arrangement of the knots first on loops which fasten at the ends like a necklace, and afterwards of the loops themselves on rings, they nearly corresponded in outward appearance to the ancient Peruvian Quipus. The name of *Registros de Ramales*, which Garcia gives in his second book of the Origin of the Indias to the real Quipus, as well as his description of them, are singularly applicable to those referred to above.

modelled after the Mosaic law; but time has already operated the repeal of several of its parts, such as the trial by ordeal and the trial by combat, which modes of trial were undoubtedly suggested by the trial of jealousy, which is described at length in the fifth chapter of Numbers, and proceeded upon the same assumption, that an appeal being made to God he would decide by a miraculous interposition the guilt or the innocence of the accused party. It is a self-evident truth that in proportion as laws affect society in general, they assume a character of vital importance to the state; and their fitness and the wisdom with which they have been enacted, cannot be too closely examined and scrutinized. Laws relative to property and inheritance, to marriages and to divorce, and to slavery in countries where slavery is tolerated, are of this class; and it is somewhat extraordinary that precisely on these heads the affinity between the Mexican and Hebrew laws is greater than between the latter and those of any other nation with which we are acquainted. The ceremonial and ritual laws of the Jews likewise nearly resembled those of the Mexicans:—of some of these we shall speak first. Father Joseph Gumilla says in the fifty-ninth page of the Oronoco Ilustrado, "I affirm in the second place, that the nations of the Oronoco and its streams observed many Hebrew ceremonies during the time of their paganism, which they followed rudely and blindly without knowing why or wherefore, that had been transmitted by traditions handed down from father to son, without their being able to assign any reason for the practice of them. From which customs and usages it is inferred, that after America had been peopled by the descendants of Cham, a certain number of Jews passed over likewise to that continent after the dispersion of that ungrateful people, from whom the ceremonies, which I shall cursorily notice as I proceed (for I mean afterwards to treat this subject more at length), spread themselves amongst the native population." "La circuncision, señal, y divisa dada por el mismo Dios a su escogido pueblo, aunque con la variedad que el largo curso de los tiempos introduce en tódos los usos y costumbres, se halla entre aquellas naciones gentiles. Los Salivas, quando lo eran, y los que restan en los bosques, al octavo dia circuncidaban sus parvulos, sin exceptuar a las niñas, no cortando, sino lastimandolos con una sangrienta transficcion, de que solian morir algunos de uno, y otro sexo. Las varias naciones de Cuiloto, Uru, y otros rios, que entran en Apure, antes de reducirse a la santa fè, eran mas crueles en dicho uso, y mas inhumanas en esta ceremonia, añadiendo heridas considerables por todo el cuerpo, y brazos, cuyas cicatrices se ven en los que viven oy, de los que nacieron en aquellas selvas: No hacian esta carniceria hasta los diez, u doce años de edad, para que tuviessen fuerza para la evacuacion tan notable de sangre como se seguia, demas de docientas heridas, que daban a las inocentes victimas de su ignorancia. Yo encontrè el año de 1721, un chico moribundo en dichos bosques, cuyas heridas se havian enconado, y tenia el cuerpo lleno de asquerosas materias. Para que no sintiessen la punta afilada con que atravessaban las carnes, embriagaban de antemano a los pacientes de ambos sexos, porque nadie se escapaba de esta sangrienta ceremonia. Entre los Indios Guamos, y Othomacos, son igualmente crueles las señas de la circuncision." It will be remarked that Gumilla says the Salivas circumcised their children on the eighth day after their birth; and by the covenant which God made with Abraham, the Jews circumcised their children on the same day, being commanded so to do in the twelfth verse of the seventeenth chapter of Genesis. "And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man-child in your generations; he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed." Moses himself was near being killed by God for omitting to have his son circumcised, as we learn from the twenty-fourth and following verses of the fourth chapter of Exodus: and it seems that the important commission with which he was then charged, to deliver a message from God to Pharaoh, commanding him to let the Israelites depart out of Egypt, was considered as no excuse for his disobedience; for that is the tenour of the following passage: "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, even my first-born. And I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born. And it came to pass by the way, in the inn, that the Lord met him, and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me. So he let him go: then she said, a bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision." The number eight seems to have been held in as much estimation by the Indians as by the Jews, by whom every thing relating to circumcision was held in such veneration that it was the only work which their law did not prohibit them to perform on the Sabbath-day; since the Jews, according to Maimonides, were allowed to circumcise their children on that day: and as the ceremony was performed with a stone knife (which custom the German Jews are said to have retained to the present day), Garcia and other writers have supposed that the Indians venerated the Tequepatl or flint knife, and placed it in their temples as a sacred symbol, no less on account of its connection with sacrifice

than because they used it as an instrument of circumcision*. Damian a Goez says that the Abyssinian Christians likewise circumcised their children, defending the practice by the example of Saint Paul, who himself circumcised a young man named Timothy, whose father was a Greek but his mother a Jewess. The Mosaic law prohibited the Jews to eat the flesh of swine; and the aversion which they still retain to pork is too well known to require proof. It is very singular that the Indians of the Oronoco should have entertained the same prejudice, in which they were probably imitated by the circumcised Indians of Yucatan. Gumilla says, "No se hallara Judio, que tenga tanto horror a la carne de lechon ó cebon casero como tienen los dichos Gentiles; pero despues de instruidos, y bautizados, se desatinan por comerla." "There is not that Jew in existence who holds the flesh of a sucking-pig or of the domestic hog in such horror as the said Gentiles; but after they have been instructed and baptized, they eat it without scruple." We are not ignorant that many Spanish authors, who were as little inclined to permit the Indians to resemble the Jews in their aversion to pork as in the rite of circumcision, have denied that the hog was natural to America; and have persuaded the illustrious Buffon to adopt their error, who enumerates the hog amongst the species of animals which were transported from the Old Continent to the New. At this distance of time it might even have been very difficult to have refuted those writers; for although Gomara mentions it as an animal discovered in the remotest parts of South America, those who might have either a theory to support or one to deny, would contend, from the prolific nature of the animal, that the species had multiplied and become wild in different parts of America, having been originally carried to that continent by the Spaniards. A convincing proof, however, that this was not the case, is afforded in the collection of Mexican, or we should rather say of Yucatan paintings†, which are preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden, in the sixty-second page of which the figure of a boar is accurately delineated, as may be seen by referring to the coloured Plates contained in the third volume.

* Sahagun in the twenty-fourth chapter of the second book of his History describing the dress with which the Mexicans usually represented their principal deity Huitzilopuchtli, says, "Del medio della salia un *mastil* tan bien labrado de pluma, y en lo alto del mastil estaba engirido un cuchillo de pedernal à manera de yerro de lanzon ensangrentado hasta el medio." If they believed that that god had commanded them to practise circumcision, it is probable that the symbol of the stone knife upon that part of his dress was as a memorial of that ordinance.

† These paintings are inferred to be Yucatan, from the similarity of the hieroglyphics which they contain to those surrounding the cross in the temple of Palenque: that they are not Mexican is evident from the difference of their style from that of the Mexican paintings. But what, it may be inquired, do these mysterious paintings represent? the migration of the Aztecas, the colonization of America by the Tultecas, or the events which are said to have preceded and caused the deluge? which are briefly alluded to in the first and second verses of the sixth chapter of Genesis: "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose;" which passage the Rabbis explain in a manner very different from that in which it is usually understood; interpreting the phrase in Hebrew "the sons of God" to mean "the demons;" alleging as their reason for so doing, that since after the deluge their Patriarchs (who could not have been ignorant of the real cause of the deluge,) took as many wives as they pleased, without placing themselves under any restriction as to the choice,—since some married their sisters, and others their sisters-in-law,—so dreadful a catastrophe as the deluge could not have been caused by a crime, which, on this supposition, the Patriarchs would have been guilty of the greatest presumption in repeating. This reasoning of the Rabbis assumes a greater degree of plausibility, when we consider that at any rate, by the expression the sons of God are meant the wicked, and that a wicked man can be properly no more a son of God than a wicked spirit. Some of the paintings contained in the Dresden Codex are very curious, and they all present a strange mixture of civilization, barbarity, and the grossest superstition. Whilst many of the figures are drawn with great regard to the proper proportions of the human body, the style of their execution being very delicate, others prove that the nation to which they refer had attained a certain degree of perfection in some of the arts. But what notion must we form of a people who could consign to paintings, and record as matter of history, or at least incorporate with history, the dreams and visions of their own deluded imaginations; and to whom can we assimilate them, except to the Jews, who, if we understand Scripture aright, were a people who pretended to be as familiar with God by means of dreams and visions, as man can well be with his fellow man. Allusion is of course here made to the false prophets: but it must not be forgotten that the time was when there was only one true prophet in Israel, who Elijah declares was himself; while those who pretended to see visions, and who deceived the people by prophecies, were four hundred and fifty, as we are informed in the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings. It deserves to be remarked, whatever may be the subject of these paintings, that no symbols of time, either of days or years, fix the date of events; whence it may be inferred, that the history recorded was so ancient, that it was thought a useless task to aim at chronological exactness by introducing amongst them any such symbols. This history may probably relate to the Tultecas; and the women of that nation are perhaps represented by the female figures with dark hair flowing in long tresses and adorned with jewels, since their husbands were very expert, as Sahagun and other authors declare, in the cutting and setting of precious stones. The physiognomy of these figures is very peculiar and marked; it is not European or African, nor does it recall to our recollection the features of any nation of antiquity, with which busts of marble, bronze, or porphyry, such as that with which the Egyptians constructed their immortal works, have made us acquainted. It

The Abyssinian Christians, according to Damian a Goez, imitated the Jews in abstaining from pork, as well as in circumcision; and since many learned men have supposed that the miracle which is recorded in the fifth chapter of Saint Mark, of Christ casting out the legion of devils from the man possessed, and sending them afterwards into the swine, was a punishment inflicted on the owners of those animals for keeping them, and thereby tempting the Jews to transgress the law; the superstitious Abyssinians might have imagined, that as God had prohibited,

appears to be Asiatic; but the robust stature and large noses of this tribe do not argue that they proceeded from any of the northern regions of Asia, such as Tartary or Kamschatka; and few would go as far as Sangalien and the islands north of Japan to discover the ancestors of a people who in remote ages colonized Yucatan; neither do they resemble the Chinese or the Hindoos. Asia then, on this side of the Persian gulf, and perhaps the region of Palestine, was the hive from which this swarm came to inundate America with unheard-of superstitions, and to interweave with the simple religious traditions of the Indians, the dark history of their own fabulous annals. Some of the paintings remind us of the early manners and customs of the Jews, who when they migrated from Egypt carried with them the embalmed bodies and skeletons of some of their deceased ancestors; for it is not at all probable that the bones of Joseph,—which by his express desire were removed from the Egyptian soil, as we learn in the nineteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you,"—were the only bones which the Israelites took with them on their pilgrimage; especially as we learn in a later book of Scripture that those of holy persons, such as were the Patriarchs, were sometimes endowed with occult virtues: for a dead man, of whom nothing meritorious is recorded in his life, is said in the twentieth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings to have come to life by merely touching the bones of Elisha, although it does not appear from the passage of Scripture referred to, that the deceased came in contact with those bones except by simple accident: "And Elisha died, and they buried him. And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year. And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet." This was also the prophet to whom allusion is made in the thirteenth verse of the forty-eighth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: "No word could overcome him; and after his death his *body* prophesied. He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous." How, after the relation in Scripture of these great miracles performed by relics, can Protestants assert that the Roman Catholic doctrine relating to them is not derived from Scripture, however absurd they may consider it. The Jews undoubtedly esteemed the bones of some of their prophets and holy persons as sacred relics; and the Mexicans probably borrowed the superstitious reverence which they felt for the bones of some of their reputed saints and prophets from the Jews, with whom also appears to have originated that species of divination called necromancy, which, as the name (compounded of *νεκρος* a dead body, and *μαντικη* the art of divination,) implies, signifies prophesying by means of a dead body, or seeking prophetical predictions from a dead body, which those did who consulted the bones of Elisha; although in this instance criminality and absurdity must be separated from an act which seems in after ages to have been the fertile source of both amongst the Jews. We may here notice some other paintings in the Dresden Codex, which appear to associate themselves with the Hebrew traditions of the fall of Satan, and to refer to the personage in Mexican mythology who was named Zontemoque, from the manner in which they believed that he was precipitated to the earth; this proper name being compounded of *zon* the head, and *temoque* falling, and signifying falling headlong. These paintings occur in the thirteenth, the forty-ninth, and the fiftieth pages of that MS., the first of which may be presumed to refer also to the proper name Lucifer, from the starlike symbols that seem to accompany his fall. Milton's celebrated description of the fall of Satan is likewise brought to mind by the recumbent figure in the fiftieth page: and the opening scene of the Paradise Lost is well expressed by the Indian painter, who had assuredly never heard of Milton's Satan, whom even the Jews would scarcely recognize. It is not however surprising that Milton, when giving full scope to his poetical imagination, should have formed to himself the idea of a Satan such as the Jews had never dreamt of, since his prose compositions are replete with so many new notions upon the subject of divinity. The other recumbent figure, in the forty-ninth page, affords proof, from the peculiarity of the formation of the eye,—which is so often imitated in paintings confessedly Mexican, for example, in the fifty-eighth page of the lesser Vatican MS.,—that the natives of Mexico and of Yucatan, however they might have differed from each other in the style of their paintings, introduced many characteristic traits into them from a mythology which furnished them with a common prototype: hence in the twenty-sixth page of the Dresden MS., the image of a hand is represented on exactly the same kind of staff as the same hand is painted in the fifty-ninth page of the Borgian MS.; and the Chirotheca, which Acosta says that the Peruvians were accustomed to hold up on a certain festival, it can scarcely be doubted was a hand also resembling that engraved upon the signet of Hugh Capet. The figure of a boar occurring in the sixty-second page of the same MS. in association with that of a rabbit, another animal the flesh of which the Jews were forbidden to eat, and which the Mexicans considered in the year of One Rabbit, or Ce Tochtli, as a sign which was the sure harbinger of famine, induces us to refer in this place to a very curious painting of the Borgian MS. (the forty-fourth), in which the thirteen squares surrounding the figure of Quecalcoatle seem to contain twelve birds and one flying insect, which were held in abomination by the Jews, and for which the figure of an animal of a fanciful form, but not unlike a monkey, is perhaps making an atonement by the sacrifice of some clean bird, the head of which he has twisted off from the body, so as not to cause death by strangulation. A comparison of the figures in the plate alluded to, with the birds enumerated in the following passage of the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, will show that real and not fanciful specific identity exists between most of those there represented, and those mentioned in the text of the Pentateuch: "And these are they which ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an abomination: the eagle, and the ossifrage, and the ospray, and the vulture, and the kite after his kind; every raven after his kind; and the owl, and the night-hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind, and the little owl, and the cormorant, and the great

and Christ had not enjoined, the eating the flesh of that animal, it would be meritorious at least in them to refrain from it.

Gumilla further observes, "Anointing with oil and perfumes, which was so peculiarly a Jewish custom that even Christ himself reproaches the Pharisees for being wanting in that mark of courtesy and love in which Mary Magdalene excelled, was a usage which continued in such full force on the Oronoco, that it would require a chapter by itself to explain it: besides which, if we consider the indispensable obligation which they were under to bathe themselves three times a day, or at least twice,—who will not confess that the Indians resemble the Jews? I shall note down other marks of Judaism as I proceed, accordingly as they occur to me, in their proper place; and in order to avoid prolixity here, I conclude by protesting that if the spirit of covetousness and self-interest which is predominant in Judaism was lost, it might be found entire and in full vigour amongst the nations of the Oronoco and its streams, whose mode of addressing each other as regards the claim of kindred (male and female relations in the second and third degree calling themselves brothers and sisters) is derived from the Jews." This Jewish custom, which has been adopted by the modern Quakers with greater latitude, is also noticed by Garcia in the following passage of the third chapter of his Origin of the Indians, wherein he observes that it was prevalent amongst the Peruvians, a people with whom he was well acquainted and had long resided; remarking also, "That it was a Hebrew custom, which lasted to the time of Christ our Lord, to call relations of the second and third degree of consanguinity, brothers,—Abraham, as it appears in Genesis, addressing Lot, Since we are brothers, there is no reason why there should be strife between our shepherds and us. And in the same book of Genesis, the Scripture calls Abraham the brother of Lot, saying, When Abraham heard that his brother Lot was taken prisoner. The Scripture here calls him

owl, and the swan, and the pelican, and the gier-eagle, and the stork, the heron after her kind, and the lapwing, and the bat. All fowls that creep, going upon all four, shall be an abomination unto you. Yet these may ye eat, of every flying creeping thing that goeth upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth; even these of them ye may eat; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind. But all other flying creeping things, which have four feet, shall be an abomination unto you. And for these ye shall be unclean: whosoever toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the even." If all the unclean animals specified in the eleventh chapter of Leviticus are not found represented in this plate, it must be recollected that with some, such as the camel, the Mexicans were quite unacquainted: that the number of the squares in the same plate is *only thirteen*, and that *flying things*, for which an atonement might be made by the sacrifice of a *flying thing*, seem alone to be intended to be there included; for although the sign of the rabbit occurs immediately under the upper row of birds, that sign associated with the number two, like that of the cane before it, under which is marked a single unit, and the sign of the earthquake surrounded by four units, which is placed under the chair of Quecalcoatle, may only show that Ome Tochtli, as well as Ce Acatl and Nahui Ollin, was a sign dedicated to Quecalcoatle on account perhaps of his other appellation of Mexitli, which likewise signified a vine or the maguey plant, from which the Mexicans obtained wine. The unclean birds mentioned in Leviticus, and occurring in the plate, appear to be the following: the stork, and the heron, the great owl, and the little owl, three species of eagles, three species of hawks or kites, the vulture, and the cuckow: of these, that supposed to represent the cuckow, the fourth in order in the lower row of birds, is the only one the class of which is not clearly indicated by marks characteristic of the genus to which it belongs; for although the mouth of the cuckoo, like that of the night-hawk, is large and capable of great expansion to enable it more easily to catch its prey, still the bills of both these birds have a flat appearance when closed, and do not resemble the prominent beak of the eagle: the painter however might have substituted one characteristic difference for the other. With respect to the vulture, the figure of which is contained in the ninth square, and which may be thought to bear some resemblance to a turkey, it may here be remarked that the American vulture is in fact very like a turkey; and hence in the West Indies it goes by the name of the *turkey-buzzard*. One flying insect, apparently a butterfly, occupies a place among these birds, which may be supposed to represent flying and creeping things in general, which were an abomination to the Jews. We are further induced to believe that the Mexicans were acquainted with the hog, as well as the Indians of Yucatan, and that, like the Indians of the Oronoco, they considered it an unclean animal, because an animal resembling a boar with bristles is represented flying or retreating from the sign of the Cross in the seventy-third page of the Borgian MS.—Mention of the Dresden MS. having furnished occasion for the insertion of this note, we shall conclude it by observing that this collection of paintings, although in the finest preservation, does not appear to be perfect; a part, and perhaps a considerable portion of the history to which it relates, may have followed in the same or succeeding painted volumes. From the nature of the material, whether of skin or paper, on which the Indians were accustomed to paint, it is evident that their paintings might have been extended to any indefinite length; and the size of the volume when folded up, and the convenience of holding it or lifting it, probably limited the number of the pages of which it was made to consist. The position of the figures in the Dresden MS., invariably looking to the left and turned from the right, clearly shows that it was read like a Hebrew roll from right to left, and not in our manner from left to right. From the importance which the Jews attach to every thing relating to the copying out or transcribing of their sacred books, the fact here noticed is deserving of observation, although this attention to trifles is probably because the Rabbis are unwilling that their flocks should study the Scriptures in the original Hebrew, the only text which they recognize.

Lot's brother; and the same Scripture informs us that Lot was the nephew of Abraham." What Gumilla affirms of the frequency of ablutions amongst the Indians of the Oronoco, and their custom of anointing themselves with oil, corresponds with the accounts of Torquemada and Clavigero. Oil was used likewise among the Mexicans at the consecration of their high priest and at the coronation of their kings. This oil, as the olive was unknown in that country, was made of ulli, or elastic gum, diluted in water, with other resinous substances and blood. It would appear from the following passage in the seventh book of Clavigero's History of Mexico, that that learned writer believed that the preservation of their health rather than religion was the motive that induced the Mexicans to bathe so often in the day: "Among the means which the Mexicans employed for the preservation of health, that of the bath was very frequent. They bathed themselves extremely often, even many times in the same day, in the natural water of rivers, lakes, ditches, and ponds. Experience has taught the Spaniards the advantages of bathing in that climate, and particularly in the hot countries. The Mexicans and other nations of Anahuac made little less frequent use of the bath Temazcalli. Although in all its circumstances it is deserving of particular mention in the History of Mexico, none of the historians of that kingdom have described it, attending more frequently to descriptions and accounts of less importance; so much so, that if some of those baths had not been still preserved, the memory of them must have totally perished." It will be observed that Clavigero, in remarking that the Spaniards found bathing beneficial to their health, admits the diversity of the temperature of different parts of New Spain, although the climate is the same. From the elevated heights of the mountains which on every side enclose the valley of Mexico, some of which are covered with perpetual snow, and the great extent of the Mexican lake, that province is not very warm; and the Temazcalli, or hot vapour baths, could not have been resorted to by the Mexicans to relieve themselves from the heat. As bathing likewise twice a day for four successive days formed a part of the ceremonies which the kings of Mexico were obliged to go through on their coronation; and Gumilla expressly declares that the Indians of the Oronoco were under an indispensable obligation to bathe themselves three times a day, or at least twice,—we are inclined to think that bathing was quite as much a religious ceremony amongst the Mexicans as amongst the Jews; and that the reason why the Spanish historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have made no particular mention of the Mexican Temazcalli,—a description as well as a representation of which may be found in the seventh book of Clavigero's History of Mexico,—was, because bathing and ablutions formed a very essential part of the Jewish rites and ceremonies: and to have dwelt on this analogy in the customs of the Mexicans and the Jews, coupled with the fact that the former people were acquainted with the use of the arch in building (for an arch was employed in the construction of the Temazcalli), might have led to inquiries disagreeable to the spirit of the age. But if the Mexicans in their dress, in the domestic economy of their houses (which had flat roofs or terraces like those of the Jews), in their mode of receiving guests and saluting strangers, in their respect for the old (rising up on their approach), and in the pains which they bestowed on the education of their children, sending them to the temples to be instructed, as Torquemada informs us in the thirteenth chapter of the ninth book of the Indian Monarchy,—strongly remind us of the Jews; much more do they resemble them in their religious rites and ceremonies, in their superstitions, in their proneness to idolatry, in their credulity, in their cruelty, and in their laws. We have already observed that the Mexican temples were formed on the model of the Hebrew brazen altar, except that the latter had no steps up to it, and the priests ascended by an inclined plane. These temples were of a very peculiar construction; they were flat on the top and shaped like a pyramid, and as they increased in height they were reduced in dimensions by certain contractions, generally three or four in number, at equal distances from each other, which left sufficient room to walk round the edifice. Reference to the old edition of Doctor Prideaux's Connections between Sacred and Profane History, which contains an engraving of the brazen altar, will show that that altar was made on the same plan: the Levites were enabled to walk round it, as well as to ascend it.

Torquemada speaking of the temples of New Spain, says, "We do not read in Holy Scripture that any nation in the world has used temples and high altars of this kind built of masonry and elevated in the air; neither does profane history mention them: although Holy Scripture informs us in the Book of Joshua, that the two tribes and a half who did not cross the Jordan, but remained on the other side when the children of Israel entered the promised land, having accompanied the others who passed over, and conquered the enemy who opposed their taking possession of it, returned home and erected an altar close to the said Jordan "infinitæ magnitudinis" (of infinite magnitude and height), signifying by these words that the height of that building was vast and excessive;

so that we are not informed nor do we know that a similar edifice has been constructed in the world in honour of the Devil, or so high an altar, except in this kingdom of New Spain, where on the base of mason work of these high buildings, altars are placed and chapels built." Monarquia Indiana, cap. x. lib. viii. The following passage from the first book of the History of Herodotus will show that the famous temple of Belus in Babylon was constructed on the plan of the Mexican Teocalli: "Ἐν δε φαρσεϊ ἑκατερῳ της πολιος τετειχιστο ἐν μεσῳ· ἐν τῳ ἠεν τα βασιληϊα, περιβολῳ μεγαλῳ τε και ἰσχυρῳ· ἐν δε τῳ ἑτερῳ, Διος Βηλου ἱρον χαλκοπυλον, και ἐς ἐμε τουτο ετι ἐον, δυο σταδιων παντη, ἐον τετραγωνον. ἐν μεσῳ δε του ἱρου πυργος στερεος οἰκοδομηται, σταδιου και το μηκος και το εὐρος· και ἐπι τουτῳ τῳ πυργῳ ἀλλος πυργος ἐπιβεβηκε, και ἑτερος μαλα ἐπι τουτῳ, μεχρις οὐ ὀκτω πυργων. ἀναβασις δε ἐς αὐτους ἐξωθεν κυκλῳ περι παντας τους πυργους ἐχουσα πεποιηται. μεσουντι δε κου της ἀναβασιος, ἐστι καταγωγη τε και θωκοι ἀμπαυστηριοι, ἐν τοισι κατιζοντες ἀμπαυονται οἱ ἀναβαινοντες. ἐν δε τῳ τελευταιῳ πυργῳ νηος ἐπεστι μεγας. ἐν δε τῳ νηῳ κλινη μεγαλη κεεται εὐ ἐστρωμενη, και οἱ τραπεζα παρακεεται χρυσεη. ἀγαλμα δε οὐκ ἐνι οὐδεν αὐτοθι ἐνιδρυμενον. οὐδε νυκτα οὐδεις ἐναυλιζεται ἀνθρωπων, ὁτι μη γυνη μουνη των ἐπιχωριων, την ἀν ὁ θεος ἑληται ἐκ πασεων, ὡς λεγουσι οἱ Χαλδαιοι, ἐοντες ἱρεες τουτου του θεου. Φασι δε οἱ αὐτοι οὑτοι, ἐμοι μεν οὐ πιστα λεγοντες, τον θεον αὐτον φοιταν τε ἐς τον νηον, και ἀμπαυεσθαι ἐπι της κλινης, καταπερ ἐν Θηβῃσι τῃσι Αιγυπτιῃσι κατα τον αὐτον τροπον, ὡς λεγουσι οἱ Αἰγυπτιοι. και γαρ δη ἐκειθι κοιμαται ἐν τῳ του Διος του Θηβαιεος γυνη. ἀμφοτεραι δε αὐται λεγονται ἀνδρων οὐδαμων ἐς ὁμιλιην φοιταν. και καταπερ ἐν Παταροισι της Λυκιης ἡ προμαντις του θεου, ἐπεαν γενηται, οὐ γαρ ὠν αἰει ἐστι χρηστηριον αὐτοθι. ἐπεαν δε γενηται, τοτε ὠν συγκατακληϊεται τας νυκτας ἐσω ἐν τῳ νηῳ.

"Ἐστι δε του ἐν Βαβυλωνι ἱρου και ἀλλος κατω νηος. ἐνθα ἀγαλμα μεγα του Διος ἐνι κατημενον χρυσεον, και οἱ τραπεζα μεγαλη παρακεεται χρυσεη, και το βαθρον οἱ και ὁ θρονος χρυσεος ἐστι. και, ὡς ἐλεγον οἱ Χαλδαιοι, ταλαντων ὀκτακοσιων χρυσιου πεποιηται ταυτα. ἐξω δε του νηου, βωμος ἐστι χρυσεος. ἐστι δε και ἀλλος βωμος μεγας, ὁπου θυεται τα τελεα των προβατων. ἐπι γαρ του χρυσεου βωμου οὐκ ἐξεστι θυειν, ὁτι μη γαλαθηνα μουνα. ἐπι δε του μεζονος βωμου και καταγιζουσι λιβανωτου χιλια ταλαντα ἐτεος ἑκαστου οἱ Χαλδαιοι. τοτε ἐπεαν την ὁρτην ἀγωσι τῳ θεῳ τουτῳ. Ἡν δε ἐν τῳ τεμενεϊ τουτῳ ἐτι τον χρονον ἐκεινον και ἀνδριας δυωδεκα πηχεων, χρυσεος, στερεος. ἐγω μεν μιν οὐκ εἰδον. τα δε λεγεται ὑπο Χαλδαιων, ταυτα λεγω. τουτῳ τῳ ἀνδριαντι Δαρειος μεν ὁ Ὑστασπεος ἐπιβουλευσας, οὐκ ἐτολμησε λαβειν. Ξερξης δε ὁ Δαρειου ἐλαβε, και τον ἱρεα ἀπεκτεινε, ἀπαγορευοντα μη κινεειν τον ἀνδριαντα. το μεν δη ἱρον τουτο οὑτω κεκοσμητο. ἐστι δε και ἰδια ἀναθηματα πολλα."

"The centre of each region of the city was walled in: one of these enclosures contained the royal palace, surrounded with large and strong ramparts; and the other the temple of Jupiter Belus, with its gates of brass: and this remains to my time, being of a square form and two stadia in length on every side*.

"In the middle of the temple a solid tower is built, in length and breadth a stadium, upon which tower another tower is erected, and another on that, till it reaches the height of eight towers. The ascent to these towers is constructed on the outside, winding in a circle round all the towers. About half-way up there is a resting-place, and seats to repose upon, on which persons ascending sit down and recover from their fatigue. On the last tower there is a large chapel (νηος) in which chapel there is a great and well covered bed, by the side of which is placed a golden table; but no image whatsoever is set there, nor does any man ever pass the night there; but only a woman of the country, whomsoever the god chooses to select from amongst them all, as the Chaldeans affirm, who are the priests of that god.

"They themselves say, asserting what appears to me incredible, that the god comes to the chapel and reposes on the bed, as the Egyptians say is in the same way the case in Egyptian Thebes; for there also a woman sleeps in the temple of the Theban Jupiter. Both these women are said to avoid the society of all men, as does likewise the priestess who delivers the oracles of the god in Patara of Lycia, when the oracle is there; for the oracle is not continually present there, but when it is, the priestess is shut up by night with the god in the temple.

"In the temple of Babylon there is also another chapel below in which there is a great golden statue of Jupiter in a sitting posture, and beside him is placed a large golden table; and the stool and the seat are of gold; and according to the report of the Chaldeans eight hundred golden talents were employed in making them. There is a golden altar on the outside of the chapel, and there is also another large altar where full-grown sheep are sacrificed; for it is not lawful to sacrifice on the golden altar any other than sucking victims. The Chaldeans likewise burn on the greater altar a thousand talents of frankincense annually on the occasion of celebrating the festival of the god. There was also still preserved in the temple at that time a massy golden statue of twelve cubits. I myself did not see it, but what the Chaldeans told me, that I say. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, planning it, did not dare to take away that

* Eight stadia being contained in a mile, its circumference was exactly of that extent.

statue; but Xerxes, the son of Darius, took it, and put to death the priest who forbade its removal. This temple therefore has been adorned in the way which has been described, but it likewise contains many offerings from private individuals." Diodorus Siculus, a later Greek historian by some centuries than Herodotus, also makes mention of the temple of Babylon in the following passage, which occurs in the second book of his Universal History:

" Μετα δε ταυτα ἐν μεσῃ τῃ πολει κατεσκευασεν ἱερον Διος, ὁν καλουσιν οἱ Βαβυλωνιοι, καθαπερ εἰρηκαμεν, Βηλον. Περι δε τουτου των συγγραφεων διαφωνουντων, και του κατασκευασματος δια τον χρονον καταπεπτωκοτος οὐκ εστιν ἀποφηνασθαι τἀκριβες. ὁμολογειται δ' ὑψηλον γεγενησθαι καθ' ὑπερβολην, και τους Χαλδαιους ἐν αὐτῳ τας των ἀστρων πεποιησθαι παρατηρησεις, ἀκριβως θεωρουμενων των τε ἀνατολων και δυσεων δια το του κατασκευασματος ὑψος. Της δ' ὁλης οἰκοδομιας ἐξ ἀσφαλτου και πλινθου πεφιλοτεχνημενης πολυτελως, ἐπ ἀκρας της ἀναβασεως τρια κατεσκευασεν ἀγαλματα χρυσα σφυρηλατα, Διος, Ἡρας, Ῥεας. τουτων δε το μεν του Διος, ἑστηκος ἠν και διαβεβηκος, ὑπαρχον ποδων τεσσαρακοντα το μηκος, σταθμον δ' εἰχε χιλιων ταλαντων Βαβυλωνιων. το δε της Ῥεας, ἐπι διφρου καθημενον χρυσου, τον ἰσον σταθμον εἰχε τῳ προειρημενῳ. ἐπι δε των γονατων αὐτης εἱστηκεισαν λεοντες δυο, και πλησιον ὀφεις ὑπερμεγεθεις ἀργυροι, τριακοντα ταλαντων ἑκαστος ἐχων το βαρος. το δε της Ἡρας ἑστηκος ἠν ἀγαλμα, σταθμον ἐχον ταλαντων ὀκτακοσιων. και τῃ μεν δεξιᾳ χειρι κατειχε της κεφαλης ὀφιν, τῃδε ἀριστερᾳ σκηπτρον λιθοκολλητον. τουτοις δ' ἁπασι κοινη παρεκειτο τραπεζα χρυση σφυρηλατος, το μεν μηκος ποδων τεσσαρακοντα, το δ' εὐρος δεκαπεντε, σταθμον ἐχουσα ταλαντων πεντακοσιων. ἐπι δε ταυτης ἐπικειντο δυο καρχησια, σταθμον ἐχοντα τριακοντα ταλαντων. ἠσαν δε και θυμιατηρια, τον μεν ἀριθμον ἰσα, τον δε σταθμον ἑκατερον ταλαντων τριακοσιων. ὑπηρχον δε και κρατηρες χρυσοι τρεις, ὡν ὁ μεν του Διος εἱλκε ταλαντα Βαβυλωνια χιλια και διακοσια, των δ' ἀλλων ἑκατερος ἑξακοσια. ἀλλα ταυτα μεν οἱ των Περσων βασιλεις ὑστερον ἐσυλησαν. των δε βασιλειων και των ἀλλων κατασκευασματων ὁ χρονος τα μεν ὁλοσχερως ἠφανισε, τα δ' ἐλυμηνατο. και γαρ αὐτης της Βαβυλωνος νυν βραχυ τι μερος οἰκειται, το δε πλειστον ἐντος τειχους γεωργειται."

" Afterwards she (Semiramis) built in the middle of the city the temple of Jupiter, whom the Babylonians, as we have already observed, call Belus; but since historians do not agree in their description of it, and the structure itself has through age fallen to the ground, it is impossible to write any thing certain respecting it. It is allowed to have been excessively high, and that the Chaldeans took observations of the stars from it, the elevation of the edifice enabling them accurately to watch their rising and setting. The whole of the building having been sumptuously constructed of brick and bitumen, three images of beaten gold, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, were placed at the top of the ascent above: that of Jupiter was in a standing attitude with one leg advanced, being forty feet high, and weighing a thousand Babylonian talents. The image of Rhea was seated on a golden chair, being of the same weight as that just mentioned; at her knees stood two lions, and not far from her were two immense silver serpents, each weighing thirty talents. The image of Juno was standing, and weighed eight hundred talents; in her right hand she grasped a serpent by the head, and in her left was a sceptre set with precious stones. A table was placed before them all in common, which was formed of beaten gold, and was forty feet in length and fifteen in breadth, and weighed five hundred talents, upon which were placed two goblets weighing thirty talents; there were censers likewise, in number the same, but each of them weighing thirty talents. There were also three golden bowls: that belonging to Jupiter weighed twelve hundred Babylonian talents, and each of the others six hundred; but the kings of Persia in later times pillaged the temple of these things. With respect to palaces and other public buildings, time has partly destroyed all traces of them, and partly reduced them to decay; for at the present day but a small portion of Babylon itself is inhabited, and most of the ground contained within its walls is tilled." Diodorus's account of the temple of Belus adds little to the information which we had received from Herodotus of its shape and construction, from whose description we immediately perceive that it was built on the plan of the Mexican temples. Diodorus seems to have found it as difficult to reconcile the conflicting accounts of various authors, and to comprehend the architecture of the temple of Belus, as Clavigero professes that he found it to ascertain the form and proportions of the great temple of Mexico; and on that account perhaps that eminent historian refrains from entering into any discussion on the subject: he does not however scruple to contradict Herodotus in saying that images were placed in the chapel or sanctuary of Belus, who had affirmed that the Chaldeans placed no image whatsoever in the sanctuary of their god; approximating them in that particular to the Jews, whose ancestor Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, and who placed no image of God in the temple dedicated to Jehovah. Perhaps the golden images mentioned by Diodorus might have been set up in the sanctuary of Belus after the Magi became incorporated with the Chaldeans, at a period subsequent to that in which Herodotus had visited Babylon. No blame can, however, be imputed to Diodorus Siculus for not following Herodotus's description of the temple of Babylon, since his refraining from doing so when the

task would have been so easy, and the relation itself was calculated to please the reader, is a proof that he chiefly studied truth in his History, and was unwilling to insert in it doubtful matters; and certainly the Spanish author, Ludovicus Vives,—who it cannot be denied was a learned man, and to whom the education of Queen Mary the First of England was confided,—in calumniating those two famous writers of antiquity, did not so much attack the individual historians as History itself. Who could have imagined that a man professing a regard for learning would have called him whom all preceding ages had honoured with the title of the Father of History, the Father of Lies; and Diodorus Siculus "ineptissimum scriptorem et vilissimum;" of whom Henry Stephens says, "Quantum solis lumen inter stellas, tantum inter omnes quotquot ad nostra tempora pervenerunt historicos, si utilitatis potius, quam voluptatis aurium habenda sit ratio, noster hic Diodorus eminere dici potest." But Ludovicus Vives was a Spanish author of the sixteenth century, whom the mythology of the New Continent might have inspired with a distaste for that of the Old; since his chief accusation against Diodorus is, that he commenced his Bibliotheca with an elaborate account of the ancient mythology of the nations whose real history he afterwards wrote. Fortunate as Ludovicus Vives might have considered the circumstance that many of the books of Diodorus Siculus had been lost, yet still he seems to feel indignant that Herodotus's history should have been preserved entire; and that he should have asserted that the Scythian queen, having defeated the Persians in a battle in which Cyrus himself was slain, caused the head of that monarch to be cut off and thrown into a vessel full of blood, indicating by the act her despair for the loss of her son and the fit treatment which she thought the cruelty and ambition of Cyrus entitled him to receive at her hands. The account which Diodorus Siculus gives in the second book of his History of the duration of the Assyrian empire, and of the "*μεγιστη των Μηδων ἡγεμόνια*" might likewise have been displeasing to him, because it is difficult to reconcile it with the history of the Jews; and the difference between the chronology of the Septuagint version of the Scriptures and that of the original Hebrew Bible has hardly perplexed learned men more.

The description of the temple of Babylon in the History of Herodotus, and the omission of that description in the work of Diodorus, furnish arguments favourable to the character of each historian. The difficulty of comprehending the plan of the temple of Belus, and the improbability of a tower having ever been built with seven other towers heaped upon it, vanish on inspecting the plans of the Mexican temples, and on reading in Boturini's treatise, of the tower which King Netzahualpilli built in Tezcuco, nine stories high, in honour of the god of heaven; and we have no more right to doubt that Herodotus visited Babylon, than to doubt that he had been in Egypt; but that difficulty and improbability justified Diodorus in studying the part of an historian rather than the gratification of his readers, and in omitting the description of the temple of Babylon, which the writer whose authority he chiefly followed in composing his history of the Assyrian, Median, and Persian empires, who was Ctesias, probably omitted also, because when he was in Persia and Babylon that ancient monument might have become dilapidated. It would appear that even in the age of Herodotus, the city of Babylon was hastening to decay; the *βασιληϊα* (or palace) which was the work of Semiramis, as well as the temple of Belus, is not described by him, undoubtedly because no vestiges remained of it; and the Persian kings, Darius the son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes, seem to have been little inclined to protect the religion of the Chaldeans (which they did not believe), or to expend the revenues of the state in keeping in repair the temple of Belus. Some writers and travellers seem to consider it little less than miraculous that the ruins of the temple of Babylon are not still visible on the banks of the Euphrates; but if they reflect that not many years after the conquest of Mexico, the great temple of that city, which Acosta names "augustissimum templum," and Peter Martyr says was as large as a town of five hundred houses (reckoning of course the court-yard and all the buildings it contained as the temple), had wholly disappeared, they will be disposed to allow, that two thousand years may well change the state of cities, and even the appearance of the site on which they once stood. What contemporary city with Babylon, it may be asked, still exists? Egyptian Thebes, Sardis, Palmyra, Carthage, and Troy,—where are they? what has been the fate of those cities once so renowned? As it is the general practice of writers such as Doctor Warburton,—a practice which sometimes more candid authors like Doctor Prideaux have imitated,—to attempt to shake the basis on which profane history rests, by opposing the most eminent historians to each other, and seeking to discover contradictions in their relations, which pretending to have found out, they assume to themselves the right of making a selection of probabilities, and rejecting alternately whichever author they please, to remodel ancient history according to their own views, (which Doctor Prideaux has done in his history of Cyrus, in which he follows neither the account of Herodotus nor that of Diodorus Siculus,)—we may be allowed to remark that if Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus sometimes contradict each other, the veracity of neither author deserves on that account to be im-

peached; but they both ought to be credited, accordingly as each had the best opportunity of ascertaining the truth of what he asserts. Herodotus himself visited Babylon; but the information which he received from the Chaldeans cannot entirely be depended upon: he expresses his own disbelief of the story which they told him of the god reposing himself occasionally on the bed which was placed in the sanctuary of Belus; and he seems not to have felt the same respect for the Chaldeans as he did for the Egyptian priests. The situation of Greece at that time was also not such as to have made the subjects of the king of Persia studious to show great courtesy to the Greeks, or to give them information on every subject; although it cannot be doubted that Herodotus collected much of his knowledge of the affairs of Assyria during his residence at Babylon, the history of which empire he either wrote or intended to write. But Diodorus Siculus composed his History under great advantages. The conquests of Alexander the Great had made Greece familiar with Asia, and he had the opportunity of consulting all the Greek historians who had written on the history of Asia from the age of Alexander to that of Julius Cæsar, and especially Ctesias, who flourished about seventy years later than Herodotus, and resided for many years at the court of Artaxerxes, having been raised from the condition of a prisoner of war to the rank of physician and favourite of that monarch. When therefore conflicting statements occur in the histories of Herodotus and of Diodorus Siculus, it may be the safest course to credit the former in whatever might have come under his own observation during his residence in Babylon, such as the buildings of that city; and the latter, in historical facts which required deeper research, and which later ages might be supposed, from the causes which have been alluded to, to have been better acquainted with. To revert again to the temple of Belus, and to add another remark to those which have already been made respecting its shape and structure;—the number of the towers (eight) of which it consisted, does not appear to have been accidental. Boturini informs us that the number nine, which was the number of the stories or towers of the temple built by King Netzahualpilli in Tezcuco, had reference to the nine heavens; the number eight therefore, we may suppose, was a number esteemed as well by the Chaldeans as by the Jews. The following description of the great temple of Mexico is taken from the eleventh chapter of the eighth book of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy: "One of the most celebrated and sumptuous temples that existed in these western parts and provinces of New Spain at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards, was the great temple of the city of Mexico, which was founded and built by the Mexican kings. It has been already stated who the original founder was, in the history of the lives and the reigns of those kings. I content myself with merely saying here, that it was built twice: the first time not with as much majesty as the second time; for as the population and fame of Mexico increased, the splendour of the public buildings increased likewise." The entire of the description is too long to insert here: Torquemada, after mentioning the vast size of the court which surrounded the temple, says that the temple itself was of a square shape, each of its four sides, from angle to angle, being three hundred and sixty feet in length; that it was of a pyramidal form, and contracting in dimension as it ascended in height, was divided into several stages; that it had a platform above rather more than sixty feet broad, on which were placed two altars, over which were built two chapels, each three stories high (grandissima altura) and very lofty, from whence there was a magnificent view of the Mexican lake and the cities situated on its shores. The platform above was ascended by a staircase consisting of one hundred and thirteen steps, all of polished stone: around this greater temple more than forty other temples were placed, only differing from it in size and position; "for the greater temple had its back to the east, which was the position proper to be preserved in all principal temples, as we learn was the opinion of the ancients; and its stairs and entrance were turned towards the west, as it is now the custom in these Christian times to place many of our churches; and thus they worshipped looking towards the rising sun. The lesser temples on the contrary faced the east and the other quarters of the sky north and south." Torquemada, describing the roofs of the chapels, says, "The covering and the roofs of this most famous temple, and of the others contained in the court belonging to it, were of different and various forms; and although some of them were made of timber and others of straw, they were of beautiful workmanship, some being shaped like a pyramid, others square, and others round, and of many various forms. So great and beautiful was the labour employed upon them, that they did not appear to have been composed of the materials which have been mentioned, but resembled fine and delicate pencilwork. These turrets, great and small included, were, according to the most accurate calculation which has been discovered, three hundred and sixty, equalling in their excessive number the days of the year. At the foot of the greater temple, close to the staircases ascending to the platform above, there were two altars of fire which burned day and night, so that the fire was perpetual;—the Devil wishing to imitate God, who commanded fire to be kept continually burning upon the altar of his temple, which was served with fuel by the priests in ordinary

attendance, as Holy Scripture informs us; and in the same manner as incense was offered on God's altar every morning, so the envious Deceiver ordered not only that one but that two altars should be erected to him, and that incense should be burned upon them, not only in the morning but during the whole day: and accordingly two altars smoked during the entire day from morning until night. The entire number of the altars and of the censers for incense which were in the temple, the surrounding court, and the lesser temples adjoining to it, was more than six hundred, equalling in height the stature of a man, and in figure and shape resembling the cup which is used in the celebration of mass. To see them by night, when they were all blazing, presented to the fancy the appearance of a clear and brilliant day. In order that those who read these things may not think that I speak at random and am guilty of exaggeration in numbers, I shall here insert the words of Father Bernard de Sahagun, a Brother belonging to my Order, and one of those who entered New Spain almost immediately after its discovery, having proceeded thither in the year Twenty-nine; who saw this and the other temples, and employed his life in the conversion of the Indians, instructing, teaching, and preaching to them for more than sixty years, and who was thoroughly acquainted with their antiquities, and wrote many works in their language; who, speaking of the beauty, grandeur, and magnificence of this most famous temple,—though wicked inasmuch as it belonged to the Devil,—uses the following expressions: This temple was enclosed on every side with walls of stone, which were entirely covered with battlements, and white-washed. The pavement of the temple was completely flagged with very smooth stones, not cut but in their natural state, as smooth and slippery as glass. There was much to contemplate in the edifices of this temple. The picture itself presented much to the eye of the beholder, and I caused it to be painted in the city of Mexico; when they deprived me of it to send it to Spain as a thing highly deserving to be seen, and I could not obtain possession of it again or have another painted. Although in the picture the temple seemed of such finished execution, it was in reality much more so and more beautiful. The principal building, or the chapel which was above it, was dedicated to the god Huitzilupuchtli, and to another god his companion, whom they named Tlacahuepancuexcotzin, and to another god, inferior to the two former, whom they called Paynalton. These are the express words of that blessed and venerable old man, by which we may well understand the excellency and grandeur of that most memorable temple. And he further adds, that the circumference of its court was so extensive that it contained, in the space enclosed within it, all the ground on which the greater church, the house of the Marquis of the Valley, the palace, and the archbishop's house are at present built, together with much of what is now the square; which appears incredible, on account of the great extent of ground which this measurement comprises. I recollect having seen, thirty-five years ago, some of those edifices on that side of the square which the greater church now occupies, which appeared to me mounds of stone and earth, which were employed in the foundations of the house of God and of his new church, which is a very sumptuous edifice; since His Most Holy Majesty was pleased that the Devil and his servants should collect for him in that place part of the materials which might serve as a foundation for his own temple, permitting him previously for the space of some years to glory in the crimes therein perpetrated, in order that after its total downfall and ruin he might know that God alone is the true Lord of all created things; and that he, as his creature, should be compelled against his will to acknowledge vassalage to him, casting him down from those stone heaps which he had assembled together, in order to preserve a pretended and imaginary glory amongst those poor blind and deluded Indians."

Torquemada says, in the twentieth chapter of the eighth book of his Indian Monarchy, that the priests and ministers who lived in the great temple of Mexico were more than five thousand, who resided by day and by night within its walls, occupied in the service of the temple. These priests are constantly named Levites by Acosta; and certainly that learned author may be excused for giving them that appellation, as the temple service of the Mexicans was in reality very like that of the Jews: their principal occupation was sacrificing in honour of Huitzilopuchtli, whose magnificent temple was reared amidst the groans of the dying and the blood of the slain *. The offerings

* Torquemada gives an account which almost surpasses belief of the number of victims which Ahuitzotl, Montezuma's predecessor on the throne, sacrificed at the dedication of the greater temple of Mexico; and he observes, instancing the example of Solomon, that it was a Hebrew custom to slay a profusion of victims at the dedication of a temple:

" Entre las cosas, que la devocion antigua de los hombres usó, para conservar con puridad su inmunidad, fue dedicar a los dioses los templos y casas que les edificaban. Para lo qual primero levantaban sus figuras, hechaban sus suertes, buscaban agueros (que son adivinanças supersticiosas) que favoreciesen su devocion, é intento. Asi lo leemos en Gelio, de sentencia de Varron, averlo hecho los Romanos; y tambien Tito Livio en sus Decadas, lo dice de el rei Tarquino de Roma, para que con mas seguridad se conservasen

of the Mexicans consisted, like those of the Jews, in the lives of animals, blood, incense, and the first fruits of the field, which like the Jews they presented three times in the year, an analogy which Torquemada seeks in the following manner to explain: "It is certainly a thing calculated to create astonishment, to see how nearly in this offering of the first fruits the two republics resembled each other: but we need not feel so much surprised at it, since it was the Devil who persuaded and instigated them to it, who, as we have proved in the whole course of this History, wished to substitute himself in the place of God (remedar á Dios) whenever it was possible; and this being the case, the task being moreover so easy, inasmuch as these Indians are extremely addicted to religious worship (por quanto estos Indios son inclinadisimos al culto divino), he found little trouble in inducing them to tender to him this kind of offering and sacrifice, which, as we have observed, all paid very generally and regularly, without being either remiss in the offering or inexact in its proper quantity." Monarquia Indiana, cap. xxi. lib. 8. In the tenth chapter of his twelfth book, Torquemada affirms, that the Devil counterfeited amongst the Indians the Feast of the Passover. "This third month of the Mexicans commenced on the fifteenth of March, which was the solemn Passover of the Jews, which lasted eight days, when they offered the first fruits of the ripe grain and of the ears, which it was unlawful for them to taste before they had presented the said first fruits to the priests. The Indians observed the same custom in this third month and Passover (y Pasqua), which they celebrated in honour of the god or the gods of rain; and as they had no grain or ears of corn to present, since the corn was then only in the leaf, their offering consisted of flowers, which at the commencement of this month were in greater abundance than in the preceding months, as then was the beginning of spring. Before the arrival of the day appointed for carrying these first fruits to the temples and altars, no one dared to smell them, for they were forbidden to do so by an express law; as the Jews were forbidden to taste the ears of corn: and it might well provoke a hearty laugh from Christians, to see that the Devil wished to constitute himself the god of first fruits; and that not requiring grain and ears of corn, because there were none at that season of the year, he exacted from them flowers, regarding only the offering and service, without caring whether it consisted of the same things as God demanded of his people."

The Festival of New Moons was another Mexican solemnity, so analogous to the Neomenia or Jewish Festival

los dichos templos. Esto mismo sabemos aver hecho estos Indios Occidentales, quando los que se llamaron Mexicanos, se apartaron de los Culhuas, un poco apartados del sitio que aora tienen, levantando un altar de papel, á su dios Huitzilupuchtli, que les sirvio por entonces tambien de templo, para cuja ereccion, y dedicacion, pidieron á sus vecinos los Culhuas dichos, alguna cosa de aguero, que poner en el dicho altar, para major certificacion de su prospero suceso, como lo vimos mas fundamentalmente en el libro de su historia. Siendo, pues, agorado el lugar, y construido el templo, lo dedicaban, diciendo ciertas palabras, por la misma persona del Pontifice, y teniendo con sus manos las puertas del templo, que consagraba, y dedicaba, haciendo las casas particulares de los dioses, á los quales las dedicaban, para que no pudiesen ser profanadas de los seculares, gente lega. Y asi, dixo Quintiliano, en las declamaciones, ser la dedicacion cosa que inducia á dios, y lo sentaba en su casa, como en silla propia. Y Ciceron en una de sus Oraciones dice esto, y otras muchas cosas concernientes, y tocantes á las dichas, y otros muchos. Adornaban juntamente esta consagracion, y dedicacion de templos, con muchos sacrificios, que hacian, de diversos, y varios animales. Y aunque la prueba de esto, para los que fueron de gentiles, estan los libros, de todos los historiadores antiguos, mui llenos; para el de Dios la Sagrada Escritura nos lo dice, y afirma, particulariçando la mucha suma de ello, que aquel dia de su dedicacion fueron muertos. Donde murieron veinte y dos mil vacas, y novillos; ciento y veinte mil ovejas, y carneros. Y quando traían el arca del testamento, venian haciendo sacrificios de estos animales, sin numero. Luego que pusieron el arca en su lugar, dentro del Sancta Sanctorum, dice la Sagrada Escritura, que se hinchió el templo de una niebla tan espesa, que no veían los sacerdotes, para poder ocuparse en el sacrificio, y ministerio de oficio. Luego hiço Salomón oracion á Dios, y tuvo respuesta de él. Bendixo al pueblo con unas mui santas, y paternales palabras, y esto solo sabemos, que huvo en aquella fiesta, que duró por ocho dias, los quales pasados, despidió el rei á toda la gente, la qual se fue por familias á sus ciudades, y pueblos. Y de esta manera quedó consagrado, y dedicado á Dios aquel templo, sin saber que huviese otra cosa, que se añadiese á esta dedicacion. Siendo, pues, este el comun uso antiguo de todas las gentes, en la dedicacion de sus templos, no se contentó el demonio en las que estos desventurados Indios Occidentales hacian, de los que le dedicaban, con que muriesen los animales referidos, los quales no leemos, ni sabemos, que por entonces los huviese, aunque de otras especies muchas, si, de los quales es creíble, que seria la suma immensa, y sin numero. Pero añadio el enemigo de la vida, y descanso del hombre, que en los que se dedicaron en esta Nueva-España, fuesen las fiestas celebradas, con animales racionales, y capaces de raçon, de los quales en semejantes dias morian muchos. En especial se dice, que quando se dedicó el templo major de Mexico, y fue en él puesta la estatua de Huitzilupuchtli, *murieron aquel dia mas de sesenta mil cautivos,* celebrando con sangre humana las fiestas infernales, y apagando con ella la sed de el demonio, que por ella bebe de ordinario los vientos. Dedicacion de templo, es ofrecerlo á Dios, y estrenarlo en su servicio; y estos Indios le dicen *Teychaliliztli,* y esto se hacia el primer dia, que se estrenaba con aquel intento, y devocion de el pueblo, y gastos de sacrificios, y ofrendas; y de alli adelante quedaba consagrado, para no poder usar de el profanamente, guardandole respeto, como á casa de Dios y palacio suio, donde venia á dár sus oraculos, y respuestas." Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.* tom. ii. lib. 8. cap. 22.

of the New Moon, that Torquemada, describing the former, says: "If this custom be attentively considered, it will appear to have been stolen from the Hebrews; of whom Saint Thomas says, it was ordained that the Neomenia should be kept at the commencement of every month, in memory of the preservation and government of all things, which same preservation is that which our Indians pray for in their Neomenia at the commencement of each of their months; with this difference, that the Hebrew months were lunar, and the Indian vicenary, that is to say, contained only twenty days, so as not to last as long as the moon. But my reply to this objection would be, that the Devil taught them that curtailed and brief computation, in order that his sacrifice might be celebrated sooner than God's was celebrated formerly by his people, that he might behold himself unjustly honoured by his sacrifice being first; as if the truth of sacrifice consisted in its being first or last, and not in its being truly or falsely offered." Torquemada might also have replied, that the annals of the Tultecas recorded a reform which was made in their calendar by one of their Teopixquis, or high priests, when probably the lunar months were changed into months of twenty days, for the express purpose of the more frequent recurrence of the Neomenia or monthly offerings. The Festival of New Moons, although originally God's own institution amongst the Jews, became afterwards his abomination, as we are informed in Scripture, where it says, "Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth." Hence we may infer that time had introduced many great abuses into them. But if our surprise is justly excited at being informed by Torquemada, that the Devil had imitated among the Indians the Jewish Feasts of the Passover and of the Neomenia, what shall we think of the Fast of Atamal, which the Mexicans kept every eighth year on the four signs of the Flint? May it not be supposed that that year, although not the seventh, was a kind of sabbatical year? Eight was a number highly esteemed both by Jews and Christians; and as the latter have not scrupled to change the Sabbath from the seventh day (Saturday), on which day it is still kept by the Jews, to the eighth day (Sunday), on account of the resurrection of Christ having occurred on that day, we must not reject a striking analogy because it is open to an answerable objection; since the Mexicans may have had their reasons for preferring the number eight to seven. Torquemada says, that "Saint Isidore, speaking of the veneration which is due to the Lord's day, assigns to it the following excellencies: The Lord's day, which is the *eighth* day, which follows the preceding festival of the Sabbath, even the Holy Scripture points out as a very solemn day. It is the first day of ages; on it were formed the elements; on it were created the angels; on it Christ rose from the dead; on it the Holy Ghost descended from Heaven upon the Apostles; and finally, on it God bestowed manna upon his people." Garcia, besides noticing the Mexican Neomenia, or festival of First Fruits, mentions a Peruvian festival which was celebrated by the command of the Inga Yupanqui on the full of the moon, which he compares to the Jewish Passover; and he seems to comprise in the comparison a solemn festival which was kept by the Indians of Tlascala and Cholula, in which provinces he says men were crucified to the three gods of rain, sometimes on high and sometimes on low crosses. Monstrous as it may appear, it cannot be doubted that the crucifixion of a man occurred at several of the religious ceremonies of the Indians; and representations of crucifixions are sometimes found in the Mexican paintings, though there they seem to refer to mythological fictions. The celebrated Las Casas entertained no doubt that the continent of America had in early ages been colonized by the Jews; and he even goes so far as to say that the language of the Island of Saint Domingo was "corrupt Hebrew." Torquemada, who was a much later writer, denies the similarity between any of the Indian languages and the Hebrew, candidly acknowledging that he was not acquainted with Hebrew himself, and of course advancing the assertion on the authority and information of others. But it must also be recollected that Garcia, who had evidently adopted the sentiments of Las Casas, says in the Preface to his third book of the Origin of the Indians, in reference to existing prejudices, "that learned men condemned and would not assent to that opinion;" and that Torquemada himself, acknowledging that the religious rites, ceremonies, and even moral laws of the Indians closely resembled those of the Jews, thought it more probable that the Devil had instructed the Indians in them, than that the Jews had carried them over to America. Learned men of the present age will perhaps not consider themselves bound by the example of those of the sixteenth century; and as that learning is most useful, of which the only object is the attainment of truth with a regard for the best interests of mankind, the opinion which we take the liberty of here advancing,—that the Jews had in very early ages colonized America, established an empire in that continent of more than a thousand years' duration, revived their old law in its full vigour, and, to show their hatred and contempt for Christianity, introduced into their religious rites and ceremonies many observancies calculated to turn into ridicule its most sacred rites and mysteries, and thereby, as they imagined, practically to demonstrate that that could not be sacred which could with such impunity be profaned,—

will probably undergo fair and unprejudiced discussion. In anticipation of an objection which may be made to the latter part of this hypothesis,—that it is unlikely that even if the Jews had proceeded in early ages to America, and succeeded in reviving their old law in that continent, they would have interwoven with the Mosaic institutions other institutions indicative of their bitterest hatred to Christianity, or that religious persecution on the one side could have ever led to such revolting retaliations on the other,—we must remark, that the hatred between Christians and Jews in early ages was proverbial. And if in the middle ages the Knights Templars could have been guilty of half the religious profanations laid to their charge (which the age in which they lived must have credited, or never would an illustrious religious Order which had so often defended the Cross against the Crescent have been visited with such an extremity of persecuting vengeance), where is the improbability of the supposition that a set of vindictive Jews, outraged by Christians, and brooding over vengeance,—of whom it might with justice be said that every man's hand was against them, and theirs against every man,—having succeeded in establishing themselves in an unknown quarter of the globe, might have there founded a state, the laws and institutions of which were framed for the purpose of turning Christianity and its mysteries into contempt? Much has been written by the Rabbis respecting the kingdom of Cozar, which Basnage in his History of the Jews is inclined to consider an imaginary region, but which, whether a real or an ideal monarchy and wherever situated, affords proof, by having given rise to grave discussion amongst the Jews, that they (who ought to be the best judges) did not deem it at all improbable that in the eighth century after the Christian era their countrymen had succeeded in reviving the institutions of the Mosaic law, that is to say, their temple service and *sacrifices* in a territory of their own. In the seventh book of Basnage's History will be found some account of this kingdom; and the rabbinical tradition, that the king of it "*built a tabernacle perfectly like that which Moses set up in the wilderness,*" is very remarkable. The same king is said to have been happy and potent, to have triumphed over his enemies, and to have *discovered hidden treasures in the bowels of the earth.* That shortly after the discovery of a portion of the continent of America and of the Island of Saint Domingo or Hayti, (which was the island the language of which Las Casas calls "corrupt Hebrew,") unparalleled persecutions commenced against the Jews in Spain, under the regency of Cardinal Ximenes, is an historical fact*.

* Since the famous edict of Ferdinand the Catholic, which expelled the Jews from Spain, was issued in the month of March 1492, and Columbus did not set out on his first voyage of discovery until the third of August of the same year, it may be contended, from a comparison of dates, that it was impossible that the Spanish government could have adopted any severe measures against the Jews in consequence of its having discovered that their ancestors had revived the old law in America, or instituted any rites in that continent in hatred to the Christian name and religion. This argument would be conclusive, if it could be satisfactorily proved that the Spanish government was really ignorant of the existence of America till after the return of Columbus from his first voyage. And if implicit credit ought to be attached to the improbable story of the long navigation of the unknown pilot and his companions over the Atlantic, who is said to have first communicated to Columbus the information which induced him to submit to the governments of England, Portugal and Spain, his proposed plan of discovery, which Isabella queen of Castille, rather than her husband Ferdinand king of Arragon, seems greatly to have favoured, chiefly from religious motives and an ardent zeal for the proselytism of infidels to Christianity, to which circumstance Gomara supposes that Columbus alludes in the lines which he took for his motto—

"Por Castilla, y por Leon,
Nuevo mundo hallo Colon."

"De donde sospecho que la reyna favorecio mas que no el rei, el descubrimiento de las Indias." The same author likewise says that the queen was very scrupulous during her lifetime about permitting any of the subjects of the king her husband, who were Arragonese, to proceed to America. Isabella's early interference in the affairs of America was probably owing to the spiritual conquest of the New World having been undertaken entirely by herself and the clergy, with whom the king was too prudent to intermeddle. But it does not follow, because Columbus was the first person who, sailing from Seville *expressly for the purpose* of discovering the continent of America, did in fact accomplish that discovery, that the government of Spain was wholly ignorant of its existence till after his return from his first voyage; since the chapter in Gomara's History of the Indies, entitled "El descubrimiento primero de las Indias," which we subjoin in the original Spanish, will make it ever doubtful whether Columbus might not have proceeded on an *open expedition* to America, in order to take possession in the name of the king of Spain of some portion of the continent of America or of the West Indian Islands; an arrangement having been previously made between the courts of Spain and of Rome, that this necessary formality having been gone through, the Pope should, on the return of Columbus, vest in the king of Spain and his heirs the possession and sovereignty over America, which was accordingly done. "Navegando una caravela por nuestro mar oceano, tuvo tan forçoso viento de levante, y tan continuo, que fue a parar en tierra no sabida, ni puesta en el mapa, o carta de marear. Bolvio de alla en muchos mas dias que fue, y quando aca llego, no traya mas de al piloto, y a otros tres o quatro marineros; que como venian enfermos de hambre y de trabajo, se murieron dentro de poco tiempo en el puerto. E aqui como se descubrieron las Indias por desdicha de quien primero las vio, pues acabo la vida sin gozar dellas, *y sin dexar, a lo menos sin aver memoria de como se llamava, ni de donde era, ni que año las hallo.* Bien que no fue culpa suya, sino malicia de otros, o invidia de la que llaman fortuna. Y no me maravillo de las historias

Could the indignation of the Spanish Government have been excited by the suspicion that the Jews were the authors of the guilty excesses which were discovered in the religious rites of the New World, where an express law was passed about that time that they should not be allowed to proceed? We have the authority of a Jew for believing that a colony of Jews had been settled in America long before the age of Columbus, who gives an account of his interview

antiguas que cuenten hechos grandissimos por chicos o escuros principios, pues *no sabemos quien de poco aca hallo las Indias,* que tan señalada y nueva cosa es. Quedaranos siquiera el nombre de aquel piloto, pues todo lo al con la muerte fenece. Unos hazen Andaluz a este piloto, que tratava en Canaria, y en la Madera, quando le acontecio aquella larga y mortal navegacion; otros Vizcayno, que contratava en Inglaterra, y Francia; y otros Portugues, que yva o venia de la Mina, o India. Lo qual quadra mucho con el nombre que tomaron y tienen aquellas nuevas tierras. Tambien ay, quien diga que aporto la caravela a Portogal; y quien diga que a la Madera, o a otra de las islas de los Açores. Empero ninguno afirma nada. *Solamente concuerdan todos en que falleçio aquel piloto en casa de Christoval Colon. En cuyo poder quedaron las escrituras de la caravela, y la relacion de todo aquel luengo viaje, con la marca y altura de las tierras nuevamente vistas, y halladas.*"—La Istoria de las Indias, fo. x. "A vessel navigating our ocean encountered so violent and uninterrupted a gale from the East, that it was driven on till it reached land that was neither known nor laid down in the map. It returned from thence in many more days than it took in going, and on completing the voyage home its entire crew consisted of no more than the pilot and three or four other sailors, who, being sick from fatigue and hunger, died within a short time after their arrival in port: and thus the Indies were discovered by the misfortune of him who first beheld them, since he ended his life without enjoying them, and without leaving—at least without preserving—the recollection of his name, or of the country to which he belonged, or of the year in which he discovered them; which was probably owing rather to the malice of others, or to the envy of her whom they name Fortune, than through his own fault. I am not therefore surprised that ancient history should so frequently assign obscure and insignificant commencements to the greatest actions; since we are not informed who it was that but lately discovered the Indies, new and remarkable as was that event. The name at least of that pilot should have been transmitted to posterity, since nothing else survives death. Some make him an Andalusian, who was trading to the Canaries and Madeira, when that long and fatal voyage befell him; others, a native of Biscay, who carried on traffic with England and France; and others, a Portuguese, who was going to or returning from Mina or India, which agrees well with the name which the newly-discovered lands received and still bear. There are those likewise who contend that the vessel anchored in a Portuguese port; and others who say in a port of Madeira, or of some of the islands called the Azores. But no one ventures to affirm any thing, *except that all admit* that that pilot died in the house of Christopher Colon; in whose possession the writings of the vessel remained, and the journal of the entire of his long voyage, *together with the latitude* of the newly-seen and discovered lands."

It is evident from this relation of Gomara, that all knowledge of the year when, and the person by whom, America was first discovered, is involved in the greatest obscurity. The only fact which is placed beyond doubt is, that Columbus was not the person to whom the honour of that achievement was in the first instance due, great as were the merits of that illustrious man. At the same time it must be confessed that many improbabilities are found in the account of the voyage of the pilot. It is improbable that within so short a space of time as about fifty years after his death,—the period when it may be supposed Gomara was engaged in the composition of his History,—so diligent and candid an author should have been able to learn nothing of him and of his alleged voyage. It is improbable, supposing that the voyage was accidental as described, and caused by a hurricane, that amidst the distress of all on board the vessel, the deaths of the sailors, and the danger of shipwreck, leisure should have been found for writing a journal. It is also improbable that the ship, having been driven on the shores of America, was able to find its way back to Europe, and that the sailors who survived the hardships of the sea should all have died, together with the pilot, the latter only living long enough to communicate his discovery to Columbus, who has omitted to record his name. It may however be objected, that because Columbus was a Genoese, the historians of Spain might have conspired to rob him of a part of the praise which was justly his due, by attributing to a native of Biscay or a Spanish subject the first discovery of the continent of America: thus giving to Spain beyond every other kingdom in Europe, the right of possession, which the first discovery of unknown lands (which, to be well founded, should also be of unoccupied lands) is supposed to constitute. If, however, we reflect on the rivalship which existed at that period between the House of Braganza and the Crown of Spain, and consider the preference which Gomara gives to the opinion of those who maintained that the pilot was a Portuguese, rather than an Andalusian or a native of Biscay, we shall find no reasonable grounds for believing that the story of the supposed voyage was invented by the Spanish historians, for the purpose of detracting from the fame of Columbus because he was not of Spanish birth and extraction. Gomara repeats, in the chapter which he has entitled "Quien era Christoval Colon," in almost the same terms, his assertion that Columbus received his first information respecting America from the pilot who died in his house: "Fallecio el piloto en este comedio, y dexole la relacion, traça, y altura de las nuevas tierras; y assi tuvo Christoval Colon notiçia de las Indias." But with a little inconsistency,—which argues neither oversight on the part of the historian, nor want of candour or diligence of research, but shows the doubts and obscurity in which the subject itself was involved,—he says in the next chapter, that Columbus, having embarked at Lisbon and arrived at Palos de Moguer, had a conference with Martin Alonso Pinzon, a very experienced pilot, who volunteered his services to him, and who had heard it rumoured that sailing so as to steer *after* the sun, great and rich lands would be discovered,—"assi se embarco en Lisbona, y vino a Palos de Moguer, donde hablo con Martin Alonso Pinzon, piloto mui diestro, y que se le ofreçio, y que avia oido dezir como navegando tras el sol, por via templada, se hallarian grandes y ricas tierras." From this it would appear either that America had been discovered by others besides the pilot at some former period, or that Columbus was not the only person to whom he had communicated the secret of the existence of that continent. The probability is, that vague rumours had been long afloat of many islands

with his Indian brethren who had forgotten Hebrew, were unacquainted with Spanish, and spoke to him by means of an interpreter. It is certainly remarkable that they should for so many ages have retained a lively recollection of Christian persecutions, and should consequently have adopted precautions to prevent the Spaniards discovering their retreat. Their repeated utterance of the syllable Ba! accompanied with furious gesticulations and stamping with

and a large continent situated in the Western Ocean, and that these rumours had not originated in what Plato says of the Atlantic island, but were owing to some accidental voyages made to them in the long course of the middle ages; tradition respecting which had been handed down to later times. Nor will it be sufficient, in order to overthrow this supposition, to maintain that had a passage to America been once opened, colonization and commerce with Europe would have been the necessary result, since this is reasoning about the past state of the world from the present: but those who, referring to the page of History, consider what the real state of Europe was for many ages after the Christian era,—what convulsions attended the downfall of the Roman empire,—how fierce was the struggle between Philosophy and Christianity [1],—how painful and slow the progress of the latter (some of the Northern nations of

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[1] Philosophy, learning, and religion, being by their very nature united together in the most sacred bonds of friendship, it is melancholy to reflect upon a fact that neither admits denial nor requires proof, and which did not escape the quick apprehension of Saint Paul, that the chief stumbling-block, which opposed itself to the rapid progress of Christianity, was the hostility which those who were neither simple nor as little children, but whose minds on the contrary were deeply imbued with this world's wisdom, displayed towards the early preachers of the Gospel; amongst the number of these are names which command the respect of all ages:—the Antonines (whose memory was so revered by the Romans that Nemo Cæsar nisi Antoninus became an admonition from the people to their later Emperors), Marcus Aurelius, Pliny, and the philosopher Porphyry, between the latter of whom and the early Christian Fathers the bitterest strife arose. Some opinion may be formed from the perusal of the following extract, taken from the dissertation subjoined to Lucas Holstenius's edition of Porphyry's Life of Pythagoras, published at Rome in the year 1630, and dedicated to Cardinal Barberini, of the nature of the war which the Fathers waged against the Philosophers; a war which was maintained for several ages, till at last the very name of a philosopher became a term of contempt, and the jargon of the schools and Jewish morality assumed the appellations of reason and virtue:—

"Tot præstantis ingenii monumenta, et eruditissima in omni artium, ac scientiarum genere scripta uno infelicissimo opere proscripsit Porphyrius: edidit enim *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγους ι έ. Contra Christianos libros* xv. quos nemo antiquorum non citat et detestatur. In Sicilia eum fœtum hunc nefandum parturiise supra ostendi. Scriptionis causas facile est colligere ex Tertulliano, Arnobio, Lactantio, aliisque qui contra gentes eo sæculo scripserunt: dolebant enim homines a vero Dei cultu aversi majorum suorum sacra ac religionem, quæ tot annis obtinuerat, invalescenti ubique Christianismo locum cedere: quem nullis jam legibus prohiberi, nullis suppliciorum exemplis extirpari posse videbant: sed pressum latius se diffundere, et civitates ac provincias omnes pervadere: jamque numinum suorum templa passim vel deseri, vel dirui, vel in ecclesias transmutari. Hinc Christianos publicos hostes sacra profana omnia convellere *καὶ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν* clamabant: his publicæ calamitates velut ab irato numine immissæ tribuebantur: quod Christi adventus reliquam numinum turbam terris expulisset; neque id solum, sed omnem humanitatis cultum eorum doctrina extingui, et spissam quandam barbariem induci asserebant. Hinc ad sacræ Scripturæ auctoritatem convellendam omni conatu sese accingentes, stili simplicitatem ridebant, elevabant oracula prophetarum, historias sacras in dubium vocabant, miracula, quæ fidei firmandæ edebantur, ut dæmonum præstigias eludebant, constantiam in oppetenda morte pro Christo, obduratam existimabant animi pertinaciam, vel *ἀναισθησίαν*. Hæc vulgi conviciis, hæc principum edictis nusquam non Christianis objiciebantur; nec moderatiores fuere Philosophi, qui cum sapientiam hujus mundi quærerent, ut Apostolus ait, 'Stultitia prædicationis offensi, Deum per sapientiam non cognoverunt:' hinc Celsi, Hieroclis, Juliani, et imprimis Porphyrii, cæcus erga Christianam religionem furor et *θεομαχία*: atque hujus quidem eo acrior et vehementior fuit impetus, quo majorem ingenii vim et eruditionis copiam ad infaustum hoc certamen attulit: nam quod præclare a Platone dictum est, *αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις μεγάλας ἐκφέρουσι καὶ τὰς κακίας*, præsertim animus odii et impietatis furiis exagitatus, violentos impetus, et ut Epicteti verbis utar, *μανικοὺς τόνους* exerit. De totius operis argumento difficile est distincte quid et per partes pronunciare; cum omnia SS. Patrum scripta, quæ calumniis hisce opposuerant, interierint: ex pauculis tamen locis, quæ hinc inde ex sacro et horribili opere proferuntur ab Eusebio, Hieronymo, et aliis, conjicere licet præcipuum Porphyrii laborem in eo versatum fuisse, ut sacræ Scripturæ auctoritatem, hoc est, fundamentum cui religio Christiana innitebatur, subverteret. Id cum ex cæteris locis mox producendis appareat, tum ex hisce Eusebii verbis, lib. x. Præp. cap. 9: 'Nunc quidem confirmandæ Moysis antiquitati unum hominis, cum Hebræis, tum etiam nobis longe inimicissimi atque infensissimi, testimonium libet adjungere: Philosophum illum æqualem nostrum intelligo, qui eo in opere quod adversus nos ex odii vi et magnitudine vulgavit, non modo nos, sed Hebræos etiam, et ipsum Moysem, cæterosque post illum Prophetas, iisdem contumeliis oneravit.'

"Et primo quidem libro ipsum de contrarietate sacrarum literarum egisse apparet, atque id conatum fuisse probare, non a Deo sed ab hominibus eas profectas: quod contradictiones et *ἐναντιώσεις* in iis occurrant, quæ scilicet a Deo summa et simplicissima veritate promanare non potuerint: quem in finem maxime adducebat, quod Paulus ad Galatas cap. ii. scribit, se Petro in faciem restitisse: unde colligebat Apostolos, et quidem principes illorum, non publicè omnium saluti, sed suæ quemque gloriæ privatim studuisse. Id SS. Patres non uno loco testantur. D. Hieronymus in procemio Commentar. in dictam Epist. 'Quod nequaquam intelligens Bataneotes, et sceleratus ille Porphyrius in primo operis sui adversus nos libro, Petrum a Paulo objecit esse reprehensum, quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelizandum: volens et illi maculam erroris inurere, et huic procacitatis, et in commune ficti dogmatis accusare mendacium, dum inter se ecclesiarum principes dissident.' Similia ad ipsum locum capitis ii. repetit idem epistola lxxxix. ad D. Au-

their feet, affords proof also of the fanaticism which still animated them. Montecinio, the Portuguese Jew from whose relation we have extracted these particulars, affirms, that shortly after his visit to his brethren and return to Carthagena, he was seized by the Inquisition and thrown into prison (probably for infringing the law which forbade

Europe, amongst which may be reckoned Prussia, not having been converted till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries),—and how dense the darkness which immediately followed its establishment, the lamp of Grecian learning but faintly continuing to irradiate that country where it had once so brightly blazed,—will not feel much reason to be surprised, that even if it could be clearly proved that the one continent was not entirely ignorant of the existence of the other, no intercourse should have taken place between them. It may further be remarked, that the principal states of Europe were too enfeebled likewise by the pernicious operation of the feudal laws, which sowed perpetual dissensions between the crown and its vassals, to direct their attention to distant foreign enterprise. Neither on the

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gustinum: 'Hanc autem explanationem, quam primus Origenes in decimo Stromateon libro, ubi epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et cæteri deinceps interpretes sunt secuti, illa vel maxime causa subintroducunt, ut Porphyrio respondeant blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere, et arguere in faciem, ac ratione constringere, quod male fecerit, id est, in eo errore fuerit, in quo fuit ipse qui alium arguit delinquentem.' Et ibidem paulo post: 'Ego, imo alii ante me exposuerunt causam, ostendentes honestam dispensationem ut et Apostolorum prudentiam demonstrarent, et blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coërcerent, qui Petrum et Paulum puerili dicit inter se pugnasse certamine, imo exarsisse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri,' &c. Similia sub finem libri xiv. Commentariorum in Esaiam apud eundem extant.

"Libro tertio de Scripturæ interpretatione agebat: et cum ipsas sacras literas convellere non posset, damnabat exponendi modum: præsertim Origenis allegorias, quod perspicue apparet ex prolixo loco quem Eusebius Hist. Eccl. libro vi. cap. 19 inde producit, et imprimis ex præmissis Eusebii verbis: *ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταστὰς Πορφύριος, συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πεπειρασμένος, τῶν τε εἰς αὐτὰς ἐξηγησαμένων μνημονεύσας, μηδὲν μηδαμῶς φαῦλον ἔγκλημα τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐπιβαλεῖν δυναθεὶς, ἀπορίᾳ λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς διαβάλλει. ὧν μάλιστα τὸν Ὠριγένην, ὃν κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν ἐγνωκέναι φήσας, διαβάλλειν πειρᾶται.* 'Porphyrius,' inquit, 'nostra memoria in Sicilia libros adversus nos edens, quibus divinas Scripturas calumniis insectari conatus est, cum ad earum expositores venisset, nihilque in dogmatibus reprehendendum reperisset, sermonis inopia ad calumniandum et interpretes perstringendum convertitur. Origenem autem omnium maxime, quem in adolescentia se cognovisse ait, traducere conatur.' Ipsa Porphyrii verba adscribere nimis longum foret, quæ indicasse sufficit. Ex eodem libro depromptum fuit testimonium illud de eruditione Origenis, quod Vincentius Lirinensis in commonitorio adducit, ut ex citato Eusebii loco videre est.

"Librum quartum de historia Mosaica et Judæorum antiquitatibus tractasse cognoscimus ex loco quem idem Eusebius libro i. Præp. cap. 9. adducit; ubi de Sanchuniathonis Phœnicia historia agit: idemque libro x. cap. 9. et a Theodoreto serm. 2. Therap. repetitur. Ex cæteris deinde nihil nominatim citatum observavi. Duodecimus omnium celeberrimus est: quo Danielis prophetiam fortiter oppugnavit. Hac de re operæ pretium est D. Hieronymum loquentem audire in procemio Commentariorum in eum Prophetam: 'Contra Prophetam Danielem,' inquit, 'duodecimum librum scribit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso, cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum, sed a quodam qui, temporibus Antiochi qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Judæa, et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse præterita: denique quicquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum. Cui solertissime responderunt Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus tribus voluminibus, id est, octavodecimo, nonodecimo, et vicesimo. Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est, vicesimosexto; et ante hos ex parte Methodius.' Multa deinde toto hoc commentario ex eodem libro affert, et refutat, cujus etiam in Apologia adversus Rufinum, atque alibi meminit. Sed quam varia eruditione hic liber refertus fuerit, haud obscure innuit sub finem ejusdem procemii; dum ex variis et reconditis auctoribus compositum fuisse testatur: 'Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est: Sutorii videlicet Callicini, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alypii: quos et Porphyrius esse secutum se dicit.'

"Verum et decimustertius liber adversus eundem Prophetam scriptus fuit, teste Hieronymo in xxiv. cap. Matth. Commentariorum lib. iv. 'De hoc loco,' inquit, 'id est de abominatione desolationis, quæ dicta est a Daniele propheta, stante in loco sancto, multa Porphyrius tertiodecimo operis sui volumine contra *nos* blasphemavit, cui Eusebius Cæsariensis Episcopus tribus respondit voluminibus,' &c. Nec magis a sacra Evangeliorum historia sibi temperavit; nam et hanc falsitatis eum arguisse idem Hieronymus Epistola ci. ad Pammachium testatur, idemque libro ii. adversus Pelagianos cum dixisset Christum, postquam negârat se ad scenopegiam iturum, (Joannes vii.) postea tamen ascendisse, addit: 'Latrat Porphyrius, inconstantiæ ac mutationis accusat, *nesciens omnia scandala ad carnem esse referenda*:' et libro Quæst. Hebraic. in Genesin: 'Frustra,' inquit, 'Porphyrius evangelistas ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum, et quod Dominus super mare ambulaverit, pro lacu Genezareth mare appellâsse calumniatur.' Ad Apostolorum Actus spectat illud in Epist. ad Demetriadem de virginitate servanda: 'Denique et Apostolus Petrus nequaquam eis imprecatur mortem, (Ananiæ scilicet et Saphyræ,) ut *stultus* Porphyrius calumniatur; sed Dei judicium prophetico spiritu annunciat.' Ex eodem quoque opere haustum existimo, quod libro adversus Vigilantium ait, Porphyrium *miracula ad SS. martyrum sepulturas edita* dæmonum præstigias vocasse: ut et tres illas quæstiones D. Augustino propositas ab amico pagano, quibus sanctissimus Pater epistola xlix. respondet quam de sex quæstionibus paganorum vulgo vocant; secundam scilicet, tertiam et quartam: quærebant enim, si Christus se Salutis viam dicat, et gratiam, et veritatem, et in se solo ponat animis sibi credentibus reditum, quid egerint tot sæculorum homines ante Christum? deinde, cur Christus Veteris Testamenti sacrificia repudiârit, cum Deus illa instituerit? tum etiam, quæ proportio sit inter peccatum et æternum supplicium, cum Christus dicat, 'In quacunque mensura mensi fueritis, metietur vobis?' Earundem libro ii. Retractat. cap. 31, meminit. Verum cum

Jews to visit America); when after some time being released he returned to Europe, and communicated the discovery which he had made to Menasseh Ben Israel, the high priest of the Jewish faith resident at Amsterdam,—a man of singular learning and probity, who caused his relation to be published, with the title of "Spes Israel," in English,

other hand were the larger states of the New World so uncivilized or so unwarlike as not to know that it rested with themselves to allow or to forbid visits from strangers. The Spaniards, it should also be recollected, to whom fire-arms and horses gave a vast superiority in their engagements with the Indians, were still for five-and-twenty years the colonizers of the islands in the vicinity of New Spain and Yucatan, without venturing, as Gomara says, although they trafficked with the natives, to settle on the continent: Acosta even declares, that they would never have been able to subjugate the empires of Peru and Mexico, if the former had not been torn by civil dissensions, through the rivalship of Huascar and Atabaliba, and if the latter had not believed Cortes to be their Messiah.—We had almost omitted to point out what to some may appear a contradiction in the relation of Gomara, or at least a fluctuation of opinion not to be expected in an author who had only just informed his readers that he perceived some reasons for forming a

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D. Augustinus disertim affirmet, hæc de Porphyrio contra Christianos tanquam validiora decerpta fuisse, satis apparet quo loco gentilis hosce Porphyrii libros habuerint: *quippe quorum objectiones vix responsum admittere existimarent.* Et sane δεινότητα ac subtilitatem δυσκατάλυτον haud obscure fatetur D. Hieronymus hisce verbis præfatione in Danielem: 'Quæ autem ex hoc propheta, imo contra hunc librum Porphyrius objiciat, testes sunt Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris, *qui multis versuum millibus ejus vesaniæ respondentes nescio an curioso lectori satisfecerint.*' Et in Apologia ad Pammachium pro libris adversus Jovinianum: 'Origenes,' inquit, 'Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris multis versuum millibus scribunt adversus Celsum et Porphyrium, considerantes quibus argumentis, et quam lubricis problematibus diaboli spiritu contexta subvertant, *et quia interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiant, sed quod necesse est,* dicunt adversus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles.' Atque hinc factum existimo, ut cum ipse acriori quodam veneno tela sua tinxerit, quibus religionem Christianam impetebat, quam reliqui manifesti Ecclesiæ hostes, Celsus, Hierocles, Julianus, atque alii, vehementius quoque odium sibi paraverit; quod quidem satis superque colligere est ex frequentissimis SS. Patrum *conviciis* et δυσφημίαις, quibus Dei et veritatis hostem passim proscindunt et justissime exagitant: adeo ut mihi bene longum centonem contexere liceret, præsertim ex Eusebio, Theodoreto, et Hieronymo, quibus religio fuisse videtur nomen Porphyrii absque execratione proponere. Ab illo enim, lib. i. de Præp. cap. 9, et lib. iv. cap. 6, ὁ ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν λαμπρυνόμενος δυσφημίαις καὶ ψευδηγορίαις: item ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων φίλος καὶ προήγορος appellatur: libro autem x. cap. 9, ὁ πάντων δυσμενέστατος καὶ πολεμιώτατος Ἑβραίων τε καὶ ἡμῶν. Nec minori elogiorum varietate à Theodoreto ornatur: Serm. 1, ὁ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας λυττήσας: Serm. 2, ὃς τῆς ἀσεβείας γενόμενος πρόμαχος κατὰ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων τὴν ἀκόλαστον ἐκίνησε γλῶτταν: Serm. 3, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντίπαλος: Serm. 10, ὁ ἄσπονδος ἡμῶν πολέμιος, τὴν προφανῆ κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀναδεξάμενος μαχην: Serm. 12, ὁ παντων ἡμῖν ἔχθιστος. Ita etiam D. Hieronymus, 'Stultum, impium, blasphemum, vesanum, impudentem, sycophantem, calumniatorem Ecclesiæ, rabidum adversus Christum canem,' passim vocat: ut cæteros taceam, apud quos nec pauciora, nec leviora reperias. Sed ne conviciis tantum Christi et veritatis hostem quis oppugnatum existimet, prodierunt adversus ipsum in arenam præcipui aliquot Ecclesiæ doctores, et manu conserta calumnias veritatis gladio jugularunt. Nam ut Fl. Lucius Dexter in Chronicis ad annum Christi cccx. prodidit (si modo auctor tot assumentis adulteratus ad testimonium citari debeat): 'Triginta circiter scriptores Catholici contra blasphemias Porphyrii philosophi scripserunt:' et in his nonnulli Hispani si interpolatoribus credendum, istiusmodi enim affanias larga manu adsperserunt, qui suæ nationis laudem sese aucturos hac ratione sperabant. Trium tamen clarissimorum hominum opera potissimum in hoc certamine eluxit, Methodii Patarensis, Eusebii Cæsariensis, et Apollinaris Laodiceni; sed nullius opus ad nostram ætatem pervenit. Credo quod Porphyrianis libris extinctis, et recepto per universum orbem Christianismo, istiusmodi scriptis Ecclesia Dei non amplius indigeret. Horum sæpenumero meminit D. Hieronymus, præfatione in Danielem, et sub finem cap. xii. in Apologia ad Pammachium, tum potissimum epistola lxxxiv. ad Magnum oratorem Romanum. 'Scripserunt,' inquit, 'contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius; priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris fortissime responderunt; quorum Origenes octo scripsit libros, Methodius usque ad decem millia procedit versuum, Eusebius et Apollinaris vigintiquinque et triginta volumina condiderunt.' Methodius primus omnium ad veritatis defensionem signum sustulit, ante Diocletiani persecutionem, ut supra ostendi: hunc 'nitidi compositique sermonis libros' adversus Porphyrium confecisse scribit Hieronymus in Catal. Ill. Script.; et 'disertissimum martyrem' vocat, cap. 12. in Daniel. Nescio tamen utrum κατὰ πόδα singulis responderit, cum eum ex parte tantum respondisse D. Hieronymus dicto loco, et alibi testetur. Sane elegantiam copiamque dicendi, præter Photii, hominis κριτικωτάτου, testimonium, et eclogas prolixas ab eo conservatas, abunde probat opusculum de humani arbitrii libertate, cujus maxima pars publice extat: tum etiam convivium decem virginum, Περὶ τῆς ἀγγελομιμήτου Παρθενίας liber, et homiliæ nonnullæ, quæ in Vaticana bibliotheca non sine publico damno latitant. Eusebii quoque opus contra Porphyrium Romæ adhuc servari nimis temere multi credunt: hujus tres integros libros blasphemiis contra Danielem Prophetam oppositos fuisse paulo ante ex D. Hieronymo vidimus; de cæteris nihil distincte licet affirmare. Apollinaris libros xxx. contra Porphyrium idem Hieronymus, epist. 65. ad Pammachium 'fortissimos' appellat, et 'egregia volumina:' et in Catal. Ill. Script. 'inter cætera ejus opera vel maxime probari' ait. Extat de iisdem præclarum testimonium Vincentii Lirinensis: 'Nam quid Apollinare præstantius acumine, exercitatione, doctrina? quam multas ille hæreses multis voluminibus oppressit, quot inimicos fidei confutavit errores, indicio est opus illud xxx. non minus librorum, nobilissimum et maximum, quo insanas Porphyrii calumnias magna probationum mole confudit.' Hinc merito tantum virum *in hæresin prolapsum* dolet.

" De Imperatorum edictis, quibus impios hosce Porphyrii libros suppresserunt, jam superius egi. Quamvis *concitatis vulgi animis* promiscue in omnia scripta sævitum quæ infaustum Christianis nomen præferebant; et hæc, nisi fallor, causa est, cur philosophicæ historiæ Malchi nomen fuerit præfixum non ab ipso quidem auctore, verum ab iis qui communi Porphyrianorum librorum cladi hoc opus

Latin and Hebrew, at Amsterdam and in Smyrna, dedicating it to the English parliament. It may well be supposed that, however convinced the regent Cardinal Ximenes and the succeeding administrations of Spain, which were generally composed of ecclesiastical dignitaries, might have been of the truth of the fact, they would not have

very different conclusion. It is where he assumes in the first instance as the greater probability that a Portuguese pilot had discovered America, and yet unhesitatingly calls in the next chapter the ship in which the voyage was performed a Spanish vessel. It is enough to remark, that as Britain is a general name for England and Scotland, so Spain or the Spains was an epithet which in that age was applied both to Spain and Portugal. With respect to the proper name Columbus,—since, considered as a Latin name not devoid of signification, it is scarcely as appropriate a term for Colon, the real name of Columbus, as Agricola,—it is not impossible that this mutation

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subtractum cupiebant: ut quasi signis commutatis inquirentium oculos animumque falleret. Sed, ut nullum tam noxium venenum est, unde non salubris aliqua medicina arte extrahi possit, ita ex pessimis hisce libris veritatis propugnatores scorpiacum confecere, quo non ipsius solum Porphyrii, sed et reliquorum omnium Ecclesiæ hostium, ictus noxios et virulentas calumnias persanarent: quinimo nullus omnino τῶν ἔξω plura aut fortiora tela Doctoribus Ecclesiæ suppeditavit, quibus multiplicem Gentilium errorem facilius feliciusque jugularent. Cujus quidem rei argumenta abunde peti possunt ex Eusebio, lib. iii. et iv. de Præpar.; Theodoreto, Therap. Serm. iii. vii. et x.; D. Augustino de Civ. Dei, lib. x.; aliisque Sanctorum Patrum locis quamplurimis: ubi Porphyrii testimoniis perspicue probatur, universam illam fabulosam et πολύθεον gentilium theologiam μηδὲν ἱερὸν, καὶ μηδὲν θεοπρεπὲς continere; dæmones, quibus divinitatis honorem cæca mortalitas tribuebat, infestos et malignos humani generis hostes esse; oracula ab iisdem edita meras esse imposturas, et credulæ hominum simplicitati lubricis et obscuris verborum ambagibus illusisse; *sacrificia et mactationes a vera pietate abhorrere: et crassos ac materiales dæmones esse, qui hostiarum vaporem fœtidumque nidorem expetant;* aliaque hujus generis plura, quibus ἑλληνικὴ θρησκεία à fundamentis evertitur. Unde verissime de hoc philosopho Theodoretus, serm. iii. Græc. Aff. dixit: ‘Videtur hoc miraculum Samsonis ænigmati persimile: *ex ore comedentis exivit cibus, et ex forti dulcedo.* Hæc enim ad refellendum mendacium a mendacii patrono scripta sunt: et veritatis accusator, præter animi sententiam veritatis defensor evasit. Deus enim qui linguam vatis Balaam, imprecari paratam, benedictionem proferre coegit, is et hujus linguam, rabido furore adversus veritatem concitatam, invitam contra mendacium convertit.’ Neque id solum; sed nostræ quoque religioni luculentum non uno in loco testimonium perhibuit, et Christi divinitatem, quamvis inscius et invitus, comprobavit; non secus ac dæmon ipse in Evangeliis Christum Dei filium confessus est: tale enim illud est quod Euseb., lib. v. Præp. cap. i. ex opere adversus Christianos, et Theodoretus in ipso fine Therapeuticôn proferunt, Christi adventu dæmonum potestates atque operationes cessasse; tum quod libro iii. demonstratio ex libro 3 de philosophia, ex oraculis ab eodem Eusebio, et D. Augustino, lib. xix. c. 23., adducitur: ubi dæmones ipsos de Christi pietate, passione, et immortali gloria εὐφήμως respondisse testabatur, quem et ipse propterea nequaquam blasphemandum pronunciabat. Atque utinam vel dæmonum magistrorum suorum modestiam homo effrænis linguæ et impotentis animi fuisset imitatus, nec blasphemiarum, conviciorum, calumniarum, et mendaciorum plaustra in Christum effudisset: rectius sane, si non saluti, saltem famæ ac nomini suo consuluisset. Ut hic potissimum variam ac mutabilem animi inconstantiam et dogmatum contrarietatem ipsi exprobrare liceat, quam in reliquis scriptis jam olim animadvertit Eunapius; et ill. Annalium Sacrorum auctor ad palinodiam sub Constantino M. factam argute magis quam vere pertrahit.

“ Cæterum quæ de opere adversus Christianos SS. Patrum testimoniis confirmata hactenus proposui, id quoque manifeste videntur evincere, quæ Lactantius, lib. v. de Just. c. 2, de philosopho Christianæ religionis oppugnatore scripsit, nequaquam de Porphyrio intelligenda esse. Nam præter rationes superius a me adductas, diversi auctoris opus fuisse apparet, non solum ex diverso librorum numero, sed ex materia et apparatu diverso. Cum enim Lactantius Hieroclis judicis accuratum et subtile sacræ Scripturæ examen miretur, quod ‘ejus falsitatem arguere conatus tanquam sibi esset tota contraria, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerâssat, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videretur;’ fatetur haud obscure, alterum Philosophiæ antistitem nihil simile ad Christianæ religionis oppugnationem attulisse. Quin etiam in persequendo instituto suo, ‘ineptum, vanum, ridiculum, et pro inanitate sua contemptum’ fuisse scribit: adeo quidem ut Hieroclis φιλαλήθη argumentorum robore et vehementia, sive, ut ipse ait, mordacitate, ei præferre non dubitet. Quæ profecto de Porphyrii libris nullo modo accipere licet, nisi hominem dicendi peritissimum, et in disputando apprime exercitatum, ἀκρισίας manifestæ convincere velis. Nemo enim non videt, quantopere hæc a reliquorum Patrum judicio discrepent. Cæteri enim omnes Hieroclem vel ignoraruńt omnino, vel præ Porphyrio adeo contemserunt, ut nec nomen ejus nunc sciretur, nisi Eusebius operis particulam, qua Apollonium Christo comparabat, refutasset: sed contemptum potius quam ignotum fuisse, ex Eusebii libro apparet, qui cætera ejus scriptoris tanti fuisse negat, ut iis refellendis operam impenderet: quippe quæ non illius propria, sed ex aliorum scriptis, non sententiis modo, verum dictionibus quoque iisdem, ac totidem pene syllabis impudenter sublecta erant. Quibus verbis Hieroclem ea quæ de sacrarum literarum repugnantia scripserat, cum ex aliis Christianismi oppugnatoribus tum præcipue ex Porphyrio suffuratum fuisse manifeste indicat; et dum alibi iis responsum oppositum iri scribit, ad Porphyrii refutationem, quam animo jam moliebatur, haud dubie lectorem rejicit. Hunc enim divina oracula assidua lectione trivisse, et in iisdem subvertendis vehementer exercuisse ingenium, præter superiora SS. Patrum loca, testatur Theodoretus, Therap. serm. vii., ubi de sacrificiis lege divina constitutis agit: *Τούτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐντυχῶν ὁ Πορφύριος, μάλα γὰρ ἐνδιέτριψε τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν τυρεύων γραφὴν, ἀλλότριον εὐσεβείας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνει τὸ θύειν.* ‘Hæc,’ inquit, ‘cum diligenter Porphyrius perlegisset, (plurimum namque temporis in iis contrivit, dum suum adversus nos opus procuderet,) *ipse etiam sacrificia a pietate aliena esse pronunciavit.*’ Sed ut simiæ humanos gestus imitantur, naturam tamen suam cum humana non permutant; ita Porphyrium e sacris literis quædam pro libitu sublegentem veritatem imitando utcunque expressisse, ipsam vero minime perdidicisse ait: *ἀλλὰ μεμένηκε πίθηκος, μᾶλλον δὲ κολοιὸς ἀλλοτρίοις πτίλοις καλλυνόμενος.*

“ Hæc de Porphyrii vita et scriptis ad antiquitatis illustrationem hactenus disseruisse sufficiat.”

promulgated to the world the secret, that the Jews had actually for many ages revived the old law in America; and that Spanish historians like Herrera, even if it had come to their knowledge, would have been very cautious how they hinted at it in their writings. But still, the account of a bearded tribe amongst the Indians inhabiting a mountainous district of the Çapotecas, who were designated by the Spaniards Mexis or Mixes, and who, according to their report, exceeded all other Indian tribes in cannibalism, and were cruelly exterminated by them (principally with the assistance of mastiffs), must excite our suspicion as to whether they might not have been Jews. Herrera, describing in the seventh chapter of the ninth book of his fourth Decad this people, says: "In the province of the Miges, that has been already mentioned, which is twenty leagues distant from Guaxaca, the people are of a good stature, have long beards (which is an uncommon thing in those parts), and their language is very thick in pronunciation, like that of the Germans: they generally bury their dead in the plains, and every year commemorate their deceased kindred, by placing food as an offering upon their sepulchres. They do this in the month of November, two days prior or subsequent to that on which we celebrate the memory of the dead. They are a cruel and warlike people, greatly addicted to cannibalism, and braver than any nation of New Spain: for although the whole province does not contain a greater population than two thousand men, neither Moteçuma nor the Zapotecas, though a much more numerous people, could ever subdue them. Inhabiting likewise in a united body the same mountains as the Zapotecas, they never took prisoner man, woman, or child, whom they did not kill and eat; and they persisted in this custom until they were conquered. They viewed with satisfaction wars amongst the neighbouring Indian tribes, in the hope of being able to procure human flesh. They went naked with only a deer-skin girded round their loins, and this skin was very white and made very supple with the brains of men. As their country was full of steep hills, free from stones and rocks, very grassy, and wet from constant rains, it was their custom, in order to fly from or to surprise an enemy, to sit down upon the top of some hill wherever they chanced to be, and grasping hold of their feet, let themselves slide down the grass, when they soon reached the bottom, slipping over it by means of those skins. Some Spaniards have wished to do the same, and have received severe contusions. The mountains of the Miges were conquered on foot with the assistance of dogs, as horses could not proceed through them. The town of Saint Ildefonso is founded in them: this town does not contain more than thirty habitations, and consists of sheds and straw-thatched houses; and the population would often have been massacred, had it not been for their dogs, which pursued the Indians who came as spies, and were so accustomed to be on their guard that they never caught an Indian whom they did not kill and eat, since they grew very fat upon them, and distinguished with much sagacity the Indians with whom the Spaniards were on terms of friendship, from the foe. The captain, Gaspar

of the name of Colon into Columbus might have been in consequence of a tradition existing before the age of Christopher Colon,—of a vast continent having been discovered in the ocean by Saint Columba, or some of his disciples; and that those who were unwilling to allow the saint the honour of the discovery of America, in order to unite the suffrages of posterity in favour of Colon, and to confuse that tradition in the ambiguity of the proper names, gave the latter the name of Columbus, rather than of Colonus or Agricola. It cannot be supposed, from the tenour of these observations, that they are intended, by the suggestion of doubts and difficulties, to detract from the praise so justly due to the great man who is reported to have been the first discoverer of the New World; since here, as elsewhere, we should defend ourselves by recurring to the precept of Aristotle, who recommended that truth should be preferred even to Plato: neither, on the other hand, in pointing out the probable guilty excesses into which fanaticism led the Jews, or the too harsh treatment which they received from the Spanish Government, have we been guided by the slightest desire to gratify feelings of dislike towards any class of men. But since it is only necessary to exhibit fanaticism in its true colours to make it detestable, and that the interests of the many ought more to be considered than the feelings of the few, we are on the contrary persuaded it may be rendering an essential service to the Jews, and to Christians who are disposed to be intolerant, to address them freely in the language of reason and remonstrance. The age of religious persecution, fortunately for the world, has long since gone by: it originated amongst the Jews, who ought to know that the edifice of superstition and intolerance which their advocates are anxious to uphold, is grown antiquated; and that although it may retain the outward appearance and huge proportions of past times, it has lost its firmness and solidity:—repose and tranquillity are necessary for its existence. As regards state prosecutions on religious grounds, we can only express a fervent desire that the Wilberforces of the present day, and the friends of the Society for the Prosecution of Vice and Blasphemy, would profit by the following reply, which the Emperor Akbar made to Jahangueir, his successor on the throne of Hindostan, who inquired of him why, being a true believer, he permitted his Hindoo subjects to build temples and to adhere to the profession of their false religion:—"My dear child, I find myself a puissant monarch, the shadow of God upon earth. I have seen that He bestows the blessings of his gracious providence upon all his creatures without distinction. Ill should I discharge the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion from any of those entrusted to my charge. With all of the human race, with all of God's creatures I am at peace: why then should I permit myself under any consideration to be the cause of molestation or aggression to any one?"—Jahangueir's Memoirs of Himself, translated by Major Price.

Pachecho, conquered these mountains, throwing to the dogs the guilty who rebelled or killed Christians; and the Indians were more afraid of the dogs than of armed men. The lord of Magitlan, which is the chief town of the Miges, having revolted and killed certain Christians and Zapotecan Indians, evacuated the place, and proceeded to lay waste the country, when the captain, Gaspar Pachecho, pursued him with his Spaniards and Indian allies, and seized by chance an Indian of the Miges nation, the slave of the lord, who had sent him as a spy to see what the Christians were doing; and on his confession that he had been present at the death of certain Christians, when he accompanied his lord assisting him in spoiling the land, his accusation was drawn out, and he was condemned to die. The captain, Gaspar Pachecho, having brought out the dogs, offered him his life and to attach him to his service if he would inform him where his lord was concealed, as his only object was to put a stop to the injuries which the Spaniards and native Indians suffered. He answered that he would not tell him, and that he might do what he pleased. After many exhortations and promises, which were of no avail, he commanded that he should be thrown to the dogs, which flying at him and seizing him by the fleshy parts of the arms and of the legs, the Indian, without uttering a complaint, began to encourage them, looking first at one and then at another, saying, 'Oatecanes, (which signifies, Ye brave ones,) perform your part well, since they will thus paint me in the skin of a tyger, and I shall be painted as a good and brave man who would not betray my lord.' Whilst addressing the dogs with noble courage, they tore him in pieces and ate him. If they hang them they do not care; for they say that they fall asleep, and that sleeping they pass to dances in another life. At last the fear of the dogs caused the inhabitants of the whole district,—ferocious, warlike, enemies of mankind, and greedy of human flesh as they were,—to submit." Historia de las Indias Occidentales, dec. iv. lib. ix. cap. vii. The language of the Mixes "hablando mui grueso a manera de Alemanes," as Herrera affirms: their thick beards, "barbas largas cosa rara en aquellas partes," their scanty population, the hatred which they bore to the other tribes of Indians; and above all, the hatred which the Spaniards bore to them, and the cruel manner in which they hunted and exterminated them, suggest the idea that the Mijes, Mixis, or Mexis, as they are variously called, might have been a colony of Jews, who, like the Jews discovered by Montecinio in the neighbourhood of Carthagena, might have fortified themselves in the mountains, and so have hoped to escape servitude either to the Indians or the Spaniards. It would be surprising,—if it were fair to presume from the silence of Spanish historians either want of information on their part or of research and curiosity on the part of others, instead of ascribing their reserve to other causes,—to find that scarcely any mention is made in their writings of a bearded nation, and of blacks discovered amongst the Indians*; although a black skin and a bearded visage afford the surest argument of a mixture of foreign blood with that of the smooth and copper-coloured Indian race. From a painting which occurs in the eighty-seventh page of the Codex Vaticanus, it would appear that the Çapotecas were a bearded people, as well as the Mixes. The two nations bordered on each other, and alliances might sometimes have taken place between them. If the Mixes were Jews, it is probable that their ancestors constructed the palaces of Mictlan, and other splendid monuments in the territory of the Çapotecas, which M. Dupaix is not inclined to attribute to the art and industry of the latter people. That the Mixes were not the barbarous people that Spanish authors describe them, is evident from the superior knowledge which they possessed of the art of Indian warfare; for whilst the Tlaxcaltecas with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men could scarcely preserve their independence against Montezuma, and had in fact consented to the payment of a slight tribute,—as is evident from the forty-fourth plate of the Collection of Mendoza, where the symbol of their state is found amongst those of the other tributary cities and nations, and is numbered 23,—the Mixes are said by Herrera to have resisted all the efforts of Montezuma to subdue them, although their entire population did not exceed two thousand men. Another proof of their possessing a certain

* Peter Martyr says, in the first chapter of his third Decade, "There is a region not past two days journey distant from Quarequa, in which they found *only* black Moors, and those exceeding fierce and cruel. They suppose that in time past certain black Moors sailed thither out of Ethiopia to rob, and that by shipwreck or some other chance they were driven to those mountains. The inhabitants of Quarequa live in continual war and debate with these black men." Gomara, in describing the expedition of Balboa in search of the South Sea, mentions these same blacks, although he knew less about them probably than Peter Martyr, who was an earlier writer: "Entro Balboa en Quareca; no hallo pan ni oro, que lo avian alçado antes de pelear. *Empero hallo algunos negros, esclavos del Señor.* Pregunto de donde los avian, y no le supieron dezir o entender, mas de que avia ombres de aquel color cerca de alli, con quien tenian guerra muy ordinaria. Estos fueron los primeros negros que se vieron en Indias, y aun pienso que no se han visto mas."—La Istoria de las Indias, fo. xxxiiii. Cap. 'Descubrimiento de la Mar del Sur.'

degree of civilization is, that they employed historical paintings, in which they recorded the brave actions of their countrymen.

Returning to the consideration of other Hebrew analogies in the Indian rites and ceremonies,—having already mentioned the temple of Mexico, the fire that was kept continually burning in it, the celebration of the festivals of new moons and the offerings of the first-fruits at stated seasons of the year; we may further observe, that the Mexicans in other parts of their temple service resembled the Jews. Like the Jews, besides sacrifices, they offered incense, flowers, and golden chains and jewels, to Huitzilopuchtli, or Tetzcatlipoca, their supreme deity, to whom they ascribed victory in battle, and in whose honour they clothed themselves on certain great festivals with the skins of those whom they had taken prisoners in war, and even with those of slaves whom they had devoted to sacrifice. It is unnecessary to quote Scripture to show that to offer incense in their temple was a Jewish custom, since no nation except the Indians ever came near the Jews in their prodigality in making this offering to the Deity; but it deserves to be noticed, that the Jews were expressly commanded, in the fortieth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, to carry boughs and branches of trees in their hands as a religious ceremony: "And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days *." The Mexicans were accustomed to decorate profusely their temples with branches of trees and flowers, and to carry them in their hands in certain festive processions. It is said, in the thirty-fifth chapter of Exodus, of the Israelites: "And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought bracelets, and ear-rings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold: and every man that offered, offered an offering of gold unto the Lord." The Mexican paintings show that the Mexicans were accustomed to present at the shrines of their gods jewels of gold, bracelets, and necklaces: and it would also appear that they placed loaves of bread in the sanctuaries of their temples before the idols, which must remind us of the Jewish shew-bread. Acosta, describing in the ninth chapter of the fifth book of his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, the adoration which the Mexicans paid to their three principal deities, having previously mentioned Vitzliputzli and Tlaloc, says: "Præter hæc etiam tertium quoddam idolum colebatur apud Mexicanos, quod remittendis peccatis destinabatur. Hoc Tezcathlipuca vocabatur." And he shortly afterwards observes: "Æquo terrori Indis nullum idolum præter hoc erat, quod admodum metuebant ne facinora patrata in propatulum ferret. Festis illis diebus quæ singulis quaternis annis instituuntur, peccatorum remissio publice denunciatur, eo modo quo deinceps dicturi sumus. Idem hoc idolum pro deo ac domino habebatur siccitatis, inediæ ac famis, sterilitatis et pestis, quod ob id aliâ quoque specie effingebant, in solio insigni considens, et purpureo prætenso velo (*Gordyn* vocant) in quo hominum defunctorum crania et ossa depicta erant." The purple veil here said to have been spread before the shrine of Tetzcatlipoca, and to have been painted with skulls and bones, recalls to our recollection the thirty-fifth verse of the thirty-sixth chapter of Exodus, in which mention is made of the veil of the tabernacle: "And he made a veil of blue and purple and scarlet, and fine-twined linen, with cherubims made he it of cunning work." Torquemada says that the skulls and bones which occupied the place of the cherubim in the veil of Tetzcatlipoca, signified that that god possessed equal power over life and death. In the same way as amongst the Jews none were permitted except the Levites to enter the secret place of the sanctuary, so the Mexican ritual forbade any but the priests to enter the sanctuary of Tetzcatlipoca. Acosta, describing the temple of that god, in the thirteenth chapter of his fifth book, says: "In cujus latere conclave quoddam varii coloris pannis pretiosis tectum visebatur, cujus porta humilis velo assiduo recingebatur, *nulli nisi sacerdotibus accessa*."

The Mexican priests, like the Levites, bathed and made frequent use of ablutions in their religious ceremonies: some of them, like the Jewish Nazarites, permitted their hair to grow without ever cutting it. The sixth chapter of Numbers, immediately following the chapter containing the law of the trial of jealousy, is exclusively

* Torquemada says, that in one of the Mexican months the Mexicans celebrated a festival by going to a neighbouring mountain and building a kind of tabernacle of boughs for one of their principal idols. Amongst the Jews, the feast of tabernacles was a great solemnity. In the forty-second plate of the First Part of the Monuments of M. Dupaix, under No. 97, a stone tablet sculptured in relievo occurs, containing four figures seated cross-legged, having a very Jewish cast of countenance, with long beards; one of whom holds what appears to be a branch of palm or willow in his hand. Between them, in the centre, seems to be the plan of a temple. Exultation is evidently depicted in their countenances; while there is something votive in their attitude, as if they had just escaped some great danger, or after many toils had succeeded at length in attaining some much-desired object.

dedicated to the exposition of the law relating to Nazarites *; from whence it may be inferred that persons making such vows were held in great estimation by the Jews. In the thirteenth chapter of Judges it is said that an angel appeared to the wife of Manoah the father of Samson, and expressly commanded that the child which he promised that she should conceive should be a Nazarite to God from the womb to the day of his death. The vow of a Nazarite was generally only for a limited time, at the expiration of which he cut off his hair and made an offering of it, burning it in the holy fire of the altar of the tabernacle, as was enjoined in the eighteenth verse of the sixth chapter of Numbers; "And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation and put it in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace-offerings." This Jewish rite ought certainly to be considered in connexion with a Peruvian superstition, into which it might have degenerated, which Acosta notices in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his Moral History of the Indies: "Mirum est id sacrificium quod instituunt in superciliorum depilationibus, illa enim crinibus nudant. Evulsos crines nonnunquam Soli, interdum montibus seu Apalchitis, aliquando etiam ventis, ac rebus aliis quas metuunt, sacrificio offerunt."

It is singular that in Mexican paintings the eyebrows in the human countenance seem almost always to be omitted. As the temple at Jerusalem contained great store of gold and silver vessels, which the king of Babylon pillaged, so the Peruvian temples were excessively rich in precious vases, especially that of Pachacama, near Lima; from which, Acosta observes, Francis Pizarro and his soldiers obtained "ingentes et infandas divitias vasorum tum aureorum, tum argenteorum." It was customary among the Jews to summon the people to the synagogue by the sounding of horns; and to blow trumpets † was a religious ceremony, which Moses declares, in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, that God himself appointed: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a sabbath, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation." And again in the twenty-ninth chapter of Numbers: "And in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, ye shall have an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work; it is a day of blowing the trumpets unto you." It is certainly not a little curious that, according to Torquemada, the Mexicans should have been summoned to prayers at stated hours by the blowing of horns, in the same way as the Jews, although they were acquainted with bells: and that, according to Garcia, they should have approached their temple with the same reverential custom of pulling off their sandals when within a certain number of paces distant from it ‡. They seem likewise to have imitated the Jews in their sacerdotal costume: and Garcia, in the second chapter of the third book of the Origin of the Indians, treating of the resemblance of the Indian dress to that of the Jews, says: "Fr. Agustin Davila, Arçobispo de Santo Domingo, réfiere en su Historia Dominicana del Nuevo Mundo, como en un pueblo llamado Tamaçulapa, que es en la Misteca, se hallaron unas vestiduras sagradas de el que ellos tenian por summo sacerdote, mui semejantes a las que se ponian los pontifices maximos de la lei de Moises, las quales tenian escondidas los Indios." "Brother Augustin Davila, the archbishop of Saint Domingo, relates in his Dominican History of the New World, that some sacred vestments were discovered in a town called Tamaçulapa, in Misteca, which had belonged to the person whom they considered their high priest, which nearly resembled those worn by the high priests of the Mosaic law, which vestments the Indians kept concealed."

The habit of the high priest of the Jews, the several parts of which are minutely explained in the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus, is more briefly described in the forty-fifth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: "He exalted Aaron,

* Saint Matthew, referring to some lost prophecy relating to the Messiah, (for none such occurs in any of the books of the Old Testament,) says: "It was spoken by the Prophets, he shall be called a Nazarene." Hence some commentators have taken Samson to be a precursor and harbinger of Christ. But even supposing that some traits of personal resemblance existed between them, and some analogies in the annunciation which was made by angels to the mother of each, that she should bring forth a son,—would they not be more than counterbalanced by the lustful disposition of Samson, which was so opposite to the character of the future Messiah?

† The Jews attributed as much virtue as the Mexicans to the sound of the trumpet, in awakening by its shrill notes the heart of a sinner to a livelier sense of remorse for sin. They have a prayer which they use in their synagogues beginning with the words, "O Lord, we thank thee for having taught us the use of the trumpet." And, extolling its use, they refer to the text in Scripture which says, "God went up with a noise, the Lord with the sound of the trumpet." Votan was emphatically styled by the Chiapanese the Lord of the Teponaztli, or hollow drum, which instrument of music was used conjointly in their temples with the trumpet.

‡ The Jews were always accustomed to tread barefoot on what they deemed holy ground. God is said, in the third chapter of Exodus, to have spoken to Moses from the burning bush, and commanded him to put off his shoes because the place whereon he stood was holy ground.

an holy man like unto him, even his brother, of the tribe of Levi. An everlasting covenant he made with him, and gave him the priesthood among the people; he beautified him with comely ornaments, and clothed him with a robe of glory. He put upon him perfect glory, and strengthened him with rich garments, with breeches, with a long robe, and the ephod. And he compassed him with pomegranates and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people; with an holy garment with gold, and blue silk and purple, the work of the embroiderer, with a breast-plate of judgment, and with Urim and Thummim; with twisted scarlet, the work of the cunning workman; with precious stones graven like seals, and set in gold, the work of the jeweller, with a writing engraved for a memorial after the number of the tribes of Israel. He set a crown of gold upon the mitre, wherein was engraved 'Holiness,' an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desire of the eyes, goodly and beautiful." This is the description of the dress of the Jewish high priest, which differed from that of the other priests and Levites who officiated in the temple. Josephus, in applying the verses of an old Greek poet to his own countrymen, and contending from them that his nation had swelled the forces of the Persian army that invaded Greece, clearly indicates what he considered to have been the military costume of the Jews some ages before, and such perhaps as it was in his time. The verses alluded to are cited by him in the first book of his treatise against Apion; and are the following:

" Τῳ δ' ὀπιθεν διεβαινε γενος θαυμαστον ἰδεσθαι,
Γλωσσαν μεν Φοινισσαν ἀπο στοματων ἀφιεντες,
Ὠκουν δ' ἐν Σολυμοις ὀρεσι, πλατεῃ παρα λιμνῃ,
Ἀνυχμαλεοι, κορυφας τροχοουριδες, αὐταρ ὑπερθεν
Ἱππων δαρτα προσωπ' ἐφορουν, ἐσκληκοτα καπνῳ."

" Next came a race of men of extraordinary mien, whose dialect was Phœnician, and their habitation in the Solymean mountains * on the borders of a broad lake, of sun-burnt complexion, with their heads shorn in a circle; whilst above they wore the skins of horses' heads hardened in the smoke."

If it be objected that this nation could not have been the Jews, because the Jews were forbidden by Moses to round the corners of their heads or to mar the corners of their beards, it is sufficient,—without insisting on the different senses in which the Rabbis might have understood what rounding the corners of their heads was,—to observe, that Josephus, a Jew, believed these verses to be written of the Jews his countrymen. And certainly, rebellious and stiffnecked as the Jews are called in Scripture, the supposition that in this particular they disobeyed the Mosaic law, involves no difficulty. Many learned men, such as Doctor Prideaux †, have doubted even whether some of the precepts of the Mosaic law were ever observed by the Jews, or have believed that their observance was discontinued shortly after their first institution. The Jews were forbidden usury ‡;—but what people ever became such great usurers? They were forbidden idolatry;—but what nation was so prone to the worship of idols? It may be further remarked, that since amongst the paintings discovered by Belzoni on the walls in the interior of the tombs of the Egyptian kings at Thebes, very intelligent judges have been persuaded that they have recognized Jews in the figures of captives with their hands tied behind them, who have a peculiarly Jewish cast of countenance, and whose heads are shaven in the manner described by Josephus, the opinion of that historian would seem to acquire confirmation from the collateral evidence of the Egyptian monuments. The great antiquity of these paintings may be inferred from the representation of chariots so frequently occurring among them; for when Egypt became intersected with canals,—and history informs us under the reign of what Egyptian monarch that occurred,—it became a country no longer fit for cavalry, and the use of chariots in war must have ceased. One thing we learn from the

* Homer makes honourable mention of the Solymeans as a brave race of men, which the Jews confessedly were. The appellation which the Greeks gave to Jerusalem, Ἱεροσολυμα, was merely the Hebrew proper name, pronounced with a Greek accentuation. It is very problematical whether Homer makes any allusion, under the name of the Solymeans, to the Jews.

† Doctor Prideaux doubted whether the Jews ever allowed to their land the stated periods of rest ordained by the Mosaic law. The laws of cleanness and uncleanness relating to men, other writers have supposed must, from their excessive inconvenience, have been quickly abandoned: and the Jews of the present day entirely disregard them.

‡ It is right to observe that they were only forbidden to lend money on usury to their brethren; and this prohibition did not extend to strangers. Nihil humanum a me alienum puto, was an apothegm never uttered by Moses, and quite at variance with Jewish ethics.

lines quoted by Josephus,—that the Jews, like the Mexicans, dressed themselves in the skins of beasts in war, and wore helmets formed out of the heads of animals. But Josephus, although a Jew and a Levite, is an author not much to be depended upon. To aggrandize his own nation was his aim,—to flatter and deceive the Emperor, a duty which he proposed to himself; hoping by the former to raise himself to personal distinction, and by the latter to cause favour and protection to be shown to the Jews. Hence, with unblushing falsehood he asserts in his Reply to Apion, that the Jews, unlike other nations, were a people that lived in perpetual unanimity, unacquainted with sedition and intestine commotions: although the Scripture informs us, that even in the lifetime of David Absalom had stolen the hearts of the people; and that in the reign of Rehoboam there was a sweeping revolt of ten of the tribes of Israel; and he also insinuates that the Emperor was the Messiah. Framed, however, as the history of Josephus was to shock but as little as possible Roman prejudices and to impose upon the emperors, the Antonines and Marcus Aurelius were not deceived: those excellent monarchs were not inclined to take Cyrus as a pattern, or to give any encouragement to the Jews. That Josephus himself had powerful patrons is evident from the arrogant style in which he replies to Apion. His writings pleased a party in Rome that had been increasing in numbers and strength from the days of Augustus, who, wishing to see the downfall of the established religion of the state, favoured both Christian and Jewish writers, because their works tended to bring that religion into contempt. If he had not been countenanced by many great men, he would scarcely have ventured to impugn the veracity of all the Greek historians, making it a heavy charge against them that there should be discrepancies in their relations; or have ridiculously boasted of that enactment amongst the Jews, which provided that none but the priests and Levites should compose histories or be permitted to write books. Josephus must either have imagined that the Hebrew annalists were inspired, or were not. If he believed they were inspired, it was absurd in him to utter his sarcasms against the Greeks because they had not instituted an order of inspired historians. If he did not, it was a silly notion to suppose that the cause of truth would be promoted by permitting one class of people to write what they pleased, and no others to contradict them. We may here notice another analogy in the Mexican and Jewish institutions. The Mexican priests, like the priests amongst the Jews, employed themselves in composing histories: those histories were paintings, the interpretation of which they reserved to themselves. In Yucatan when a priest died, books (that is to say paintings) were buried along with him, as Herrera affirms: and it is a custom with the Jews at the present day to place books on the coffin of the deceased, although not to throw them into the grave. A description of the dress of the Jewish high priest having been taken from Ecclesiasticus, and the testimony of Josephus (who, like the Mexican priests, was himself a soldier as well as a Levite) adduced to show what was the ancient military costume and equipments of the Jews, something remains to be said of the dress of the other classes of the Jewish populace. Garcia says, in the last section of the second chapter of the third book of his Origin of the Indians, "If the dress which the Indians wear is duly considered, particularly the Peruvian, it will be found very like that worn by the Jews; for they use a tunic or shift, which resembles a surplice without sleeves, and over it they wrap a mantle. They substitute sandals in the place of shoes; some made with wooden soles and tied above, others with soles made of cabuya, which is like hemp, with strings. This kind of shoe is much more common in New Spain, as the dress which I have mentioned is more common in Peru. The natives of Peru allowed their hair in ancient times to grow long, like Nazarites, with the exception of that class who were called Orejones: and those who are yet unconquered wear at the present day their hair in this fashion. That this was the dress and costume of the Hebrews is evident, as well from their histories as from ancient paintings, which represent them habited in this apparel; and this kind of dress and sandals was worn by the Apostles. These two articles of apparel, the mantle and shift, which are worn by the Indians of Peru, were what Samson laid a wager on, and what are named in Scripture the tunic and syndon, which are the same as what the Indians of Peru call cusma and pacha, and the Spaniards camiseta and manta."

It would appear, from what Garcia here asserts, (who speaks from observation, having been himself many years in Peru,) that the dress of the Peruvians was more like that of the Jews than was the Mexican, whilst the sandals of the people of New Spain were strictly in the Hebrew fashion *. If that learned author, as well as Acosta, had sought

* We know, from the expression of John the Baptist, "There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose," the nature of the Hebrew sandals, which probably exactly resembled those worn by the Mexicans.

out Hebrew analogies in the customs and institutions of the Indians of New Spain and Peru, before Spanish intercourse had rendered many of those customs obsolete, and had published their works in the beginning of the sixteenth instead of the beginning of the seventeenth century, perhaps they would have found that no Hebrew fashion was wanting in the New World. It is certainly surprising to see how nearly the Jewish costume is imitated in some of the Mexican paintings. In the twelfth page of that MS. of the Bodleian Library which seems to represent the migration of the Mexicans, or some other subject connected with a descent into hell, and which is unfortunately only a fragment of a larger painting, from which a part has evidently been torn off, the figure of a Mexican priest occurs in a dress very like that of the high priest of the Jews: the linen ephod, the breast-plate, and the border of pomegranates, described in Exodus, are there in a manner represented. The golden bells are wanting; but those ornaments will be found, in the valuable painting preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden, attached to the dress of several of the figures, to which they are appended by certain hemmings or fringes, as was ordained in the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus, in the case of the dress of the Jewish high priest: "And beneath upon the hem of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof; and bells of gold between them round about: a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about. And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not." Was it the fruit or the flower of the pomegranate, we may ask, that was worked on the garments of the high priest? The fruit appears to be imitated on the dress of the priest in the Oxford MS.; but a flower, which may be that of the pomegranate, occurs as a symbol in the representations of several of the Mexican temples. It has been remarked above, that the dress of the Mexican priest bears only a partial resemblance to that of the Jewish high priest: for it will be immediately perceived, that besides the golden bells, the girdle and mitre are wanting. Gomara has observed, that a girdle sometimes formed a part of the Indian costume *; and in the great variety of sacerdotal habits in use among the Indians, there is no difficulty in supposing that what on one occasion might have been worn, might on another have been omitted. The archbishop of Saint Domingo, Augustin Davila, whose testimony must have great weight in a question of this kind, has also affirmed that the sacred vestments discovered in Tamaçulapa were very like those worn by the high priests of the Jews. The head of the abovementioned priest seems to be ornamented with ribbons interwoven with the hair: but the Mexican tecutli, or crown, which bore a much closer resemblance to the head-dress of Aaron than the episcopal mitre, is represented in the same page of the Oxford MS. on the head of another figure. It also frequently occurs amongst the paintings of the Collection of Mendoza, and is there always painted *blue*. This crown or mitre was worn by the Mexican kings and likewise by the judges: the former had it richly adorned with plates of gold. Those kings united, it is to be supposed, pontifical with regal dignity; although the ostensible head of the Mexican religion was the high priest, who at his consecration to the office was anointed with oil of olli mixed with blood. Moses declares, in the sixth verse of the twenty-ninth chapter of Exodus, that he was commanded by God "to put the mitre on his brother's head, and the holy crown upon the mitre;" and "to take the anointing oil, and pouring it upon his head, to anoint him:" and in the twentieth verse of the same chapter, "to kill the ram, and to take of his blood, and to put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and to sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about:" and "to take of the blood that was upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and to sprinkle it upon Aaron and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him: and he should be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him." It is evident, from the passage of Exodus which has been quoted, that the holy crown was distinct from the mitre: it consisted of a plate of gold, that was tied with a blue lace over the mitre, which was itself merely a linen cap. Moses having been ordered, in the thirty-ninth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus, to make the mitre of fine linen; it says, in the thirty-sixth and following verses of the same chapter: "And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, Holiness to the Lord. And thou shalt put it on *a blue lace*, that it may be upon the mitre; upon the fore front of the mitre it

* Speaking of the women of Sibola, he says, "Andan ceñidas, trençan los cabellos." They wear girdles and braid their hair.—La Istoria de las Indias, fo. cxv.

shall be. And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the Lord." Three things deserve to be noticed in the Mexican mitre. It frequently consisted of a plate of gold on a *blue ground**; it was tied to the head *by a lace or ribbon*; and it was peculiarly worn *on the forehead* of the king or the priest. In Peru, a tassel hanging from the head of the Inga was the symbol of regal dignity; but some of the Ingas wore a crown more nearly resembling an episcopal mitre, if the portraits of those monarchs prefixed by Herrera to his Decads are not ideal†.

The breast-plate of the Jewish high priest is thus described in the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus: "And thou shalt make the breast-plate of judgment with cunning work; after the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine twined linen thou shalt make it. Four square it shall be being doubled; a span shall be the length thereof, and a span shall be the breadth thereof. And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, even four rows of stones: the first row shall be a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this shall be the first row. And the second row shall be an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. And the third row a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst. And the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they shall be set in gold in their inclosings." Besides the precious stones, Moses was commanded in the thirtieth verse of the same chapter to put the Urim and the Thummim in the breast-plate of judgment: "And thou shalt put in the breast-plate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in

* Torquemada says that the Mexican Copilli, or royal mitre, was of the colour of the Xiuhtilmatli, or mantle worn by the kings of Mexico, which was blue or purple. The literal signification of Xiuhtilmatli being a purple or blue mantle.

† The Ingas also wore a rainbow fastened to their heads as the insignia of royalty; which, on the supposition that they were of Jewish origin, might have some reference to God's first covenant with the Jewish patriarch Noah, which is thus recorded in the ninth chapter of Genesis, ver. 8—17: "And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you; and with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth. And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth. And God said, This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations: I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud: and I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh. And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, This is the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth."

It can scarcely be doubted that the Jews believed that the rainbow was not a natural phænomenon but an express sign of the covenant made between God and their first patriarch, who may be emphatically so styled, because they were descended from Shem, his eldest son. And hence it is likely that the rainbow was always an object highly revered by them; and that in later days the Ingas might have assumed it as a royal emblem. The sapphire, a stone of great intrinsic value, was probably held in still greater esteem by the Jews on account of its azure colour assimilating it in some degree to heaven and to the rainbow. Ezekiel says that he beheld, in his famous vision described in the first chapter of his prophecies, the throne of God in appearance as the sapphire stone, and his glory like "the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain." The Mexicans painted the visage of their supreme deity Tetzauhteotle with three lines of azure blue across it. It is surprising what fanciful theories in natural philosophy the expression "I do set my bow in the cloud," in the thirteenth verse of the abovementioned chapter of Genesis, has given rise to. Sir Isaac Newton accounted for the appearance of the rainbow on scientific principles capable of demonstration. But other philosophers, not choosing that that token in the cloud should have existed previously to the Deluge, have gone so far as to affirm that it never rained before the Deluge, but that the earth was only irrigated by nocturnal dews. These philosophers, if they had lived at the time of the Deluge, would have reasoned less absurdly if they had predicted that it never would rain after the Deluge. Their notions of the "mécanique céleste" of the universe must also be very curious, since they imagine that to suspend or totally to derange the laws of nature is a case which may with probability be supposed, or one unlikely powerfully to affect the scale in which probabilities are weighed. It has been supposed by some philosophers (the Hutchinsonians) that if all the sciences were lost, their first principles or elements might be found in the Pentateuch; and they have accordingly endeavoured to torture the system of Moses into some resemblance to that of Sir Isaac Newton. If the likeness however really exists, the Jews were such wretched philosophers that they could never discover it. What correct notion, for instance, could they have formed of astronomy, when they believed in the existence of a solid firmament over their heads, and imagined that the heavens might fall? or, being misled by their own interpretation of the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of Genesis,—"And God made *two great lights*; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also,"—maintained that the sun and the moon were both greater than the fixed stars, because they are both termed *great* in reference to them, although the moon is afterwards named *lesser* in reference to the sun?

before the Lord: and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually." It would appear from the sixth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of the First Book of Samuel, that the high priest of the Jews divined by the Urim and the Thummim inserted in his breast-plate: "And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not; neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets." How greatly must the veneration which the Jews were inclined to feel for the person of their high priest have been increased by the circumstance of his wearing this mysterious breast-plate! The Egyptian priests, some of whose customs the Jews seem to have imitated, notwithstanding the hatred which they bore to the Egyptian nation, wore also, when discharging the functions of supreme judicature, a breast-plate with the image of Truth engraved upon it, as Diodorus Siculus testifies.

The figures in the Oxford MS. before referred to, are in the original paintings large and coarsely executed, with little apparent regard to minute details: it is impossible therefore to decide whether the breast-plate on the priest represented in the twelfth page, is square or round, or whether it contains one or more precious stones. The breast-plates worn by the Mexican priests appear to have been of different shapes and sizes, and to have been set with various numbers of precious stones. In the thirtieth page of the original Mexican painting preserved in the Library of the Vatican, the figure of a priest or some other personage occurs, with a round breast-plate attached by a chain to his neck; and near him appear to be two other breast-plates, one of a square and the other of a round form. From the forty-second verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus,—"And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach: and they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die: it shall be a statute for ever unto him and his seed after him,"—it would appear that the maxtle, worn from a sense of decency by the Mexican priests round their loins, very much resembled the breeches which Moses made for Aaron and his sons. It is not improbable, from the destitute state in which the Israelites quitted Egypt, their long wanderings in the desert, and the warmth of the climate of Palestine, that necessity at first, with habit superinduced, and entire freedom from the inconveniences of cold, had accustomed them to be clad in very thin apparel*. This supposition is corroborated by

* It is probable that the lower orders amongst the Jewish populace dressed exactly like the Mexicans, wearing simply a maxtle girded round their loins, which slight covering was even dispensed with by their prophets when they prophesied; who on such occasions must have adopted a fashion very like that which still prevails amongst the Faquirs of the East, being thus described by Isaiah in the twentieth chapter of his Book of Prophecies, where speaking of himself he says, "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him,) and fought against Ashdod, and took it; at the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put off thy shoe from thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. And the Lord said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives." That Isaiah's walking barefoot and naked was not merely a type of the Egyptian captivity, but also an act agreeable to the usages of the Hebrew prophets, may be inferred from the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel. "And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again the third time, and they prophesied also. Then went he also to Ramah, and came to a great well that is in Sechu: and he asked and said, Where are Samuel and David? And one said, Behold, they be at Naioth in Ramah. And he went thither to Naioth in Ramah: and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day, and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" To the Greeks this manner of prophesying would have appeared as extraordinary and unbecoming as the hallowed cave from which the Delphic oracles were delivered, or the tripod and the inspired priestess, were in the eyes of the early Fathers. The oracles had in fact sunk into contempt for some time before the Christian era; since, their predictions having so often failed, mankind began at last to suspect them: but that stress which some theologians lay on the cessation of oracles, which, like the cessation of sacrifices amongst the Jews, they say was occasioned by the coming of the Messiah; appealing moreover to a treatise of Plutarch on the subject, to prove that the oracles did cease about that time,—is unnecessary, since what becomes of their argument, if it can be proved that oracles existed in the New World long after the establishment of Christianity, and that the Jews there revived their old sacrifices? With respect to oracular inspiration, considered as a long prevailing belief of some of the greatest and wisest nations of antiquity, it may be observed that it was not so absurd as many Christian writers have represented it: for the principle having been admitted, that men might occasionally receive divine warnings of events likely to compromise great interests, the idea which suggested itself to the ancients, of establishing oracles, that on the one hand they might not appear to neglect

paintings found in the Egyptian tombs, amongst which, figures, intended, as it has been presumed, to represent Jews, occur in the exact Mexican costume, with a mantle over their shoulders, and the maxtle (to use a Scriptural expression) girded round their loins. That the Egyptian priests wore but a slight covering may be known both from ancient paintings and from statues, some of which may be seen in the British Museum. Before quitting the subject of Mexican costume, we shall point out another very remarkable agreement in the Mexican and Jewish dress. It says in the thirty-seventh and following verses of the fifteenth chapter of Numbers, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments, throughout their generations; and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribband of blue. And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; and that ye seek not after your own heart, and your own eyes, after which ye use to go a whoring; that ye may remember and do all my commandments, and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God." It was to be expected that so solemn an injunction to the Jews to wear fringes* on the borders of their garments, would be scrupulously obeyed throughout their generations: accordingly we find, in the fifth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Saint Matthew, allusion made to this custom, where Christ, rebuking the Scribes and Pharisees, says, "But all their works they do for to be seen of men; they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments." Reference to the eighth page of the Oxford MS. before mentioned, will show that it was a Mexican custom also to wear fringes and borders fastened to the apparel; and an examination of any of the other Mexican paintings contained in these volumes will fully establish that fact. The Oxford MS. which has been so often referred to, it has been already observed, is incomplete. This original Mexican painting is drawn in a very coarse style on paper of metl; and, unlike the other Mexican paintings, rolls up instead of being folded: some of the figures are uncoloured, and the subject is probably historical or mythological; and it has been supposed connected with the descent of some fabulous personage into hell, since in a Christian calendar, that is to say a Mexican painting explanatory of the rites and doctrines of Christianity, which we have had the opportunity of seeing, hell is always represented by the symbol of the upper jaw of a serpent; and the Jewish notion of descending as it were into a pit,

the admonitions of Heaven; nor on the other suffer the populace to be deluded by false prophets, such as were frequent among the Jews, —was founded on policy and a regard for the public good. The necessity of a place, a person, and of a prescribed mode of consultation for the delivery of the answers of the oracle, suggested to them also the use of the cave, the priestess, and the sacred tripod. The cave was a temple formed by the hands of Nature; it was ordained that the priestess should be a person of the purest and most exemplary life; and the tripod was probably for the purpose of containing, when the sulphuric exhalations of the cave were not sufficiently strong, other ingredients the fumes of which arising might affect the priestess with that mania so finely described by Virgil in the sixth book of the Æneid;

"Cui talia fanti
Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comtæ mansêre comæ, sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei;"—

the approach of which it would appear she was fully sensible of, although it was first necessary that the vapour should quite overcome her reason before the expressions which she uttered assumed a prophetic character. It may easily be supposed that in most cases the priestess merely pretended to be seized with this divine mania, and pronounced or sung certain preconcerted words; but this supposition does not involve the other, that those who instituted oracles intended to practise a fraud on the credulity of mankind. They were probably of Egyptian origin, and invented expressly for the purpose of checking fraud, and of restraining the people from going to consult those who pretended to divine by means of dreams and visions; in which species of divination we know that one at least of the Jewish patriarchs excelled, since nothing could have tended to bring a profession of this kind, exercised by private individuals, sooner into disrepute and contempt, than the fame of a true and a public oracle which all might consult. The inventors of the oracles seem, by enacting that their delivery should be from a tripod, to have proceeded on the principle on which the whole art of divination by dreams was founded; viz. that the mind when least under the influence of reason and volition, as in sleep, becomes most susceptible of divine revelations: and hence they thought it necessary that the priestess should first be thrown into a kind of delirium, by the exhalations that emanated from the cave and the cauldron, before her words could be considered prophetic, and their utterance the spontaneous effusions of the oracle.

* We may fairly ask what Sahagun means by saying, in the eighth chapter of his eighth book, "Todas estas mantas arriba dichas son sospechosas." "All the mantles mentioned above are suspicious." Does he mean to say that they all had fringes?

seems also to be preserved. Mention has already been made of ablutions as common amongst the Mexicans; but the confession which was customary among the Peruvians is still more surprising. Acosta in the twenty-fifth chapter of the fifth book of his Natural and Moral History of the Indies thus describes it: "Idem sacrilegus mendaciorum pater in Confessionis etiam ritu instituendo, Romanam Ecclesiam fere in omnibus apprime æmulatus est. Peruanis siquidem persuasit, quod omnium quibus torquerentur ærumnarum ac morborum origo, *a solo peccato sit*. Hinc factum, ut pro iis expiandis, sacrificia plurima conderent et ordinarent.' Nec id satis quidem, verum etiam ore ipso peccata sua contrito pectore confitebantur, qui mos per universas provincias eas latissime inundaverat. Hunc in finem certi confessionarii creabantur, dignitatum gradibus distincti. Peculiaria quædam et definita peccata sacerdotibus primariis reservabantur. Confessoribus vero nonnunquam pœnæ graves irrogabantur, iis comprimis, qui pauperculi quod sacerdoti penderent non habebant. Sed et *mulieres* nonnullibi confessionibus audiendis præficiebantur. In provincia Collasuyo, vel dum hodie, mos est, ut pro peccato gravissimo habeatur, si quis vel levissimum quoddam crimen admissum sacerdotibus (hos Ychuri sive Ychuiri appellant) non revelet. Hi, et *sortibus*, et quorundam animalium inspectis extis, de populi peccatis divinabant. Dissimulatores suspectos, lapidibus aut saxis dorso incussis, tamdiu verberabant, dum plenam omnium patratorum enumerationem elicerent. Eo facto, pœnitentiæ agendæ singulis definitus modus decernebatur. Pro his etiam, diis sacrificia peculiaria offerebantur. Hujusmodi confessiones iterabant, quoties vel liberi, vel parentes, vel Caçique, aut morbo, aut alio adverso quodam casu tentarentur. Quod si fieret aliquando ut Inga languesceret, aut morbo invaderetur, tum omnes provinciæ Collas simul confiteri cogebantur. Confessione manifestata peccata sacerdos minime revelare audebat, nisi fors in casibus definitis. Quæ enumerari ab ipsis confessoribus peccata frequentius solebant, hæc erant homicidia extra bellum patrata, furta, adulteria, veneficia et *fascinationes*, idolorum contemptus, festorum profanationes, malæ de Ingis ominationes, et contra hos rebelliones factæ. De internis animi vel cogitationis peccatis nihil angebantur, usque dum Christiani de his quoque velut nocentibus, eosdem instituissent. Ipse Inga non sacerdotibus, sed *Soli* tantum confitebatur, qui peccata ipsius ad Viracocham deferret, *et illorum condonationem ab eodem impetraret*. Hoc modo confessus Inga corpus abluebat, firmiter sua ita abstersum iri peccata persuasum habens. Id hoc modo fiebat: in *fluentum* proximum ingressus, hæc verba edebat: 'Soli mea peccata confessus sum, ea fluvius hic excipiens in vastum mare abripiat, ut in æternum non appareant.' Simili modo et cæteri confessi, abluebantur; qui mos etiam Mahumetanis solennis dicitur, quem Guadoi appellant, Indi vero Opacuna vocant. Si cui ex filiis quidam fato abripiretur, hunc peccatorem maximum arbitrabantur, dicentes propter illius peccata gravia evenire, ut *filius loco parentis* moreretur; eo quo paulo ante diximus modo lotus, a gibboso, aut alias a natura mutilo distortoque homine, legis jussu urticis cædebatur. Si quis æger sorte magorum et ariolorum sibi omnino esse moriendum didicisset, *nullâ morâ filium licet unigenitum, obtruncabat, pro se mactato filio deos placatum iri sperans*. Horum rituum etsi Christiani partem suo adventu magnam abrogassent, nihilominus tamen Indi apud se, peculiaria quædam confitendi genera furtim diu aluerunt, ex quibus erant *jejunia, ablutiones, auri argentique erogationes*, montanorum visitationes*, et *plagarum dorso excipiendarum toleratus*. Superstitiosorum hujusmodi sacerdotum qui ægros visitare solebant, in provincia Chicuito multi adhuc superesse dicuntur. Maxima tamen Indorum pars ad confessionis Papisticæ normam paulatim jam assuefit, quam devotione religiosâ amplectuntur. Quinimo singulari quâdam Dei providentiâ ita fuisse constitutum videtur, ut confessionum usus ante adventum Christianorum jam dum apud eos vigeret, quo ad hunc recipiendum adduci possent commodius."

It is not perhaps generally known that the Jews,—from whom some authors have contended that Christians adopted the practice,—were accustomed to use confession. The same arguments which are employed to derive the Christian mode of confession from that in use among the Jews, will be found equally applicable to the Peruvian; since the confession of the Peruvians as nearly resembled that of the Jews as does the Christian. The Jewish confession was very peculiar; the high priest was commanded in Leviticus to confess the sins of the people over a live goat, which bore them away into the desert: "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the

* The primitive Christians, bearing in mind the rebuke which the Pharisees received from Christ for praying in public places that they might be seen by men, considered it an act of purer devotion to retire to solitary places to pray. The word 'hermit,' originally pronounced '*eremite*,' is derived from the Greek name for a desert, ἔρημος. In the very early ages, the deserts of Egypt became the resort of numerous Christians, who retired thither and acquired the fame of superior sanctity; and too often did they come forth again to mix themselves up with the busy affairs of men, and to tread the path of spiritual ambition.

live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat; and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited; and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness." It has been stated in a recent Missionary publication, that a custom prevails in Thibet of letting a goat annually on a certain festival escape into the desert. In Yucatan, according to Herrera, women shortly after childbirth were exorcised; and their sins appear to have been laid upon a vessel full of wine, which a man was desired to carry, without looking back, a certain distance out of the city. If it be objected that the Peruvian confession was very different from that ordained in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, it cannot be denied: but neither can the inference which may thence be attempted to be drawn be admitted, that the Jews were not the introducers of confession into the New World. There are the strongest grounds for believing that either to Jews or Christians the Indians of Peru and Yucatan were indebted for confession; and the account which Acosta has given of the confession of the Peruvians is replete with Indian superstitions and Jewish notions mixed. The Jews believed that national and individual misfortunes were generally caused by sin, as many passages from Scripture might be adduced to show. They were accustomed to cast lots, as may be proved from the eighth verse of the chapter of Leviticus already referred to: "And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for the scape-goat." Women amongst the Jews were sometimes accustomed to exercise very high functions; as in the fourth verse of the fourth chapter of Judges, it says; "And Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged Israel at that time. And she dwelt under the palm-tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim: and the children of Israel came up to her for judgement."

Amongst the crimes which the Indians were specially enjoined to confess, witchcraft* is enumerated; severe prohibitions against which may be found in various parts of the Pentateuch. Acosta says, that the Inga after confession walked into an adjoining river, bidding its waters receive his sins and carry them into the sea, that he might be for ever rid of them. In page 212 of the first volume of the Religious Ceremonies of all Nations, the following passage occurs: "The ancient Jews formerly laid all their sins upon a he-goat, which afterwards they drove into the desert; but the modern Jews instead of a goat now throw them upon the fish. After dinner they repair to the brink of a pond, and there shake their clothes over it with all their force." This practice is taken from the nineteenth verse of the seventh chapter of the prophet Micah: "He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea."

The Jews as well as the Peruvians entertained a notion that the sins of the father were visited upon the children. Hence in the ninth chapter of Saint John we are informed, that when Jesus saw the man who had been blind from his birth, his disciples asked him, saying, "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" The idea that the sacrifising an only son would be meritorious in the eyes of God, and would atone for a father's sins, seems, by a strange perversion of precedent and the blindest superstition, to have been derived from the example of Abraham offering up his son Isaac. The Jews were accustomed to practise great austerities: fasting, sackcloth and ashes, and cruel voluntary scourgings, were the means which they employed to comply with the injunction contained in the twenty-sixth and following verses of the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, and repeated in other parts of Scripture: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Also on the tenth day of this seventh month there shall be a day of atonement: it shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall *afflict* your souls, and offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord. And ye shall do no work in that same day; for it is a day of atonement, to make an atonement for you before the Lord your God. For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be *afflicted* in that same day, *he shall be cut off* from among his people. And whatsoever soul it be that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul will I destroy from among his people. Ye shall do no manner of work: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations, in all your dwellings. It shall be unto you a sabbath of rest, and ye shall *afflict* your

* "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" is a Mosaic ordinance which Saul, the first king of the Jews, expressly chosen by God and anointed to the regal dignity by the hands of the prophet Samuel, forgot when he consulted the witch of Endor. Nothing appears more unaccountable in Hebrew history, than to find that persons appointed to the highest dignities amongst the Jews by the hand of God, so repeatedly and unhesitatingly broke his commandments. Did this, we may inquire, proceed from want of faith on their part, or from ignorance of their own national annals?

souls: in the ninth day of the month, at even, from even unto even shall ye celebrate your sabbath." The "auri argentique erogationes" was a Jewish as well as a Peruvian custom. Moses himself says in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them. This they shall give, every one that passeth among them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary: (a shekel is twenty gerahs:) an half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord. Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord. The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less than half a shekel, when they give an offering unto the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls. And thou shalt take the atonement-money of the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation; that it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls." The usual atonement for the sins of the people was a bullock and two lambs of the first year, which were sacrifised daily on the altar of atonement, as was ordained in the thirty-sixth and following verses of the twenty-ninth chapter of Exodus: "And thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin-offering for atonement: and thou shalt cleanse the altar, when thou hast made an atonement for it, and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. Seven days thou shalt make an atonement for the altar *, and sanctify it; and it shall be an altar most holy: whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy. Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually. The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even: And with the one lamb a tenth-deal of flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink-offering. And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meat-offering of the morning, and according to the drink-offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the Lord. This shall be a continual burnt-offering throughout your generations at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord: where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee. And there I will meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by my glory. And I will sanctify the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar: I will sanctify also both Aaron, and his sons, to minister to me in the priest's office. And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am the Lord their God." This solemn compact between the Jews and God,—the conditions of which were the performance on their part of continual sacrifices of atonement, and on his that he would be their God, and would dwell among them,—imposed upon the Jews, as long as the old law should exist, the necessity of perpetual sacrifices. *But they deny that the old law has ever been abolished,* and triumphantly refer to certain passages in the Pentateuch, where the expressions *everlasting covenant* and *statute for ever* occur. We must not therefore suppose that the Jews, obeying the law of Moses where it enjoins circumcision and abstaining from the flesh of swine, would have discontinued sacrifices, and the custom of one brother's raising up seed to another, on any other account than because the former would not have been tolerated by other nations, and the latter would have rendered them odious in countries governed by different institutions. But on the supposition that they had in early ages colonized America, can it be doubted whether they would not have felt it a duty to revive their old law in all its vigour, and not to omit sacrifices? Or admitting that they might have felt scrupulous as to the place in which these sacrifices ought to be performed,—when we recollect that the ten tribes who were under no curse did not go up to Jerusalem to sacrifice,—is it likely that those scruples would not have been easily laid aside by the posterity of those who fled from Jerusalem at the time of its destruction? Again, it should be remembered that the Jews considered it unlawful to consign their oral traditions to writing: but when they feared that those traditions if not written would sink into oblivion, they did not hesitate to infringe the law. We are induced, from all these considerations, to believe that the Peruvian sacrifices of atonement and burnt-offerings were originally instituted amongst the Indians by the Jews; and that time had corrupted them, as likewise the feast of the Passover, into a mass of superstitions. Acosta, describing the former in

* Protestants very frequently turn into ridicule the Catholic custom of consecrating and blessing church bells; but why should this practice appear less reasonable to them, than the making an atonement for an inanimate object, such as an altar, which never could have committed sin?

the twenty-eighth chapter of the fifth book of his History, says: "Octavo mense Chahua Huarqui, centum oves, omnes cæsio colore et Vizcacham referente, cremabantur. Hic mensis cum nostro Julio quadrat. Nono mense Yapaquis, centum iterum oves spadicei coloris quæ prius decollatæ, ignibus imponebantur cum mille Cuies, ne glacies, aërve, ac aquæ, aut sol agris damnum darent, immolabantur. Hic Augusto convenit. Decimo mense Coyaraymi, centum candidæ oves villosæ cremabantur. Hoc eodem mense, Septembri nostro respondente, festum quoque Situa hoc ritu fiebat. Primo mensis die ante lunæ exortum, magnis clamoribus editis concurrebant, et facibus quas manibus ardentes gerebant, sese invicem contundebant, dicentes, exeat malum, exeat, id Panconcos appellabant. Hoc ludrico finito, ex fonte publico tum lavabantur, tum ex ordine potabant. Eodem hoc mense, Mamocanas superius dictæ magnum placentularum cum victimarum sanguine pistarum numerum Soli offerebant, de quibus deinde fragmenta peregrinis distribuebant, et in omnes totius regni Guacas ac Curacas transmittebant, in signum nimirum fœderis cum Sole et Ingâ pacti, sicut superius de his fusius enarravimus. Et hodie quoque nonnullis in locis hoc ritu lavari et convivari solent; sed furtim id, quod a festo Situâ profluxit. Undecimo mense Homaraimi, Punchaiquis rursus æquo modo centum oves mactabantur. Quod si circa tempus illud pluviarum inopia esset saturate atram ovem in campis firmiter deligabant, et circa eam Chicha quoquo versum in ambitu copiose profundebant, nec eidem alimenti quicquam aut pabuli offerebant, prius quam pluviæ decidissent. Hic mensis nostro Octobri par est. Mense vero novissimo Ayamara, totidem iterum oves offerebantur, et unà festum Raymiçantara Rayquis agebatur. Hoc mense qui nobis November est, pro pueris istis quibus postero mense aures pertundendæ erant, necessaria omnia parabantur, et seniores lustrabantur, et alia quædam similia peragebantur. Festum illud Isuraymi vocatum agunt, cum pluviæ aut nimis frequentes, aut raræ sunt, aut pestis populariter grassatur. Ex festis extraordinariis quorum innumera fere erant, nullum Ytu solennius erat. Id nullo stato ratoque tempore, sed cum necessitas aliqua postularet, celebrabatur. Hoc peracturi, biduo integro jejunant, ab uxoribus abstinent, *nec cibum ullum cum sale aut axi paratum gustant*, nec de Chicha bibunt, et loco tali conveniunt ubi *nec peregrinis*, nec ulli animali accessus sit. Tum temporis, peculiaribus palliis, vestibus ac indumentis, in hunc usum paratis utuntur, et palliis capiti injectis, lento admodum gradu incedunt, ad sonitum tympanorum impulsorum pedes moderantes, nec quicquam vocis ac sermonis edentes *. Processionem hanc integrâ die ac nocte continuabant, et a sequente luce largiter edebant, potabant †, et tripudiabant, binis completis diebus ac noctibus jactitantes sese hoc nomine, quasi preces eorum vere exauditæ sint. Hoc festum etsi hodie quidem non cum tot ceremoniis et ritibus peragatur ut olim, multa tamen prioribus similia vel dum Indi æmulantur, sed in locis secretioribus saltem nec in propatulo. Ipso corporis Dominici die choreas Llamallama de Guacon dictas, et similes alias instituunt; ritus ethnicos in nullo remittentes. Quibus abrogandis etsi præsules quidem operose incumbant, passim tamen clanculum hujusmodi subinde agitari solent. Hinc ergo clare nobis effulget quodnam lucis et tenebrarum, quod veritatis Christianæ et Gentilium superstitionum discrimen sit. Quæ tamen omnia polydædalus Sathanas promiscue confundere, et nugas suas divinæ veritati commiscere, nunquam non laborat satagitque." It should be observed that the animals called sheep by Acosta were llamas, which, though a species peculiar to South America and unknown in the other parts of the globe, were named sheep by the Spaniards, as well from their resemblance to that animal as from the great utility they were of to the Peruvians in supplying them with food and clothing. Although inhabiting the coldest heights of the southern range of the Andes, they have not been discovered so far north in America as New Spain and Mexico. It is however a very remarkable and no less mysterious fact, that the representation of a sheep or lamb, crowned as it were for sacrifice and pierced with a spear, should sometimes occur in the Mexican paintings: Fabrega calls it a crowned or sacred rabbit; and Baron de Humboldt says that, according to traditions which have been preserved to our days, it is a symbol of *suffering Innocence*. The Baron describes it in the following passage, which is extracted from his American Monuments: "Un animal inconnu, orné d'un collier et d'une espèce de harnois, mais percé de dards; Fabrega le nomme lapin couronné, lapin sacré. On trouve cette figure dans plusieurs rituels des anciens Mexicains.

* Taciturnity is sometimes enjoined to the Jews at their more solemn festivals, and they wear on their heads occasionally a cloak or mantle in their synagogues.

† The Jews, after fasting, often indulged immoderately, like the Corinthians of old, in eating and drinking. How sordid, after all, that morality must appear, which chiefly consisted in eating and in refraining from eating. This was the morality of the Pharisees, as Christ informs us, who reproaches them for their frequent fasting, that they might appear unto men to fast; and compares them to whitened sepulchres, and also taxes them with taking the chief places at feasts.

D'après les traditions qui se sont conservées jusqu'à nos jours, c'est un symbole de l'Innocence souffrante; sous ce rapport cette representation allégorique *rappelle l'agneau des Hébreux,* ou l'idée mystique d'un sacrifice expiatoire destiné à calmer la colère de la Divinité. Les dents incisives, la forme de la tête et de la queue, paroissent indiquer que le peintre a voulu representer un animal de la famille des rongeurs; quoique les pieds à deux sabots munis d'un ergot, qui ne touche pas la terre, le rapprochent des ruminans; je doute que ce soit un cavia ou lièvre Mexicain; seroit-ce quelque mammifère inconnu qui habite au nord du Rio Gila dans l'intérieur des terres vers la partie nord-ouest de l'Amérique?" M. de Humboldt's description applies to a representation of this animal in the Codex Borgianus. It is also twice painted in the twentieth page of the lesser Vatican Manuscript: in the lower compartment of which it is alive and adorned for sacrifice; in the upper, dead, with its side pierced with a spear. If the rabbit had been an animal known only to the Mexicans by tradition, an indistinct recollection of which had been preserved by means of their ancient paintings, it would not be difficult to suppose that the figures under consideration were intended to represent it; but as there was no animal with which the Mexicans were better acquainted, this cannot be the case. In natural history likewise the teeth and the feet are very decisive of the species of animals, whilst the shape of the ears and of the tail is scarcely considered. And here it will be observed, that the configuration of the head of the upper figure is much less like a rabbit than that of the lower, whilst the shape of the nose in both is decidedly different. The same animal is also painted variously in different Mexican paintings, but the characteristic mark of a divided hoof seems generally preserved. In the second page of the painting preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden, the style of which differs exceedingly from that of the Mexican paintings, it seems to be four times represented: the upper figures appear to be descending from the clouds; and the lower is recumbent, emblematical perhaps, like the lamb of the Hebrews, of innocence suffering under temporary persecution; whilst the figure above may possibly represent the genius of Evil oppressing his hapless victim: the long tail and the protruding tongue common to animals like sheep, cows and horses, which graze,—but which the rabbit species are without,—as well as the divided hoof, sufficiently mark that this animal is of another class. The heads of the three other figures, which are themselves a combination of real and imaginary forms, can be referred to no particular species; but nature preponderates in the shape of the body, legs, and feet of the animals intended to be represented, and plainly indicates the class to which they belong. It deserves also to be remarked, that the same figure of a lamb with its belly formed of the *sun's disk* is painted on the pyramidal roof of a temple in the sixth page of the Borgian MS.; and in a curious representation of Quecalcoatle, as it is to be supposed, seated on a dragon or leviathan, which occurs in the fourteenth page of the Mexican painting that formerly belonged to Archbishop Laud, and which is at present preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the figure of some other perhaps unknown species of animal occurs; it differs from the rabbit in having a long tail and in the formation of its legs, although it has a somewhat similar head: the meaning of this symbol, it seems difficult to conjecture. That the rabbit, as Fabrega supposes, was a type amongst the ancient Mexicans of suffering innocence there is no reason to doubt; and the idea of generosity protecting the innocent from the powerful, deceitful and wicked, could not be better expressed than in the seventy-fifth page of the lesser Vatican painting, where an eagle is represented rescuing a rabbit from the fangs of a serpent. The bird of Jove there crushes the noxious progeny of the earth; and the unequal conflict of evil with good terminates in the serpent being compelled to surrender up his prey. It is probable that the hieroglyphic by which the Mexicans signified suffering innocence was originally a lamb, imperfect representations of which are found in the Mexican paintings, and which in process of time was changed into a rabbit, an animal with which they were better acquainted; traces of the former still continuing to exist in the Mexican paintings, and to be accounted for on the same principle as Baron de Humboldt explains the presence of the words "Tulanian hululaez" in the song which the people of Cholula were accustomed to sing in dancing round their teocalli, and which he says belong to no language now in existence in Mexico: "Dans toutes les parties du globe, sur le dos des Cordillères, comme à l'île de Samothrace dans la mer Egée, des fragmens de langues primitives se sont conservés dans les rites religieux." But from whom, it may be inquired, did the Mexicans borrow the original symbol? The words "Tulanian hululaez" form a metrical line, the measure of which is the same as that of the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* mentioned by Montfaucon and Muratori, which the Irish monks of that monastery were accustomed to sing in commemoration of their deceased abbots, and which begins, if we are not mistaken, with the words "A solis usque cardine."

Diego de Rosales observes in the following passage, extracted from his inedited History of Chile, that the Indians on making a treaty of peace were accustomed to kill a sheep, like the Jews making use of the body of the animal,

figuratively to denounce vengeance against whomsoever should violate it: "En otras muchas cosas observan muchos ritos y ceremonias, que usaron naciones muy capazes y politicas; sea una el matar una oveja quando capitulan pazes. De Abram refiere la Sagrada Escritura, que celebrando la confederacion de amistad con Dios, le mando que partiesse una vacca, y un carnero, y assi mismo una cabra; y esplicando esta ceremonia Nicolao de Lira, dice que era costumbre de muchas naciones quando capitulaban pazes entresi, dividir una res por medio, y passar por alli los que se confederaban, para dar a entender que los que quebrantassen las pazes, merecian ser divididos como aquella res. Y esto mismo quiere significar estos Indios, matando la oveja de la tierra, y sacandola el corazon, que merese se haga lo mismo con el que faltara a la paz. Y assi lo hazen quando cautivan á alguno que les ha hecho traicion, como á los de su propria nacion por aver les dejado por unirse con el Español; y para unirse ellos con mas fuerte lazo, y en un mismo corazon, comen el de la oveja, y el del cautivo que assi matan."—Historia del Chile, lib. i. cap. xxxii. n. 5. "In many other things they observe many rites and ceremonies customary amongst acute and cultivated nations; one is the killing of a sheep when they make a treaty of peace. The Holy Scripture relates of Abram, that when he celebrated the covenant of amity with God, he commanded him to divide a cow, and a ram, and likewise a goat; and Nicholas de Lira explaining this ceremony, says that it was customary with many nations, when they made treaties of peace with each other, to divide something in half, and to cause those who entered into the confederacy to pass between the parts, in order to signify that those who should break the treaty would deserve to be divided like that thing. Which is precisely what these Indians mean by killing the sheep of the country and tearing out its heart; namely, that he would deserve the same thing to be done to him who should violate the peace. This they do, therefore, when they take prisoner any one who has been guilty of treason towards them, as also any of their own countrymen who have forsaken them to join the Spaniards; and in order to unite themselves together by a stronger bond and in the same heart, they eat the heart of the sheep and that of the prisoner whom they put to death in this manner." The text of Scripture to which Rosales refers, relating to God's covenant with Abram, is the following, which is taken from the fifteenth chapter of Genesis: "And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the *midst*, and laid each piece one against another: but the birds divided he not." And in the seventeenth and eighteenth verses the same chapter adds, "And it came to pass, that when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, that passed between those pieces. In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." In the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, the dividing a calf into halves and passing between the parts is expressly said to have been the ceremony which the Jews performed on making their covenant with God: "And I will give the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof: the princes of Judah and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs and the priests, and all the people of the land which passed between the parts of the calf; I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life; and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of heaven and to the beasts of the earth." The festival of Capacreyme, which the Peruvians celebrated in the month of Rayme, the first month of their year, and which Acosta describes in the twenty-third chapter of the fifth book of his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, and supposes to have been instituted by the Devil in the New World, in imitation of the sacrament of the Eucharist which Christ had ordained in the old continent, was probably originally the feast of the Passover, which time, traditions and fanaticism, had grossly corrupted and changed. The following is the chapter of Acosta referred to, which is taken from the Latin translation of the original work, inserted in the third volume of the ninth part of De Bry's Collection of Voyages. It may here be remarked, that Acosta's History in Spanish, whatever may be the cause, is rare and difficult to be procured, and that in the translation it has been abridged. "Sathanæ scelerata arrogantia, ut jam aliquoties diximus, et metâ et modo caruit. Nam non superstitionibus solum et sacrificiis, verum etiam ceremoniis sacramentalibus quas Salvator Christus in fidelium solatium et refectionem statuit, divinam sibi autoritatem conciliare ausus est. Comprimis autem sacram Eucharistiam, quem thesaurum pretiosissimum servamus, distinctis aliquot modis æmulari cœpit, ut nullâ re inausâ et intentatâ dubias hominum mentes perditioni æternæ intricaret; quod hoc fere modo præstitit. Peruanis mos est, ut *primo anni mense*, quem Rayme vocant, appellente, is cum Decembri nostro convenit, festum Capacreyme agitent; quo sacrificiis suis ordinariis multiplices ritus ac ceremonias *aliquam*

multis diebus exhibent, et hoc tempore *nulli peregrino in aulâ Cuscanâ morari licebat.* Finito festo, advenis rursus accessus dabatur ut sacrificiis et ipsi interessent; quibus deinde sacramenta hoc modo conferebant. Mamaconas Solis, quas superius moniales diximus, *ex farinâ maiis cum sanguine alborum arietum eodem die mactatorum, massam pinsebant et subigebant, ex quâ postea placentulas, eodem die hostiæ vice offerri solitas, concinnabant.* Hoc facto, *ex diversis provinciis infiniti homines confluebant, quos in constituto loco sacerdotes ex ordine considere faciebant.* Hi vero sacerdotes posteri ex generatione Iluqui Yupangi erant. *Considenti unicuilibet de placentis dictis ministrantes, dicentesque ideo de fragmentis istis se distribuere, ut participantes, illorum medio, Ingæ Peruanorum regi unirentur et fœdere cum eo perpetuo coalescerent.* Quin et adhortabantur communicantes, ne quam sinistram et disconvenientem Ingæ mentionem ullibi facerent *, sed in rebus ipsi promiscuè omnibus toto pectore faverent, vivoque eundem amore jugiter prosequerentur, cujus debiti hanc porrectam *micam* testem jam acciperent, quæ perjurium et violatam fidem quocunque tempore haud cunctanter proditura sit. Placentæ vero istæ magnis ex auro argentoque lancibus præferebantur, quas huic uni usui paratas habebant. Peregrini vero ubi fragmentum de placentâ acceperunt, Soli de istis beneficiis gratias devotas fundebant, et tum verbis, tum vultibus, ingentis gaudii signum edebant, dejerantes quod omni vitæ suæ tempore, nec contra Solem, nec Ingam, quicquam vel verbis vel opere inique machinaturi sint, sed quod utrisque in omnibus fidelem operam et obedientiam perpetuo præstare velint. Cujus in rei testimonium indubitatum micam oblatam quoque in corpus suum jam ingerunt. Diabolicas has ceremonias æquâ ratione mense quoque decimo repetebant, quem Coyaraime vocabant, in Septembrem nostrum incidentem, et hoc eorum festum quoque, præcipuorum unum, patriâ linguâ Citua vocabatur. Nec vero solum viritim hoc sacramentum distribuebant, sed placentas istas etiam ad omnes Guacas et finitima idola per omne regnum transmittebant. Plurimi eas etiam ultro acceptum longis viis accedebant, qui domum ad suos reversi, prætendebant hoc a Sole sacramentum sibi traditum esse, in signum et vinculum ut illum perpetuo honore et cultu venerarentur. Cacique placentas hujusmodi multas dono accipiebant. Et hic mos superstitione plenissimus usque ad tempora Ingæ Yupanguy duraverat, qui bono fine plerasque leges ritusque ac ceremonias abrogans, Numæ Romano quâdamtenus se similem præbuit." The Mexicans celebrated a festival called Etzalqualiztli, in which eating a paste made of the flour of beans constituted the principal religious ceremony. It is not improbable that this festival had some relation with the Peruvian Capacreyme, since, infinitely numerous as were the nations inhabiting the vast continent of South America and the West Indian Islands, the Tultecas seem, with a few exceptions, to have successfully endeavoured to spread their superstitious rites and ceremonies amongst them. The Ingas went to war for the express purpose of bringing other Indian tribes over to their faith. Accordingly we find, that from New Mexico to the extreme province of Chile which resisted successfully the invasion of the Ingas, the same religion with different modifications of rites and ceremonies prevailed; and circumcision, though not universally practised, was one of its characteristics. Acosta has observed that it was a Peruvian custom to send to the different provinces of the kingdom a portion of the victims, or of their blood kneaded into a cake, as a sign of their confederacy with the Inga and the Sun, "in signum nimirum fœderis cum Sole et Ingâ pacti." We are informed in the nineteenth chapter of Judges, that when the Levite whose concubine had been abused by the Gibeonites, who were of the tribe of Benjamin, wished to revenge himself by the destruction of the whole tribe of Benjamin, he cut the body of the woman who had died into twelve pieces and sent them into all the coasts of Israel, thereby to excite a confederacy of all the other tribes against the tribe of Benjamin. "And when he was come into his house he took a knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and divided her, together with her bones, into twelve pieces, and sent her into all the coasts of Israel." The confederacy which was accordingly formed was so strong, that the entire tribe of Benjamin, men, women and children, with the exception of six hundred men who had sought refuge on the rock of Rimmon, were exterminated by the other tribes. The Lord is said to have fought against the Benjamites in the thirty-fifth verse of the twentieth chapter of the same book. Although, therefore, it is said in the preceding chapter, that this mode of exciting a confederacy was a new thing in Israel, still, as it did not meet with the Lord's disapprobation and was attended with such success, the Jews it is to be expected would have

* The Jews were commanded in the Pentateuch not to speak ill of the ruler of their people; which, from the ordinance which follows, viz. "not to revile the gods," seems to have been a caution to them, in case they should be reduced under a foreign yoke, to regulate their conduct accordingly. Saint Jude seems to allude to this commandment where he says that "Michael the archangel, when contending with the Devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation." What a latitude, notwithstanding, Ezekiel and all the prophets give themselves!

long retained a grateful recollection of the assistance which God vouchsafed to that confederacy, and might in some after age have felt inclined to revive the memorial of it by instituting some analogous ceremony, on the occasion of their solemnizing confederacies, divested of such circumstances as the peculiarity of the ancient precedent alone warranted. It would even appear that it had been an old custom of the Israelites, when they wished to unite all the tribes in a confederacy, to send portions of slain animals throughout the land; since it says in the sixth and following verses of the eleventh chapter of the First Book of Samuel, "And the Spirit of God came upon Saul when he heard these tidings, and his anger was kindled greatly. And he took a yoke of oxen, and hewed them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the coasts of Israel by the hands of messengers, saying, Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen. And the fear of the Lord fell on the people, and they came out with one consent. And when he numbered them in Bezek, the children of Israel were three hundred thousand, and the men of Judah thirty thousand." The following verses, taken from the twelfth chapter of Exodus, descriptive of the institution of the feast of the Passover, deserve to be considered in connection with the passages printed in italics of Acosta's description of the Peruvian festival of Capacreyme: "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you." "Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread*; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel." "And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the Passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof." "Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year; ye shall take it out from the sheep or from the goats." The Jews might possibly have regarded spots as a blemish, and therefore have chosen a lamb of a white colour for sacrifice†. "And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning; and that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire." "And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are; and when *I see the blood* I will pass over you‡: and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt." "Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses, for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul

* Sahagun says, in mentioning in the fourteenth chapter of his first book the festival of Xochilhuitl, which was dedicated to the god Macuilxochitl, that the Mexicans ate on one of their fasts unleavend bread: "Otros ayunaban comiendo panes azimos, esto es, que el maiz de que se hacia el pan que comian, no se cocia con cal antes de molerlo, que esto es como ormenta (fermento), sino molian el mahiz seco, y de aquella arina hacian pan, y cocianlo en el comal, y no comian chilli, ni otra cosa con ello." Historia Universal de las Cosas de Nueva España. "Others kept the fast eating unleavened bread, that is to say, the maize of which they made the bread intended on that occasion to be eaten was not, previously to being ground, boiled with lime, since that was as it were leaven; but they ground the dry maize, and made their bread out of the flour, and prepared it on the comal, and ate neither chilli nor any thing else with it." Sahagun, by making use of the phrase "panes azimos," means distinctly, 'unleavened bread;' the Spanish word *azimos* being derived from the Greek ἄζυμος, which signifies 'unleavened,' from which was derived the apellation Ἄζυμα, which the Greeks gave to the Jewish festival of unleavened bread. It is not a little extraordinary that the Mexicans should have named one of their principal fasts, that on which they ate unleavened bread, Azomalqualo, since this name is so very like that of Ἄζυμα, which was applied to the Jewish festival immediately preceding the feast of the Passover, being compounded of *azomal*, the name which the Mexicans either gave to the fast itself, or to the unleavened bread, and *qualo*, which signifies in the Mexican language 'to eat,' as in the word *teoqualo* 'to eat God,' the term which the Mexicans applied to their mode of communion. In the eighth chapter of the third book of Sahagun's History of New Spain mention is made of the fast of Azomalqualo.

† Acosta says, describing the festival which the citizens and merchants of Cholula celebrated to Quecalcoatle, that they sacrificed a slave to him, who it was requisite should be without spot, wound, or scar, "omni tum maculâ, tum plagâ, ac cicatrice carentem." Indiæ Occidentalis Historia, lib. v. cap. xxx. And Sahagun affirms that the Mexicans sacrificed in the month of Toxcatl a slave of the same kind to Tezcatlipoca: "Al quinto mes llamaban Toxcatl; el primero dia de este mes hacian gran fiesta à honra del dios que llaman Titlacaoa, y por otro nombre Tezcatlipuca; à este tenian por Dios de los dioses. A su honra mataban en esta fiesta un mancebo escogido *que ninguna tacha* tubiese en su cuerpo." Historia Universal de las Cosas de Nueva España, lib. ii. cap. iv.

‡ Baron de Humboldt remarks that the Muyscas, or Mozcas, a civilized nation of the kingdom of New Granada, celebrated the commencement of each of their indictions by a sacrifice; "the cruel ceremonies of which, as far as our limited means of information permit us to judge, seem all to refer to astrological notions. The human victim was called Guesa 'the wanderer' or 'houseless;' and Quihica 'a door,' because his death announced the opening, as it might be called, of a new cycle of one hundred and eighty-five moons." "Le commencement de chaque indiction étoit marqué par un sacrifice dont les cérémonies barbares, d'après le peu que nous en savons, paroissent toutes avoir eu rapport à des idées astrologiques. La victime humaine étoit appellée Guesa, errant, sans maison, et Quihica, porte, parceque sa mort annonçoit pour ainsi dire l'ouverture d'un nouveau cycle de cent quatre-vingt-cinq lunes."

If the word Guesa signified *to wander*, in the sense of 'to pass by,' or 'not to enter' a house, connected as it is with the other word Quihica 'a door,' this Muysca sacrifice would seem rather to refer to the Hebrew lamb than to astronomical notions. The pure essence of the stars can hardly be associated in the minds of the most savage nations with bloody religious rites.

shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger or born in the land." From this last verse it appears that strangers were obliged to comply with some of the ceremonies of the feast of the Passover, but they were forbidden to eat the Passover. "A foreigner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof." "But every man's servant that is bought for money, *when thou hast circumcised him*, then shall he eat thereof." Since the Ingas of Peru considered themselves the representatives of Viracocha, or the supreme Deity, the covenant with them was in reality with Viracocha himself. Not only in the sacrifice of the Passover but in other sacrifices, *the eating the victim* after it had been killed was strictly enjoined to the Jews; and the sacrifice would have been imperfect without it, as various texts of Scripture may be adduced to prove. It says in the twenty-ninth chapter of Exodus, "And thou shalt take the ram of the consecration, and seethe his flesh in the holy place. And Aaron and his sons *shall eat the flesh of the ram*, and the bread that is in the basket, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. And *they shall eat those things wherewith the atonement was made*, to consecrate and to sanctify them: but a stranger shall not eat thereof, *because they are holy*." And in the sixth chapter of Leviticus, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin-offering: in the place where the burnt-offering is killed shall the sin-offering be killed before the Lord: it is most holy. The priest that offereth it for sin *shall eat it;* in the holy place *shall it be eaten*, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation." And in the twenty-ninth verse of the same chapter, "All the males among the priests *shall eat thereof:* it is most holy;" and in the seventh chapter of the same book, "And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace-offerings for thanksgiving *shall be eaten* the same day that it is offered; *he shall not leave any of it* until the morning. But if the sacrifice of his offering be a vow, or a voluntary offering, *it shall be eaten* the same day that he offereth his sacrifice: and on the morrow also *the remainder of it shall be eaten.* But the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire. And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace-offerings be eaten at all on the third day it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be *imputed* unto him that offereth it: it shall be an abomination, and the soul that eateth of it shall bear his iniquity." It is further also ordained, in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, "And if ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings unto the Lord, ye shall offer it at your own will. *It shall be eaten* the same day ye offer it, and on the morrow: and if ought remain until the third day, it shall be burned in the fire. And if it be eaten at all on the third day it is abominable; it shall not be accepted. Therefore every one that eateth it shall bear his iniquity, because he hath profaned the hallowed thing of the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people." And it says again in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses of the twenty-second chapter of the same book, "And when ye will offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto the Lord, offer it at your own will. On the same day *it shall be eaten up; ye shall leave none of it* until the morrow: I am the Lord." And in the eighteenth chapter of the book of Numbers, "And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Behold, I also have given thee the charge of my heave-offerings of all the hallowed things of the children of Israel; unto thee have I given them, by reason of the anointing, and to thy sons, by an ordinance for ever. This shall be thine of the most holy things reserved from the fire: every oblation of theirs, every meat-offering of theirs, and every sin-offering of theirs, and every trespass-offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be most holy for thee, and for thy sons. In the most holy place *shalt thou eat it; every male shall eat it:* it shall be holy unto thee. And this is thine; the heave-offering of their gift, with all the wave-offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them unto thee, and to thy sons, and to thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever; every one that is clean in thy house *shall eat of it*." "*Every thing devoted in Israel shall be thine*." A further proof of the importance attached by the ceremonial law of Moses to the act of *eating the flesh* of certain kind of sacrifices is found in the tenth chapter of Leviticus; "And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the meat-offering that remaineth of the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and *eat it* without leaven beside the altar; for it is most holy. And *ye shall eat it* in the holy place, because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the sacrifices of the Lord made by fire: for so I am commanded. And the wave-breast and heave-shoulder *shall ye eat* in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee: for they be thy due, and thy sons' due, which are given out of the sacrifices of peace-offerings of the children of Israel. The heave-shoulder and the wave-breast shall they bring, with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave-offering before the Lord; and it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee, by a statute for ever; as the Lord hath commanded. And Moses diligently sought the goat of the sin-offering, and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron, which were left alive, saying, Wherefore have ye *not eaten the sin-offering* in the holy place,

seeing it is most holy, and God hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord? Behold, the blood of it was not brought in within the holy place: *ye should indeed have eaten it* in the holy place, as I commanded. And Aaron said unto Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering and their burnt-offering before the Lord; and such things have befallen me: and if *I had eaten the sin-offering* to-day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord? And when Moses heard that, he was content." The things to which Aaron alludes as having befallen him are mentioned in the beginning of the chapter: "And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire * before the Lord, which he commanded them not. And there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured them; and they died before the Lord. Then Moses said unto Aaron, This is it that the Lord spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified. And Aaron held his peace."

How unaccountable it appears that the immediate family of Moses, his sister, his brother, and his nephews,—(his wife and sons are passed over in silence, and little is said of his father-in-law Jethro, who was a heathen priest,)—should all have rebelled against his authority, and have drawn down upon themselves the severe displeasure of God; and that Moses himself, who had performed so many signs and wonders, should be liable to the imputation of having had his faith staggered when the people complained for food in the desert! which charge is insinuated against him in the eleventh chapter of Numbers. It is evident from the texts of Scripture which have been adduced, how incumbent was the duty on the priests and Levites to eat the flesh of certain sacrifices: it even appears that their own consecration and sanctification, as well as the acceptance of the atonement by God in favour of those who offered the sacrifice, depended on their so doing. The nature, or rather *the end* of the sacrifice, and *not the species of the animal* offered, determined whether or not sacrifices were to be eaten by the Hebrew priests †. The fanaticism of the Jews ‡, and their blind adherence to the letter of the law, disregarding its spirit, and corrupting it with their traditions, have been in all ages so great, even when they were in a state of grace and God's peculiar people, that when time at last draws aside the mysterious veil which has so long concealed from view the ancient history of America, with which the proceedings of their descendants seem to have been so completely interwoven, —we need feel less of surprise than horror, at finding into what it is probable that their ancient rites had degenerated. We read in Scripture that the Jews were accustomed to devote to God their enemies; and we know that they never spared any devoted thing. It says, in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth verses of the twenty-seventh chapter of Leviticus, "Notwithstanding, no devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord, of all that he

* The sound of holy water hardly shocks the ears of a Protestant; but holy fire is something to which we cannot reconcile our minds. Nevertheless the Jews did really attribute as much holiness to the element of fire, as Christians of any sect can do to that of water: and being commanded, in the following verse of the thirty-fifth chapter of Exodus to kindle no fire on the Sabbath-day, ("Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath-day,") it necessarily followed that they must have considered it a religious duty, either to keep in their fires on Friday night, or to extinguish them then and to rekindle them on Sunday morning: and either way, the superstitious notions which the Mexicans entertained about extinguishing and kindling their fires might have been derived from the Jews.

† It is evident that by the Mosaic law, the perfection of the sacrifice, and the efficacy of the atonement made for the sins of the people, depended upon the flesh of the immolated victim being eaten. And hence the old Jewish sacrifices and the paschal lamb were considered by the early Christians as the type of the sacrifice of Christ, and of the real presence in the Sacrament. It has become the doctrine of later ages, that both prophecies and types need not in their fulfilment and manifestation be complete in all their parts: and hence Protestants ridicule the notion of transubstantiation, and have pronounced it to be impossible, by an argument contained in the following distich—

"Hic ubi sum, non sum, sed sum ubi non sum,
Sum nec in ambobus, sum sed utroque loco."

‡ When we recollect the extravagancies which, in our own enlightened age and in this free country, the deluded followers of Joanna Southcote have been guilty of,—what fanaticism can appear to us too great for Jews to have been seized with in the dark ages? Or how can we tell, when, raging from persecution and fleeing to some remote corner of the earth, where they got the upper hand of their enemies, in what sense they might have interpreted the following passage of the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold, all these gather themselves together, and come to thee. As I live, saith the Lord, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them on thee, as a bride doeth."? *We* understand Isaiah to mean in this verse the Jewish children, which were to grow up ornaments to their parents. But what, if *they* understood it to refer to their enemies, and accordingly instituted, as a fulfilment of prophecy in the New World, the custom of clothing themselves on solemn festivals in the skins of some of their enemies whom they had taken prisoners in war?

hath, both *of man* and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed, every devoted thing *is most holy* unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted *of men*, shall be redeemed; *but shall surely be put to death*." In compliance with which injunction, Jephthah sacrificed his own daughter,—Moses caused the women of Midian and their children, whom the captains of thousands had spared, to be killed,—and Samuel, the *high priest* of the Lord, as he says himself in the fifteenth chapter of his First Book, "hewed Agag in pieces *before the Lord* in Gilgal," whom Saul had taken prisoner and granted his life. The story of Jephthah, as told in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Judges, is in all its circumstances much more affecting and interesting than Joseph's recognition of his brethren which is so frequently referred to, and would form a fine subject for a tragedy. A victorious general returns covered with glory from battle:—he has made a previous vow to Heaven, in the event of victory, to sacrifice the first object that shall meet him,—and that object is his daughter whom he tenderly loved,—dreads to behold, and cannot save! The magnanimity of the victim increases the compassion felt towards her. The writer of the Book of Judges thus records the fatal consequences of Jephthah's vow: "Then the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah; and he passed over Gilead and Manasseh, and passed over Mizpeh of Gilead, and from Mizpeh of Gilead he passed over unto the children of Ammon. And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands, then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering. So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them; and the Lord delivered them into his hands. And he smote them from Aroer, even till thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto the plain of the vineyards, with a very great slaughter. Thus the children of Ammon were subdued before the children of Israel. And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she was his only child: beside her he had neither son nor daughter. And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back. And she said unto him, My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, even of the children of Ammon. And she said unto her father, Let this thing be done for me; let me alone two months, that I may go up and down upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows. And he said, Go. And he sent her away for two months: and she went with her companions, and bewailed her virginity upon the mountains. And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father, *who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed* *. And she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a year." Moses thus relates, in the thirty-first chapter of Numbers, the destruction of the devoted women and children of Midian: "And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe, them, and Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow in his hand. And they warred against the Midianites, as the Lord commanded † Moses: and they slew all the males. And they slew the kings of Midian, beside the rest of them that were slain; namely, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian: Balaam also, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword. And the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captives, and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods. And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire. And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, both of men and of beasts. And they brought the captives, and the prey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which are by Jordan near Jericho. And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without the camp. And Moses was wroth with the officers of the

* That is to say, offered her up as a burnt-offering. This tragical history seems to have given rise to the Mexican tradition of the cruel sacrifice of the daughter of the king of Culhuacan, who was afterwards deified by them, and worshiped under the name of Tonantzin, which signifies, 'our ancestor.' They say that she was the first woman sacrificed by them; but they afterwards instituted sacrifices of women, accompanied with the stripping off of their skins, in commemoration of her.

† It is unfortunate that the "Book of the Wars of the Lord," which is referred to in the fourteenth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Numbers, should, with other portions of Scripture, have been lost, as it would have thrown much light on the proceedings of those early times.

host, with the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, which came from the battle. And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive? Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord. Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. But all the women-children that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves."

When the Spaniards first entered Mexico, they found that it was the custom of the Mexicans to sacrifice, in the court of the Teocalli or temple, before the shrine of their god, all prisoners taken in war. So anxious on all occasions were the Mexicans to take prisoners alive for that purpose, that many Spaniards, whom they might easily have killed in the heat of the combat, owed to this chance their preservation, being rescued by their companions from the hands of those who were dragging them away to sacrifice. The Mexicans ate the flesh of some of their human sacrifices *; but, as Gomara observes, were never seen to *taste* their blood. By which he seems to insinuate that, like the Jews, they were forbidden to drink blood †. Their priests, after having flayed other human victims, clothed themselves in their skins and went about the city asking alms: and the heads of all their sacrificed prisoners were hung up in a building fronting the principal gate of the temple. If Jephthah sacrificed his own daughter as a burnt-offering to God, is it too much to suppose that the Jews, who proceeded in remote ages to America, where they perhaps at first peaceably pursued the occupations of colonists, becoming afterwards harassed by unprovoked wars on the part of the Indians, (as Montecinio says was the case with the Jews discovered by him in the neighbourhood of Carthagena, as they informed him through an interpreter,) might in their fury have devoted them to God, and sworn that they would devour their flesh as that of immolated victims? Or, if the infatuation of Jephthah was so great that he could not perceive that, although the letter of the law required that those who were devoted of men should surely be put to death, still an impious vow was not binding; or, that where a mental reservation could exist, in a case like his, the unfortunate victim of a rash vow ought to have the full benefit of the plea; (for we can scarcely imagine that Jephthah contemplated in the first instance, when he made his vow, sacrificing any other victim than an animal,—or what an example that would have been for a leader of Israel to have set to the people! and how dangerous might have been the precedent of victory following such a vow!)—may it not be supposed that the fanatical Jews of the New World might have considered it obligatory on them to eat the flesh of their sacrificed victims, according to the letter of the law regarding sacrifices of atonement, and that these sacrifices might have been viewed by the Mexicans in that light ‡? At least, we know that the Peruvians sacrificed annually two children as an offering of atonement for the sins of the Inga,—"diciendo, que el pecado que su Rey y Señor ubiesse echo, lo pagaban aquellos inocentes en aquel sacrificio:" "saying, that those innocents would by that sacrifice atone for the sins which their king and lord had committed." This curious fact is stated by Rosales in the second chapter of the third book of his inedited History of Chile. And it also deserves to be remarked, that Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, declares that in his travels in Asia he found that it was a custom with some of his brethren (Asiatic Jews) to sacrifice children. It is not intended, by alledging such facts, to calumniate or wound the feelings of any class of men, but merely to elicit historic truth. Fortunately for the world, both the Jews and

* All the Spanish authors agree, that no sufferings from famine could induce the Mexicans, when closely besieged by Cortes, to eat the flesh of their countrymen who had been killed: whence it must be inferred that they only ate the flesh of sacrificed and devoted victims. The Jews were less able to withstand the torments of hunger.

† Many persons have attempted to prove the humanity of the laws contained in the Pentateuch, from the fact of the Jews being forbidden to drink blood. But since they are forbidden in the same ordinance to eat fat; the only inference which can be justly drawn is, that they were a cruel people among whom it became necessary to enact such a law. The prohibition alluded to is contained in the seventeenth verse of the third chapter of Leviticus: "It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither fat nor blood."

‡ Torquemada, in the twenty-sixth chapter of the fourteenth book of his Indian Monarchy, says: "En esta Nueva España no la comian tan de proposito, segun lo tengo averiguado, sino sola aquella que era de sacrificios, porque la tenian por cosa como sagrada, y *mas se movian á esto por religion que por vicio*." "In New Spain they ate human flesh, not so much from inclination, as the fact has been verified by me, since they only ate the flesh of sacrifices, as because they considered it holy,—which custom they adopted rather from religious motives than from vice." Whatever might have been the cause of the Mexicans first eating the flesh of human sacrifices and considering it a religious thing so to do, it is probable that hence cannibalism spread itself over many provinces of America and some of the West Indian islands; and that the less civilized Indian tribes, following the example of the more powerful states, adopted as a common practice that which with them was purely a religious rite.

Christians of the present age are very different from those of past times; and the rage of persecution on the one side, and of fanaticism on the other, has long since subsided. We must further observe, that as amongst the Jews it was customary for the priests to flay the victims, and afterwards to take their skins,—as may be proved from the following texts of Scripture, (taken from the twenty-ninth chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, and the seventh chapter of Leviticus,) "But the priests were too few, so that they could not flay all the burnt-offerings: wherefore their brethren the Levites did help them, till the work was ended, and until the other priests had sanctified themselves; for the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctify themselves than the priests." "And the priest that offereth any man's burnt-offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering which he hath offered,"—so the Mexican priests were accustomed, on the festival named Tlaxipehualiztli, to flay the victims; and not only to take, but to clothe themselves in their skins. It has already been remarked that the Mexicans hung up the heads of their sacrificed enemies. And this also appears to have been a Jewish practice, as the following quotation from the twenty-fifth chapter of Numbers will show: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Take *all* the heads of the people, and *hang them up before the Lord against the sun*, that the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel. And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that were joined unto Baal-peor. And, behold, one of the children of Israel came, and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman, in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from among the congregation, and took a javelin in his hand; and he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel. And those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, (while he was zealous for my sake among them,) that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace. And he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and *made an atonement* for the children of Israel." From the command which was given to Moses, to take all the heads of the people and hang them up before the Lord against the sun, and there being as many as twenty-four thousand heads, it is probable that Moses constructed some wooden scaffolding or stone building with niches, in which to place them. Gomara thus describes the building in Mexico appropriated to receive the skulls of the immolated victims: "Without the temple, and facing its principal gate, although at a greater distance from it than a long stone's-throw, was a charnel-house for the heads of men taken prisoners in war, and sacrificed with the knife. It resembled a theatre, being of greater length than breadth, and built of lime and stone, with stairs. Between stone and stone, skulls were inserted, with the teeth outwards. On the top and at the bottom of the theatre were two towers, formed out of mortar and skulls only, with the teeth outwards; in which, as there was no stone or any other material, (at least visible,) the walls had a strange and striking appearance. On the top of the theatre there were more than sixty lofty beams, placed at the distance of four or five palms from each other, and full of laths from top to bottom, with a certain space between lath and lath. These laths formed numerous crosses on the beams, and each division of a cross or lath was inserted through five skulls, by a hole bored through the temples. Andrew de Tapia, who gave me this information, and Gonzalo de Umbria, once counted them; and found a hundred and thirty-six thousand skulls upon the beams and the stairs: they were unable to reckon those in the towers. A cruel custom; inasmuch as they were human heads decapitated in sacrifice; although it had the semblance of humanity, from the recollection which it was calculated to convey of death. There were persons likewise whose business it was, when one fell, to place another in its room; so that that number was never deficient."—La Conquista de Mexico, fo. xlix.

It is remarkable, that amongst the many charges which Apion brought against the Jews, one was, that they kidnapped strangers and secretly sacrificed them in the temple, after first fattening the intended victims. To this charge Josephus replies at considerable length; as perhaps he considered that the well-known fact of the Jewish religion laying the greatest stress on sacrifices, and requiring that the blood of bulls and of goats should ever be flowing on their altars, might have given a colour of probability to the charge; especially as among the Greeks, according to doubtful fame, Agamemnon had been hurried away by the habit of sacrifice to offer his daughter Iphigenia to Diana, although they were a nation much less addicted to sacrifices than the Jews, some of whose most famous philosophers had

condemned the practice as utterly impious to offer death to the God who bestowed life, or to suppose that the Creator of all could be pleased at receiving from one creature the blood of another. We have, however, the highest authority,—that of the Scriptures,—for affirming that the Jews did frequently perform human sacrifices; but whether they profaned the temple with them, as they did with the worship of the brazen serpent called Nehushtan, which was destroyed by king Hezekiah, as it says in the fourth verse of the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings,—"He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and he called it Nehushtan,"—is not stated. We learn, however, from the passage of Scripture which has been quoted, the curious fact, that the Jews worshiped a serpent in the days of Hezekiah, in remembrance of its miraculous agency in the age of Moses. But how many ages had elapsed from the time of Moses to the reign of Hezekiah? And if Judah was guilty of this idolatry, are we to suppose that the other tribes of Israel, whose idolatries were so much greater, did not equally and for the same reason render homage to serpents? In the twenty-first chapter of Numbers, Moses gives us the following account of the fiery serpent which he made, and the cures which were performed through it: "And the people spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our soul loatheth this light bread. And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died. Therefore the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned; for we have spoken against the Lord, and against thee: pray unto the Lord, that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole*; and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived." This serpent, Christians affirm, after Saint John, to have been a type and symbol of Christ; as that Evangelist says in the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of the third chapter of his Gospel: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." Not only in Scripture, but likewise in ancient mythology, the same symbols are often found to have different and even contrary significations, which occasions great difficulty to the scholar and the divine. With the ancient Egyptians a serpent in a ring signified equally the year, and the immortality of the soul. The symbols of the goat, the serpent, and the morning-star, bear in Scripture the most contrary applications; and the horn mentioned in the prophecies, commentators explain in a variety of different ways.

The following chapter, which is taken from the third book of Garcia's Origin of the Indians, we here insert in the original Spanish, with the translation annexed, both because it contains many Scriptural authorities to prove that the Jews in ancient times did frequently profane religion by the celebration of human sacrifices, and likewise because Garcia inclines to the opinion that their descendants introduced that shocking custom into Peru. This chapter is entitled "*Como los Judios i los Indios hicieron sacrificio de Niños:*"—"En los libros de los Reies, refiere la Sagrada Escritura que el Rei de Moab sacrificó á su primogenito hijo sobre el muro, á vista de los de Israel, á los quales pareció este hecho tan triste i lamentable, que no quisieron apretarle mas, i asi se bolvieron á sus casas. Pero mas en particular refiere la misma Escritura la costumbre que tenian los Hebreos de los diez tribus de sacrificar niños, como consta del contexto del capitulo 17 de el sobredicho libro de los Reies. Este mismo genero de crueldad i sacrificio refiere la Divina Escritura haverse usado entre aquellas naciones barbaras de Cananeos, i Gebuseos, i los demas, de quien escrive el libro de la Sabiduria que sacrificaban á sus hijos; i David se queja que de estos aprendieron los de Israel sus costumbres, i en particular sacrificar sus hijos i hijas á los demonios, i asi dice el mismo profeta, 'Y sacrificaron sus hijos i hijas á los demonios.' Hieremias tambien hace mencion de aquesto mismo; aunque en la manera de matar i sacrificar á sus hijos variaban los Hebreos, como lo advierte Genebrardo, porque unas veces los sacrificaban matandolos con fuego, como se dice de Manases, que pasó á su hijo por el fuego. Otras veces los sacrificaban degollandolos, que eso quiere decir David en aquellas palabras, 'Y derramaron la sangre inocente i sin culpa;' aunque parece que los quemaban despues, que como nota Genebrardo en esto ai varias opiniones entre los Hebreos, diciendo algunos que despues de haver muerto á aquellos niños en sacrificio, los quemaban sobre las aras á imitacion i exemplo

* In the thirty-ninth page of the Mexican painting in the possession of M. Fejérváry, at Pess in Hungary, a curious representation of Quecalcoatle, as it would appear, occurs in the shape of a serpent fixed to a pole.

de Abraham, que asi instituió ofrecer en sacrificio á Dios su hijo Isaac. Otros dicen que encerrados i metidos dentro de cierta concavidad i hueco del idolo los quemaban, en el mismo idolo encendido con el fuego, mientras los que estaban presentes al espectaculo hacian ruido, i estruendo, i tocaban los tambores ó atabales, para que no se oiesen las voces del niño. Otros, como son Rabi Salomon, i Kymhi, dicen que los pasaban por medio de las llamas de dos fuegos ó hogueras, teniendolos de una parte el padre del niño, i de la otra los ministros del sacrificio, hasta que el fuego le consumia: de este parecer es Rabi Moises, hijo de Naaman, en los Comentarios del Pentateuco, aunque Rabi Salomon Jarchi, i Moises Maimonides, intentan disimular esta maldad, afirmando que solo los pasaban por las llamas; i asi disculpa á Achaz Teodoreto. Pero sea como mandaren, que lo que sabemos cierto, es que los Judios sacrificaban sus hijos, como já lo diximos arriba con autoridad de la Sagrada Escritura, i de lo que David, i Hieremias dicen á este proposito. Aunque el sacrificar sus hijos á los dioses lo usaron otras naciones de gentiles, como se ha dicho, pero pues havemos referido esta perversa i cruel costumbre que huvo entre los Judios, por qué no dirémos que de ellos, como de sus ascendientes, la tomarian los Indios del Peru que la guardaron al pie de la letra? De las historias que tratan del Peru antes que fuese conquistado por nuestros Españoles, he sacado que sacrificaban los Indios sus hijos por negocios que importaban al Inga, como en enfermedades suias, para alcanzarle salud. Tambien quando iba á la guerra, por la victoria, i quando le daban la borla al nuevo Inga, que era la insignia de rei como aca el cetro ó corona, en esta solemnidad sacrificaban cantidad de docientos niños de quatro á diez años*. Tambien quando moria Inga, sacrificaban muchos niños; los quales dice Juan de Betanços que havian de ser mil, porque asi lo ordenó i mandó Pachacuti Inga antes que muriese. Estos niños havian de ser varones i hembras traidos de todo el reino, i algunos de ellos hijos de Caciques, i principales, para que apareados macho con hembra, bien vestidos, i con el servicio i baxilla de oro que como casados i gente que havia de ir á servir á su rei i señor, havian menester, fuesen enterrados en las partes donde el Inga huviese estado de asiento, hechando tambien algunos de ellos en la mar. A estas partes i lugares los llevaban cada par por si, macho i hembra, con mucha veneracion en unas andas, para ser de esta suerte ofrecidos en sacrificio por su rei i señor; i á este sacrificio llamaban Capac Cocha, que quiere decir Sacrificio solemne. Gomara dice que sacrificaban niños los Indios del nuevo reino de Granada, i los mismos sacrificios que entre los Judios, halló Benjamin de Tudela entre los Indios Asiaticos de la isla de Chenaraga ó Chingara." "The Holy Scripture says in the Book of Kings, that the king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son upon the wall in the sight of the Israelites; to whom this act appeared so afflicting and lamentable, that they would not besiege him any longer, but returned home†. The same Scripture more particularly mentions the custom prevalent amongst the ten Hebrew tribes, of sacrificing children, as appears from the text of the above-mentioned seventeenth chapter of the Book of Kings. Cruelty of a similar kind and like sacrifices are recorded in Holy Scripture to have been practised by the barbarous nations of the Canaanites and the Jebusites, and the rest, of whom the Book of Wisdom says, that they sacrificed their sons. And David complains that the Israelites had learned from them their customs, and particularly that of sacrificing their sons and daughters to devils; and therefore the same prophet says, 'And they sacrificed their sons and their daughters to devils.' Jeremiah likewise relates the same thing. But, as Genebrard observes, in their manner of putting to death and sacrificing their sons, the practice of the Hebrews was not uniform; for sometimes they sacrificed them, burning them to death, as is related of Manases, who passed his son through the fire; and of Achaz, who consecrated and sacrificed his son, passing him likewise through the fire. And sometimes they sacrificed them, beheading them; since this is what David means by the words, 'And they shed the blood of the innocent, and of those who were without blame;' although it appears that they burned them afterwards. But, as Genebrard remarks, there is a difference of opinion about this among the Jews; some saying that after the children had been killed in sacrifice they burned them upon the altars, in imitation and after the example of Abraham, who purposed to offer up in this manner his son Isaac to God; and others, that putting them within and shutting them up in a certain concavity and hollow of the idol, they burned them in the same idol, heating it red hot with fire, whilst those who were present at the spec-

* This was almost re-acting Herod's massacre, who we may here remark was a Jew by religion although not one by blood.

† This is a mistake; it was the son of the king of Edom, the enemy of the king of Moab, and the ally of the Jews, whom the king of Moab sacrificed; on which account the Prophet Amos denounces judgment against Moab in the first verse of the second chapter of his Prophecies: "Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime." The Moabites, whose hearts were, like Pharaoh's, hardened, would probably, when they saw the Jews raise the siege of their city, and retreat after the cruel sacrifice of the son of their powerful ally, have imputed this conduct to cowardice caused by their own desperation, and have henceforward despised the denunciations of the Jewish prophets.

tacle made a noise and shouted, and beat drums and tambours, that the cries of the children might not be heard. Others, like Rabbi Salomon and Kymhi, say that they passed them between the flames of two fires or burning piles, the father of the child holding him on one side and the ministers of the sacrifice on the other, till the fire had consumed him. Rabbi Moises the son of Naaman, in his Commentaries on the Pentateuch, is of this opinion; although Rabbi Salomon, Jarchi, and Moses Maimonides try to dissemble this iniquity, affirming that they only passed them through the flames; which is the way in which Theodoretus exculpates Achaz. However this may be, that which we know for certain is, that the Jews sacrificed their sons, as we have already said above, on the authority of the Holy Scripture, and of that which David and Jeremiah say to this effect. Although the custom of sacrificing their sons to the gods existed amongst other Gentile nations, as has been said, still, as we have referred to this perverse and cruel practice, found also amongst the Jews, why shall we not say that the Indians of Peru, who follow it to the letter, borrowed it from them, as likewise from their ancestors? I have found in histories which treat of Peru before it was conquered by the Spaniards, that the Indians sacrificed their sons when the affairs of the Inga required it: for instance, when he was sick, for the recovery of his health; and likewise when he went to war, for victory. And when they invested the new Inga with the tassel, which was the royal insignia, like the crown and sceptre with us, on this solemnity they sacrificed as many as two hundred children, of from four to ten years of age. They likewise, when the Inga died, sacrificed a number of children, which Juan de Betanços says were reckoned at a thousand; for so the Inga Pachacuti ordered and commanded before he died. It was proper that these children should be both males and females, brought from all parts of the kingdom, and some of them the offspring of Caciques and other principal persons, in order that, matched together in pairs, males with females, handsomely attired, with attendants and golden utensils,—which, like betrothed persons and subjects about to go to serve their king and lord, they were obliged to be provided with,—they might be buried in such places as the Inga had been accustomed to reside in, some of them being likewise thrown into the sea. To these places and stations each pair, a male and a female, was carried by themselves on a litter, with great reverence, in order to be offered as a sacrifice in this manner for their king and lord. They called this sacrifice Capac Cocha, which signifies 'the solemn sacrifice.' Gomara says that the Indians of the new kingdom of Granada sacrificed children; and Benjamin of Tudela found the same kind of sacrifices as those used by the Jews amongst the Asiatic Indians of the island of Chenaraga or Chingara." It cannot be doubted that human sacrifices were common throughout Palestine. And if the Holy Land was polluted with these abominable rites, which the Jews are said to have learned from their neighbours the Canaanites, where is the difficulty in supposing that in after ages they were transplanted to the American soil by their descendants? What but a familiarity with such scenes of horror can explain the inhumanity of the Samaritan mothers, recorded in the sixth chapter of the Second Book of Kings: "And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king! And he said, If the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barnfloor, or out of the winepress? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow *. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him; and she hath hid her son." This occurrence took place during the famine in Samaria, caused by the besieging army of Benhadad king of Syria. Gomara, who has described the sufferings which the Mexicans underwent in the last siege of their capital, expressly says, that although they ate the dead bodies of their enemies, they did not touch those of their countrymen or friends,—an evident proof, not of less suffering on their part, but of greater humanity than was possessed by the Jews. It is a very remarkable fact, that the Indians were accustomed to pass their sons through the fire as a kind of baptism. Boturini, noticing this practice, says, "En la segunda creció el culto, y al quarto dia despues del parto, passaban por el fuego quatro veces á los hijos recien nacidos, á manera de purificacion y bautismo, llamando á esta ceremonia Tlequiquiz-

* These women were Samaritans; but Jeremiah, in the twentieth verse of the second chapter of his Lamentations, informs us that the Jewish mothers, when Jerusalem was besieged, were equally inhuman in devouring their own offspring. "Behold, O Lord, and consider to whom thou hast done this. Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a span long? shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?" Even Solomon's famous judgment is less a proof of his wisdom than of the barbarity of the people over whom he reigned; for *not knowing which* of the women was the real mother of the child, he must have presumed that they were both capable, sooner than forgo a fictitious claim, of consenting that it should be divided in two, and that the real mother alone would stay the execution of the sentence; for there would have been no wisdom in his judgment except on the supposition that he believed both women to be equally bereft of every particle of pity and of feeling.

tililiztli; costumbre antigua de sus antepassados los descendientes de Cham, segun Philon Judio en su libro Biblicarum Antiquitatum, 'Tunc cœperunt hi qui habitabant in terrâ inspicere in astra, et, incohaverunt ex his imaginari et divinationes facere, et filios et filias trajicere per ignem.' Mas debia ser el fuego el mas respetado y sublime de sus dioses; pues haviendo Thare que era idolatra del fuego, y padre de Abraham, acusado á su hijo delante de Nemrod, como no queria adorarle, y seguir la religion de su familia, le mandó echar en él, y salio intacto por obra de Dios; de cuyo prodigio admirado Aram confesso por verdadera la ley que professaba su hermano Abraham, como escribe Lyra in cap. 11. Genes et cap. 12. con la autoridad de san Geronimo: 'Vera est igitur Hebræorum traditio quod egressus sit Thare cum filiis suis de igne Chaldeorum, et quod Abram vallatus Babylonico incendio, quia illud adorare nolebat, liberatus sit auxilio Dei, et ex illo tempore reputetur ei tempus ætatis, ex quo confessus est Deum, spernens idola Chaldeorum.' Y por esto, no me admiro que los Indios como descendientes de los que intervinieron á fabricar la Torre de Babel, como se dirá despues, celebrassen tanto á el fuego, hasta colocarlo por geroglifico y principio de la chronologia, y de sus caracteres divinos en el Kalendario Tulteco, que fué mucho mas antiguo que el Mexicano; y le llamassen en el kalendario de el año natural, Señor de la yerba, que tanto suena Xiuhteuctli; y por fin que á la decadencia del cyclo Indiano le dedicassen tantos sacrificios, y sacassen con grandes ceremonias el fuego nuevo, assimismo fuesse en el kalendario astronomico el primero de los nueve signos acompañados, ó Señores de la Noche. Subieron aun mas de punto en la tercera edad los sacrificios y ritos; los que referiré por entero en la Historia. Solo advierto que en el kalendario ritual, le era dedicada la decima tercia fiesta mobible, dia en que despues de grandes ofrendas y bayles, se nombraban los jueces, y los que debian ser elegidos ó señalados por feudatorios del imperio, porque la devolucion de los feudos no passaba de este termino." "In the second age the worship paid to fire increased; and on the fourth day after their birth they passed four times through the fire their new-born infants; as if it were a purification or baptism, naming this ceremony Tlequiquiztililiztli; an ancient custom of their ancestors the descendants of Cham; as Philo Judæus remarks in his book of Biblical Antiquities: 'Then began those who inhabited the earth to contemplate the stars and to devise images of them, and to practise divination, and to pass their sons and daughters through the fire.' But Fire must have been the most esteemed and sublimest of their divinities, since Thare, who was a fire worshipper, and the father of Abraham, having accused his son before Nimrod for not choosing to adore it and to follow the religion of his family, was commanded to throw him into it; when by the assistance of God he came out unhurt: and Aram, astonished at the miracle, confessed as true the law which his brother Abraham professed. As Lyra says in his notes to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Genesis, with the authority of Saint Geronime: 'The tradition of the Hebrews therefore is true, that Thare came out with his sons from the fire of the Chaldees; and that Abram, inclosed within the Babylonian fire because he would not adore it, was delivered by the help of God; and the age of his life was reckoned from that time in which he confessed God, contemning the idols of the Chaldeans.' On this account I am not surprised that the Indians, as being the descendants of those who were present at the building of the tower of Babel, as will presently be mentioned, should have paid such extraordinary respect to fire as to place it as a hieroglyphic at the beginning of their chronology and divine characters in the Tultec Calendar *, which was much more ancient than the Mexican, and should have named it in the calendar of the natural year the Lord of Vegetation, since that is the meaning of Xiuhteuctli; and lastly, that at the end of each Indian cycle they should have celebrated so many sacrifices to it, and kindled with great ceremony the new fire; and likewise that in the astronomical calendar it should have been the first of the nine accompanying signs or lords of the night. In the third age these sacrifices and rites attained even more scrupulous exactness, of which I shall give a complete description in my History. I merely observe here that the thirteenth moveable festival in the ritual calendar was dedicated to it; on which day, after great offerings and dances, the judges were named, and those who were to be elected or appointed feudatories of the empire; for the grant of fiefs did not extend beyond that term." Whether the Indians of Peru and Mexico burned their children in the manner of the ancient Jews in the cavities of idols, is not mentioned by Spanish authors; but it would appear from Acosta, that it was not

* The Flint was the first sign in the Tultec Calendar; but since fire was obtained by the Indians, not from the percussion of the flint, but from the friction of two pieces of wood against each other, it was not an equally appropriate symbol of that element in each hemisphere. M. Visconti has observed in a letter to the Baron de Humboldt, that the Mexican method of procuring fire was familiar to the ancient Greeks; and that the accuracy of the description which the scholiast on Apollonius has left us of these πυρηια, or fire machines, is proved by the plates in his American Monuments.

as customary with the Mexicans to sacrifice their children, as it was with the Peruvians, although the former people were in the habit of offering up burnt-sacrifices. That the Çapotecas fabricated small idols, with hollow receptacles either for blood, fire, or incense, is proved from the researches of M. Dupaix, who discovered near Zachila, the ruined capital of the Çapotecan empire, several idols of baked clay of this kind. Perhaps future researches may determine, by bringing to light the idols which are buried in the Plaza Mayor of Mexico, whether the Mexicans formed any of their large stone idols hollow; as it might then be inferred that such cavities were for the purpose of receiving victims, either slaves or prisoners of war, although the manner of the sacrifice, whether it was by fire or not, would not be exactly known. It may here be observed, that the authority which has been adduced to prove that human sacrifices were in ancient times common among the Jews, is the best that can possibly be recurred to,—the text of the Scripture itself, and the commentaries of the most respectable rabbis on it. These rabbis were either Spanish or Portuguese Jews, who could have felt no disposition to calumniate their countrymen; and it is not undeserving of remark, that whilst the Jews of other countries in Europe were formerly, as at present, excessively ignorant, those of Spain some centuries ago were often men of extensive learning. The chief cause of this was, that Spain in the middle ages was only partly under Christian rule. The Saracen caliphs, who greatly favoured the arts and sciences, maintained their sway during eight centuries in the Peninsula; and the Jews were often physicians, bankers, and astrologers to those monarchs, and highly esteemed in their court. It is a mistake to suppose, because the Koran casts some censure on the Jews, that in Mahometan countries people are looked down on in the same degree as among Christians.

With respect to the Mexican ceremony of Tlequiquiztililiztli, it may be observed, that the Jews considered fire a great purifier. "To be purified seven times in the fire" seems to have been a Hebrew proverb; to which there appears to be some allusion in the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of Saint Luke: "John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Fire could here have only been understood in a metaphorical sense, and not, like water elsewhere, have had a literal signification. Nevertheless, so early was the rise of fanaticism, that we learn from history that a Christian sect appeared in Spain in the ages immediately following the Christian era, who burned the sign of the cross into their foreheads, instead of marking it with the water of baptism. We shall here insert three chapters taken from the fifth book of Acosta's History, which contain an interesting account of the Mexican and Peruvian sacrifices:

"Professus Deique ac hominis hostis in sacrificiis istis, ad quæ varia et diversa miseros homines institutos compulit, frendentis sui odii radios ubique effulgere fecit. Sicut enim ista religionis mira proprietas est, ut ad culturam et venerationem Dei homines adhibeantur; sic pariter mendacii pater constituit ut sibi, velut rerum omnium auctori ac domino, Dei creatura ipsi pro victima offerretur. Primæ omnium oblationes quas exhibuere homines simplices rudesque, fuerunt Cain, pro sacrificio, fructus terræ; Abelus verò e grege suo pecudem pinguem offerebat. Idem postea secuti sunt Noha, Abraham, et Patriarchæ; usque dum surgens Moyses peculiarem de ceremoniis librum Levitis condidit, quo multa eaque diversa sacrificia cum ceremoniis quamplurimis populo Israelitico destinavit. Hoc ergo exemplo illectus, cacozelus Sathanas ad quæcunque sacrificia sibi quoque offerenda fatuas gentes illico compulit; illisdem etiam plurimas leges ceremonias ritusque præscripsit, non secus ac veteris a Deo latæ legis fidissimus æmulus esset. Unde similes ab eo in rebus quamplurimis ceremonias servatas videmus. Cæterum omnia sacrificia quæ increduli Sathanæ offerebant, in tria conferri genera commodè possunt. Primum rerum est animâ carentium. Alterum animalium est. Tertium ipsorum hominum."

"In Peru Cocam offerebant, herbam magni æstimatam. Sacra etiam faciebant, oblato mays, picturatis pennis, chaquira sive mollo algâ marinâ, nonnumquam et auro argentoque, ac ex his imaginibus animalium confectis, pannis item pulcherrimis ex cumbi, fragrantibus et cœlatis lignis, *ordinariè* vero *adipe* et sevo *. Omnium horum sacrificiorum finis erat, ut commoda tempestas, felix plantarum incrementum, optata sanitas, et periculorum vacantia impetrarentur. Secundum sacrificiorum genus Cuies dicebatur, ab animalibus hoc nomine vocatis et plerumque offerri solitis, (hæc bufonum facie erant,) ab Indis in cibum optari solitis. In casu viros primates concernente, oves seu pacos, tam lanigeros, quam depiles sacrificiis offerebant; ubi ad numerum earum et colorem, et oblationis tempus, admodum curiosè attendebant. Æthiopes albi, Alquible vocati, pecora vel majora vel minora sacrificaturi, hos ritus servabant. Pecudem dextro brachio impositam soli obvertebant, et pro colore ejus mactandæ,

* Fat was the ordinary Jewish offering.

discreta verba obmurmurabant. Nam si colore vario esset, verba ad Chuquillam sive tonitru fundebantur, ut nulla aquarum seu pluviarum inopia emergeret. Si vero candida et glabra existeret, aliis distinctis verbis Soli offerebatur, ut eo anno is serenus luceret, et rerum omnium incrementum vegetaret. Si Guanaco sive cæsia esset, sacrificium id Viracochæ in honorem fiebat. *Singulis* diebus in Cusco hujusmodi cum ceremoniis, Soli ovis non admodum villosa offerebatur, quæ cum rubeâ camisiâ cremabatur. Quibus sic unà ardentibus corbes aliquot cacao pleni injiciebantur, quod Villacaronca appellabant. Ad hæc sacrificia peragenda, tum *populos* *, tum pecudes *peculiares* secernebant, uni huic rei servientes. Quin imò et *volucres* offerebant, qui tamen mos apud Peruanos non æquè ac Mexicanos, qui coturnices plerumque sacrificabant, frequens erat. Porrò Peruani in Puna, id est, in locis desertis vastisque, sacrificabant quoties bellum meditabantur, ut deorum ibi impetratis suppetiis adjuti, hostium vim commodius obterere possent. Et hæc sacrificia Cuscouicça, sive Conteuicça, aut Huallauicça, vel Sopauicça, nuncupabantur. Hæc his ritibus fiebant. Ex desertis, varii generis aves captantes, spinea et aspera ligna plurima, Gaulli vocata, comportabant. His accensis, universas aves imponebant, quam conjunctionem Quico appellabant. Postea, tum rotundos tum angulares lapides † depictis tum anguibus, tum leonibus, ac bufonibus, tigribusque ornatos, arripientes, *Usachum,* id est, *victoriam nobis largire* ‡, et his similia alia verba edebant; quibus hoc unum dicturi erant, Guacas nostræ efficacia ac vis hostibus nostris nihil fortunati, sed adversa omnia imò ipsum interitum accicat. Finitis istis, oves nonnullas in caveis aliquot diebus fame maceratas, et exhaustas, quas Urcu nominabant, promebant. Has dum mactabant hæc verba pronunciabant §. Non secus ac horum animalium corda deficiunt et languescunt, sic dii nostri hostium nostrorum robur et potentiam confringant, et proterant. Quod si carnis adhuc aliquid harum ovium cordibus adhærescere viderent, quæ inediâ et fame non absumpta esset, pro augurio non fausto, sed ominoso, habebant. Nigros quoque canes Apurucos, occisos nonnunquam offerebant, *quos deinde in camporum plana abjiciebant.* Tandem ab his demptas carnes *peculiaris* quidam populus cum singulari ritu *vorabat.* Aliquando etiam pro Ingâ sacrificabant ut veneno nullo conficeretur. Hoc facturi, a summo mane ad concubiam usque noctem jejunabant. Inde tum cibo tum potu se confertim ingurgitabant; et hoc sacrificium quia contra dei hostes || fiebat omnium sacerrimum erat. Etsi vero tum hæc, tum alia hujusmodi, bellorum longis continuationibus maximâ ex parte abolita jam sint; superstitionum tamen reliquiæ quædam vel dum in nonnullorum Indorum cordibus gliscunt, ita ut obortis fors inter dominos quos Caciques vocant, aut civitates pagosque, discordiis aut dissidiis, algas Mollo dictas, in rivis sacrificent dicantque eos maris filios esse, mare vero universorum fluminum matrem existere. Pro colorum varietate algis varia nomina imponuntur, quâ causâ etiam diversis usibus adhibentur. *Algæ universis fere sacrificiis inferuntur.* Homines etiam reperiuntur vel hodie, qui tritam algam inani superstitione ducti, cum suâ Chicâ, potus genus est, perfundant commisceantque. Fuerunt etiam Indi qui in hoc conducebantur, ut profluentis, rivisque et canalibus civitates pagos et oppida ac Charcas sive agros permeantibus, sacrificia facerent; quæ sationis tempore præcipuè fiebant, ne flumina deficerent aut

* This seems a kind of Levitical institution.

† We are informed by Ezekiel, in the first verse of the fourth chapter of his Book of Prophecies, that he was commanded by God to pourtray Jerusalem upon a tile, as a type: "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem: and lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering rams against it round about." The Jews might hence have attached importance to types *painted* on bricks or stones, as indicating the vicissitudes of war. And if we consider the nature of the Peruvian emblems mentioned by Acosta, we shall find that they each consisted of the figure of some animal, which was either formidable in itself to an adversary, or supposed to be capable of directing some unfortunate influence against the foe.

‡ This is quite a Jewish ejaculation, and it sometimes occurs in the Psalms. The chosen people of God, whether their wars were just or unjust, always fanatically demanded victory from Heaven; absurdly informing God that his honour was compromised by their quarrels with their neighbours.

§ This reminds us of the then popular charge of witchcraft which Richard the Third brought against Jane Shore,—that she had his image in wax, which she gradually melted before a slow fire, pronouncing these words: "In the same way as this waxen figure melts, so may the king's strength gradually waste away!" With respect to omens of success in battle taken from preconcerted signals, it is probable that the Jews were inclined to place much reliance upon them, ever since the period when, accordingly as Moses lifted up or let fall his arms, victory declared itself in favour of the Jews or the Amalekites, as recorded in the eleventh verse of the seventeenth chapter of Exodus.

|| How impious must it be in any nation to call its own enemies the enemies of God! The arrogance of that king who drew down on himself the displeasure of the gods, and was punished in the regions below for attempting to counterfeit the lightning of heaven and the thunders of Olympus, fell far short of this presumption.

terram rigare desinerent. Pro sacrificiis his obeundis, harioli seu magi sortes mittebant*, quo facto, a communione plebis omnia ea quæ sacrificio offerenda erant, colligebantur, et ei qui laborem hunc præstaturus erat, offerebantur. Horum sacrificiorum tempus, initium hyemis erat, quo flumina aliàs ex se augescere et exundare sueverunt, quem tamen effectum cæcæ gentes suis oblationibus assignabant. Fluminibus et rivis desertorum locorum nihil sacrificii offerebant. Prisca vero illa scatebris rivis et fluminibus oppida agrosque alluentibus, sacrificandi consuetudo, vel dum hodie apud nonnullorum animos viget. Fontes tamen et flumina desertorum non omnimodo aspernantur; sed si quo fors loco, duo flumina sibi aut occurrunt, aut invicem permiscentur, ibi singulari devotione eadem venerantur, et haustis undis se lavant, ad nonnullorum morborum sanationem impetrandam; ante lotionem tamen farinâ ex maiis et rebus aliis se illinunt, et ritus peculiares edunt, quod ipsum quoque similiter in balneis præstant." Cap. xviii. "Ex rebus omnium nocentissimis et flagitiosissimis, ad quarum patrationem Sathanas infelix Indorum genus illexit, crudelissima certè et immanissima fuit mactatio hominum, quos ad sui similitudinem rerum universarum conditor Deus initio creavit, ut ejus majestate et præstantiâ præ animalibus cæteris perfruerentur. Multis populis is mos fuit, ut qui e servis dominis suis operas omnium fidissimas præstitissent, iisque charissimi fuissent, cum defunctis heris occiderentur, quo similes illis operas in seculo etiam altero præstarent, velut superius prolixius dictum est. Peruani autem, cum fidis servis ac ministris proprios quoque liberos a quatuor ad decem annos natos, sacrificii loco mactatos, offerebant; quod Ingarum plerumque in gratiam fiebat, quoties aut pejus haberent, aut in bellum ituri essent. Si Ingæ novo nodo filamentoso, id signum regiæ est potestatis non secus ac apud nos sceptrum ac corona, offeretur, liberorum ab annis 4 ad 10 usque, ducentos circiter, unà mactabant; quod spectaculum horrendissimum erat. Sacrificandi illi primò fœdè jugulabantur, quorum deinde corpora truci aspectu et ritu terrâ obruebantur. Solebant aliis temporibus liberos decollare, et ipsorum cruore faciem propriam polluere. Nonnunquam et virgines sacrificabant, ex iis quas ex monasteriis ad Ingam deduci solitas superius recensuimus. Quorum sacrificiorum impostura nocentissima simul et crudelissima extabat. Quoties enim vel ex primoribus vel inferioribus ac privatis etiam viris, quis ægrius habens, a mago suo intelligebat, fatum sibi ineluctabile omnino impendere, tum suos illico filios ac filias Viracochæ immolabat, ac precabatur ut hâc victimâ contentus, patrem cæsorum superstitem servaret. Hujusmodi immanitatis sacra quoque Scriptura meminit, dum ait regem Moab primogenitum filium suum super muros in ipso populi Israëlitici conspectu immolasse; quo facto horrendo illi eo usque incanduerint, ut deserto sacrilego loco, ad terras suas reversi sint. Quin et in Sacris legimus sacrificia hujusmodi quoque apud nationes barbaras ut Cananæos, Jebusitas, et cæteras, solemnes fuisse; sicut de his Liber Sapientiæ expressè testatur, dum inquit: 'Et non suffecerat errasse eos circa Dei scientiam; sed et in magno viventes inscientiæ bello, tot et tam magna mala pacem appellant. Aut enim filios suos sacrificantes, aut obscura sacrificia facientes, aut insaniæ plenas vigilias habentes, neque vitam neque nuptias mundas nunc custodiunt; sed et alius alium per invidiam occidit, aut adulterans contristat, et omnia commista sunt, sanguis, homicidium, furtum, et fictio, corruptio et infidelitas, turbatio et perjurium, tumultus bonorum, Dei immemoratio, animarum inquinatio, *nativitatis immutatio* †, nuptiarum inconstantia, inordinatio mœchiæ et impudicitiæ. Infandorum enim idolorum cultura omnis

* The custom of casting lots was so common amongst the Jews, that it is almost impossible not to believe that they were gamesters at patol or dice, especially as gaming was not forbidden by the Mosaic law although it was punishable by the Mexican code.

† *Nativitatis immutatio* was the fraudulent insertion or erasion of names from the genealogical rolls in which the Jews were obliged to register their nativities. These kind of rolls are mentioned in the following verse of the second chapter of the Book of Ezra: "These sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood." From this passage it is evident that the "nativitatis immutatio," which is erroneously translated in our English version of the Bible "*a changing of kind*," was calculated seriously to affect the interests of the most powerful order in the Jewish commonwealth,—that of the priests. And hence no doubt it is here noticed as a crime of the greatest magnitude; although it was one not more known, except amongst the Jews, than forgery of bank-notes would be in a country where neither banks nor a paper currency had been established. It is evident, and indeed the context clearly points it out, that the Book of Wisdom is not here treating of the depraved manners of the Canaanites or of the Jebusites, but of those of the Jews themselves. Although Acosta skilfully dissembles the fact, why should remote posterity deem it to be a duty devolving upon them to palliate the atrocities of the Hebrew nation? Or may we not with greater reason demand a solution of the deeper mystery, How could such a people have ever become the chosen people of God? Their annals are merely a long tissue of crime; and the whole is wound up by the alleged commission of a deed which shocks Reason, although it must not stagger Faith. The Son of God comes into the world, and they crucify him: man the creature becoming in this manner the murderer of God the creator; and the Jews, the favourites of Heaven, the readiest instruments in the hands of Satan likewise!

mali causa est, et initium, et finis.' Hæc tanta sapiens de istâ gente. Sed et propheta regius David acerbè conqueritur, quod filii Israël a barbaris istis hæc flagitia tam avidè hauserint, ut filios ac filias proprias dæmoni immolarint; cujusmodi tamen victimas Deus nec unquam postulârit, nec probârit, ut qui vitæ non destructor sed dator sit, et in hominum usus universa alia condiderit; unde Deo minimè res grata præstatur, si in culturam ejus homo hominem jugulat ac offert. Et licet Jehova quidem exquisitam illam Abraham obedientiam in unico immolando filio Isaac, apprimè collaudârit, ut tamen ipsum factum Abraham designaret non permisit. Ex quibus jam sole clarius execranda Sathanæ prævaricatio elucet, qui Deum æmulaturus, se non saltem adorari patitur verùm etiam hominum immolationibus et innocentis sanguinis tot profusionibus factis, in sinu suo gaudet, et his flagitiis disseminatis, tum animas tum hominum corpora in exitium æternum conjicit. Hæc illa rabies et irreconciliabilis inimicitia est, quam adversus universum genus humanum impostor pessimus alit fovetque." Cap. xix. "Etsi Mexicani quidem non æquè ac Peruenses liberos suos immolare sueverint, (nam de Mexicanis id a nullo historico proditum scimus,) nihilominus tamen propter cæsorum et mactatorum aliorum hominum infinitam multitudinem, inauditâ et enormi sævitiâ ac crudelitate non Peruenses solum, sed omnes universi orbis populos ac gentes, multis parasangis, quod aiunt, anteverterunt. Qui quidem populus quantopere astutiâ et tyrannide stygii cacodæmonis excæcatus et infatuatus fuerit, ex iis ritibus pius lector abundè colliget, quos prout servarunt jam ex ordine enarraturi sumus. Primum autem homines quos immolabant, *in bellis captos esse** oportebat. Quod si sclavi captivi deessent, solenne suum sacrificium suspen-

* Who were devoted victims, as it would appear. The custom of sacrificing prisoners taken in war introduced in course of time the more cruel custom of sacrificing, when the former could not be procured, slaves purchased for money. The Mexican laws enacted under severe penalties, that no slaves should be sold for sacrifice, except their masters could prove before a competent number of witnesses that they had been guilty of the greatest delinquencies against them; such as running away a certain number of times, committing a certain number of robberies, violating the chastity of any of the female portion of their families, or certain other acts mentioned by Torquemada. But it would appear that the Mexican merchants and jewellers were not always so scrupulous as to the manner in which they obtained slaves for sacrifice, as they sometimes kidnapped them in the enemy's country, and sacrificed them at the festivals which they celebrated in honour of Totec, and afterwards clothed themselves in the skins of the victims. It is probable, however, that the slaves which they sacrificed were generally guilty of robbery; since Torquemada observes, as a reason for this excessive cruelty of the Mexican merchants, that the property which they possessed consisting of gold and gems, and being of a nature so likely to tempt the dishonest, they sought by these bloody sacrifices to deter thieves from plundering them of any portion of it. Avarice, then, seems to have led to this revolting barbarity. It deserves to be remarked, that as amongst the Jews certain cities were appointed as cities of refuge to which criminals might fly, and escape the punishment of the laws,—so amongst the Mexicans, and amongst most of the other Indian states, there were appointed places of refuge to which culprits might fly, and claim the rights of sanctuary. But that murderers could avail themselves of this privilege, as anciently was the case in Christendom, is neither probable nor asserted by any Spanish historian. The places of refuge amongst the Indians were the palaces of their kings, named by the Mexicans *tecpan;* and wherever there was a palace, there it may be supposed was a city of refuge likewise. But it may also be imagined, although it is not so expressly stated by Spanish writers, that the Mexican *teocalli*, especially the greater temple of Mexico, were places of refuge; and that the *city of Chollula* was a city of refuge.—In confirmation of some of the facts above stated, we shall here annex an extract from the fourteenth book of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy, which gives an interesting description of the various kinds of slavery customary amongst the Indians:—

"La manera, que estos Indios tenian de hacer Esclavos, era mui diferente de las Naciones de Europa, y otras partes del Mundo, y fue cosa mui dificultosa à los principios de su conversion, acabarla de entender; pero sacada en limpio (en especial segun se acostumbraba, en Mexico, y Tetzcuco; porque en otras Provincias, que no estaban sujetas à estos Reinos, havia otras maneras de hacer Esclavos) decimos, que les faltaban muchas condiciones en esta materia, para hacerlos Esclavos propriamente; porque estos Esclavos de esta Nueva-España, algunos tenian Peculio, adquirian, y poseìan proprios, y no podian ser vendidos, sino con las condiciones, que luego diremos: El Servicio, que hacian à sus Amos, *era limitado, y no siempre,* ni ordinario; y unos, que servian por Esclavos, casandose, *ò haviendo servido algunos Años,* ò queriendose casar, *salian de la servidumbre,* y entraban otros sus Hermanos, ò Deudos, en su lugar. Tambien havia Esclavos habiles, y diligentes, que demàs de servir à sus Amos, mantenian casa, con Muger, y Hijos, y compraban Esclavos, y los tenian, y se servian de ellos: *los Hijos de los Esclavos nacian libres.* Todas estas condiciones, ò las mas, faltan à los que *las Leies dàn por Siervos,* y Esclavos. Estas maneras de hacerse Esclavos *pasaban delante de Testigos, Personas de anciana edad,* los quales se ponian de la una, y otra parte, para que fuesen como terceros, y entendiesen en el precio, y fuesen Testigos del conchavo, y estos havian de ser no menos, que quatro, y de aqui arriba, y siempre se juntaban muchos à este concierto, como à cosa, que la tenian por solemne; una de estas Ventas es la que se sigue.

"Havia algunos Hombres, que se daban al vicio de jugar, à la Pelota, ò al Juego, que llaman Patolli (como dejamos dicho) y puestos en necesidad estos Jugadores, deseosos de continuar el Juego, vendianse, y hacianse Esclavos, y el mas comun precio, porque se vendian, era veinte Mantas, que es una carga de ropa, que llaman Cenanquimilli, aunque unas son maiores, que otras, y asi son de mas, ò menos precio, y asi se daban de unas, ù de otras, conforme era la disposicion, y Persona del que se vendia por Esclavo. Havia tambien Mugeres, que se daban à vivir suelta, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban, en la Vida de Amores, que traìan, y por sustentar la biçarria,

debant. Quare veterum morem aut sensum secuti quidem videntur, qui, ut autores testantur, victimas a victis deducebant, ut et hostias ab hoste, quasi sacrificium oblatio hostis sit. Nunc tamen id vocabulum in genere omnibus sacrificiis accommodatur. Porro ne ullo unquam tempore captivi deessent, perpetuis invicem bellis digladiabantur. Hinc fiebat ut omni studio vivi vivos captare laborarent, quo pro sacrificiis hostiæ suppeterent. Hanc ex cæteris causam Moteçuma ad Marchionem de Valle prætendit; qui cum rogasset quî fieret, ut cum tantâ potentiâ auctus, plurima sibi regna subjugarit, soli provinciæ Tlascalæ edomandæ non incumberet, cum ejus tamen

que usaban, llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y hacianse Esclavas; porque las que se daban à este vicio, en Tiempo de su Gentilidad, no era con interès de paga, sino solo con bestial apetito de sensualidad. Estas dos maneras de Esclavos, primero goçaban de su precio, que commençasen à servir; en el Tiempo pocas veces pasaban de Año, porque en èl, ò poco despues se les acababa la ropa, y acabada, entraban sirviendo: estos Esclavos bien vituperables son, pues servian el precio de su maldad, y bellaqueria. Quando algun Niño se perdia, luego lo pregonaban, y buscaban por todas partes à su Padre, ò Madre, ò Persona, que supiese de èl, y le conociese; y si alguno lo escondia, ò iba à vender, ò de industria lo hurtaba, y lo vendia en otro Pueblo, quando se sabìa, prendian al Ladron, y hacianlo Esclavo, por haver vendido al Niño, que no lo era. Los Parientes del traidor à su Señor, ò à su Republica, que supieron de la traicion, y no la descubrieron, ni manifestaron, hacianlos Esclavos, y al traidor le daban la muerte, que en otra parte dejamos dicho. Al que hurtaba en cantidad, hurto notable, ò tenia mucha frequentacion, y uso de hurtar, hacianle Esclavo; y si despues de hecho Esclavo tornaba al vicio, ahorcabanle. Quando dos se concertaban, para ir à hurtar Maiz de una troxe, ò panera, era fuerça, que el uno de ellos havia de subir à sacarlo (porque son estas troxes como mui grandes tinajas, con sus bocas en lo alto de ellas, y el que ha de sacar lo que està dentro, ha de subir arriba) pues el Ladron, que queria hurtar de este Pan encerrado, no podia solo, por la dificultad del subir, y dàr luego desde arriba, lo que queria sacar del granero, por esto se acompañava; y si eran cogidos en el hurto, prendianlos, y averiguaban qual de los dos havia subido arriba, y à este vendian, y al otro castigaban con otras penas menos rigurosas; porque era sospecha de la Lei, que el que subiò à hacer el hurto, fue el que lo solicitò, pues se puso à maior riesgo, y mas trabajo, y como à solicitador, que se presumia que era, dàbanle maior castigo. Al que hurtaba pequeños hurtos, si no eran mui frequentados, con pagar lo que hurtaba hacia pago; y si no tenia de que pagar, una, y dos veces, los Parientes se juntaban, y repartian entre sì el valor del hurto, y pagaban por èl, diez, y doce Mantas, y desde arriba; ni es de creer, que hacian Esclavo por quarenta, ni cinquenta maçorcas de Maiz, ni por otra cosa de mas precio, si èl tenia de que pagar, ò los Parientes; asi lo afirmaron los de Tetzcuco (como lo dice el Padre Frai Toribio Motolinia) y à las Personas, que no llegaban à edad de diez Años, perdonabanles los hurtos, y delitos, que cometian, porque los juzgaban por inocentes, y por menores de edad.

"En hurtando alguna cosa de mucho precio, asi como Joias de Oro, ò Mantas ricas, en cantidad, luego ponian suma diligencia, en buscarlo por los Mercados, y avisaban à las Guardas, que siempre residian en la Plaça, que llaman Tianguez; y el primero que daba con el hurto, y asia al Ladron, se lo daban, por Esclavo, aunque huviese tambien hurtado à otros, y por esta causa casi siempre compraban, y vendian en el Tianguez, ò Mercado; porque tenian por sospechoso, al que fuera de alli vendia, y en el Mercado havia mucha guarda, y aviso sobre los Ladrones. *Tienen, y tenian en los mismos Mercados sus Portales, y Saletas abiertas,* que miran al Tianguez, donde se albergaban los Tratantes, y Pasageros, y tambien para guarecerse del Agua, quando llueve; y como en el Mercado, entre otras muchas cosas, se vendian cosas de comer, y se venden, y quedan algunos relieves de ellas, de que luego à la noche hacen su plato, y cena los perros: acostumbraban las Guardas del Tianquizco, y à las veces otros muchachos, quando sentian ser hora de que los Perrillos estaban dentro, ponian unas redes en las calles, que salen al Mercado, para caçarlos en ellas. Sucediò, pues, que una vez estando las redes puestas en el Mercado, ò Tianguez de Tetzcuco, entre los que estaban albergados en los Portales, levantòse un Indio, y hurtò la manta à otro, dejandolo descubierto; pero por mui sutil, y ligeramente, que hiço el lance, despertò el desnudo, y el Ladron huiò, y el desnudo fue tras de èl, dando voces, y como el malhechor iba turbado, qualquier paso le parecia corto, y llegando à desembocar por una de las calles, que salen de la Plaça, caiò en la red, que estaba tendida, para los Perros, y alli enredado le prendieron, *verificandose en èl lo que dice el Profeta Isaìas:* El temor, y el laço fue sobre ti, que eres habitador, y morador de la Tierra, y estimas las cosas de ella, quiere decir, mas que en el honor propio: por las quales vienes à perderlo, y luego à la mañana lo llevaron à los Jueces; los quales le condenaron por Esclavo, diciendo, que sus pecados eran grandes, pues le havian metido en la red de los Perros; y este fue hecho Esclavo, por la circunstancia de haverse enredado, y parecer caso particular.

"Algunos pobres, que tenian Hijos, en especial los Viejos, ò en tiempo de mucha necesidad trataban Marido, y Muger, de remediar su necesidad, y pobreça, y concertabanse de vender un Hijo, y llamados, los terceros (que eran como corredores de lonja) y testigos, vendianlo; y acontecia muchas veces, que haviendo servido aquel Hijo algunos Años, pareciales, que era bien repartir el trabajo, y daban al Señor otro de sus Hijos, y sacaban de servidumbre al primero, y no solo holgaba de ello el Amo, mas daba, por el que entraba de nuevo en su servicio, otras tres, ò quatro Mantas, ò cargas de Maìz; y esto estaba asi, en costumbre. Havia algunos holgaçanes, que tenian poco mas cuidado, que andarse comiendo, y bebiendo, y como les faltaba, vendianse, y goçaban de su precio, y luego que lo acababan de comer, y de beber, començaban à servir à sus Amos; y esto que se dice de los Hombres, se ha de entender tambien de las Mugeres."

"Otra manera de hacer Esclavos tuvieron estas Gentes, los quales llamaron Huehuetlatlacoli, que quiere decir: Culpa, ò servidumbre antigua, y era este el modo. Si una casa, ò dos se veìan, en necesidad de hambre, vendian un Hijo, y obligabanse todos à tener siempre aquel Esclavo vivo, que aunque muriese el que señalaban havian de suplir su servidumbre con otro, salvo si el que actualmente servia, moria en la misma casa de su Amo, ò le tomaba algo de lo que adquiria; por lo qual, ni el Amo le tomaba, lo que el Esclavo tenia, ni queria que habitase en su casa, mas de que le llamaban, para que entendiese, en la Hacienda de su Amo, como era, en aiudar à labrar,

occupatio facilis videretur, responsum a Motecumâ accepit, ejus rei causas geminas esse, unam, quod juventus Mexicana perpetuis exercitiis et laboribus viresceret, nec torpore et ignaviâ perderetur, alteram, quod captivorum ac sclavorum quantis ad sacrificia opus esset, satis inde acciperet. Sacrificiorum hæc norma erat. Mactandi in supremam aream capitum mortuorum (de his superius nonnihil percensuimus) ducebantur, ubi suâ serie dispositi

sembrar, y coger las sementeras, y algunas veces traìa Leña, y barria; y quando aquel que havian señalado havia ia servido algunos Años, queriendo descansar, ò casarse, decia à los otros, que juntamente, con èl estaban obligados, y havian goçado del mismo precio, que entrase otro à servir algun tiempo; pero no por esto se libraba de la obligacion, ni la Muger, que con èl se casaba; mas los que de primero se havian obligado, con ellos contraìan aquella misma obligacion, con sus descendientes; y de esta manera solian estàr obligados los de quatro, y cinco casas, por un Esclavo à un Amo, y à sus Herederos. El Año de mil y quinientos y cinco, que fue de mucha hambre, el Rei de Tetzcuco, llamado Neçahualpilli, viendo el abuso de la mala Lei; y porque con la hambre que huvo no se acrecentase mas, anulò, y cancelò la dicha Lei, y libertò las casas, que estaban obligadas, que fue una mui provechosa, y necesaria libertad, para el Reino; y cree el Padre Frai Toribio, que viendo lo que à cerca de esto havia pasado, en Tetzcuco, hiço Motecuhçuma, lo mismo en esta su Ciudad de Mexico, y que lo mismo corriò, por otras partes del Imperio, quitando de las cervices de sus moradores, tan cargoso, y pesado lugo, libertando estos Esclavos, que nacieron libres, y la necesidad los havia hecho Esclavos. Havia algunos Esclavos mañosos, y astutos, que por tener para jugar, ò comer, se solian vender dos veces, y estos eran llevados ante la Justicia, y mandaban los Jueces, que este Esclavo sirviese al que se havia vendido delante de testigos, y con obligacion publica; y si ambas veces havia pasado la venta juridicamente, y como la Lei daba el permiso, daban el Esclavo al primer Amo, y perdia su servicio, y precio el segundo, por quanto el Esclavo, no tenia de que pagar, y la primera venta havia sido la valedera.

" *Los Hijos del Esclavo eran libres, y lo mismo eran los de la Esclava, como uno de ellos fuese libre; y lo que es mas, que los Hijos de Esclavo, y Esclava, eran tambien libres.* Algunos quisieron decir, que si un libre tenia acceso à alguna Esclava, y quedaba preñada de la copula, era Esclavo el Varon que cometiò acto con Esclava, y servia al Señor de la Esclava; pero esto no fue asi, segun confesion de los mismos Indios Sabios, que sabian sus Leies, y las practicaban. Asimismo huvo quien quiso decir, que quando alguno tomaba Mantas fiadas de algun Mercader, ò otra cosa, de equivalente valor, y precio, y moria, sin haver pagado, que el Mercader de su propia autoridad hacia Esclava à la Muger del Difunto, por la deuda, que havia quedado debiendo; y si el Difunto havia dejado Hijo, al Hijo hacia Esclavo, y no à la Madre. Lo que io sè decir en este caso, es, que los Indios no hicieron tal, en su gentilidad; *pero los Españoles, y Castellanos que oi viven en el Christianismo,* en especial obrajeros, y aun algunos labradores, quando se les muere el Indio de su obraje, ò labrança, ò de otro qualquier servicio, que les hacen, y les deben algun dinero, aunque sea mui poco; llevan la Muger, y Hijos à su casa, para que desquiten lo que el Marido, ò Padre, quedò debiendo, y muchas veces es dinero, que el Difunto recibiò, para beber, y emborracharse, *y por fuerça, para solo tenerlos toda la vida por Esclavos; y de estos casos he visto muchos, en las Guardianias donde he estado,* y he dado cuenta de ellos à los Señores Virreies, y no sè si se han podido remediar, por ser infieles los executores, haviendo de ser mui fieles, pues este es su nombre de el que debe de hacer justicia, por obligacion precisa, que para ello tiene. Dios lo remedie, porque las cosas de las Indias no tienen remedio Humano, por estar tan apartadas de los ojos de su Rei, que aunque pone los medios de el remedio, nunca llegan à bien executarse. Lo que en este caso havia, dijeron los viejos de Tetzcuco, que lo sabian mui bien, porque algunos de ellos havian sido Jueces antes de las Guerras, y entrada de nuestros Españoles, y sabian mui bien las Leies, por donde se regian, que pasaba de esta manera: Que si alguno tomaba fiado algo, y no tenia de que pagar, una, y dos veces, los Parientes se aiuntaban, y repartian entre sì la deuda, y lo libraban de la carcel, y de la deuda, que debia; y si era Difunto, el Acreedor se entregaba en los Bienes, ò Heredades, si acaso las havia dejado, ò en otras cosas, asi como muebles, ò raìces de casas, y otras semejantes; pero no se hacia jamàs entrega de persona que le tocase, asi de Muger, como de Hijos.

" Los Esclavos, de màs de servir à sus Amos (como el servicio, que les hacian, no era ordinario) adquirian bienes para sì, hasta casarse, y mantener casa, y comprar otro Esclavo, que le servia; y asi huvo algunos, que tuvieron Esclavos, en su servicio, siendo ellos Esclavos; y dice el Padre Frai Toribio, que debiò de saber esto aquel Negro, que escriviò de esta Nueva-Españа à otro su Amigo à la Isla Española, tambien Negro, y Esclavo, cuias palabras eran estas: Amigo, Fulano, esta es buena Tierra para Esclavos, aqui Negro tiene buena comida, aqui Negro tiene Esclavo, que sirve à Negro, y el Esclavo del Negro tiene Navorio, que quiere decir: Moço, ò criado, por eso trabaja, que tu amo te venda, para que vengas à esta Tierra, que es la mejor del Mundo para Negros: y no dijo mal, porque tambien se tratan muchos de ellos, como mui honrados Españoles; y los mas çafios de quantos hai, y mas deshechados mandan à los Indios, y los cargan, como si fueran los Virreies de la Tierra. Si los Esclavos eran muchachos, ò pobres, estabanse en casa, con sus Amos, los quales los trataban, como si fueran Hijos, y asi los vestian, y les daban de comer, como à tales, *y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias,* y lo mismo hacian las Mugeres, que contraìan con sus Esclavos, muertos sus Maridos; y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Maiordomos.

" A los Esclavos, que salian malcriados, pereçosos, fugitivos, y viciosos, amonestabanles los Amos, dos, ò tres veces, y para maior justificacion suia, hacian esta amonestacion, *delante de testigos;* y si todavia permanecian incorregibles, hechabanles la collera, que usaban, que es una media Argolla de palo, y puesta en la garganta salia, por detràs encima de las espaldas, con dos agujeros, y por los agujeros atravesada una vara larga, con que quedaba presa la garganta, y à la vara juntaban otra vara, por defuera de los agujeros, y ambas à dos las ataban, una con otra, y la atadura llegaba à las puntas, ò estremidades de las varas, donde no podia alcançar con las manos, ni podia desatarse; y asi los llevaban, por los caminos, y à las veces les hechaban una trailla de cordel, con que los llevaban atraillados; y porque de noche no se desatasen, ò cortasen la ligadura del cordel, atabanles las manos, una sobre otra. Despues que hechaban collera al Esclavo, lo podian vender en qualquier Mercado, ò Tianguez; y si de la primera, ò segunda venta, no se enmendaban (porque quando le

firmâ custodiâ diligenter servabantur. Paulo post sacerdos quidam prodibat amiculo cinctus, cujus extremitas *continuis floccis* innexa erat. Is ab editiore templi loco descendens, imaginem seu idolum ex farinâ maiis cum melle subactâ formatum manibus gerebat. Idoli oculi ex viridi corallio, dentes vero ex granis maiis constabant. Quâ summâ vero festinatione sacerdos poterat, per gradus decurrebat; ibi in mediâ areâ grandem lapidem theatri

mercaban, preguntaba el comprador, quantas veces havia sido vendido) si todavia perseveraba en su inquietud, y travesuras, por tres, ò quatro veces, le podian vender, para el Sacrificio, aunque *este Sacrificio acontecia pocas veces; porque todos los que se sacrificaban, eran havidos en Guerra.* Quando el Esclavo traìa una collera, tenia un remedio para libertarse, *y era, que si se podia escapar de su Amo, y acogerse al Palacio Real, y Casa de los Reies, en entrando dentro era libre,* y nadie le podia impedir la entrada, ni bolverlo del camino, que llevaba, sino eran sus Amos, y Hijos de su Señor; y qualquiera otro, que le hechaba mano, ò pretendia estorvarle la entrada en el Palacio era hecho Esclavo; porque pretendia privarle de aquella ventura, de quedar libre; y por el mismo caso lo quedaba el Esclavo. Quando alguno tenia Esclavo, y se veìa en necesidad, no por eso lo vendia; pero deciale: Ià vès la necesidad, en que estoi; y asi conviene, que trabajes, y procures de aiudarme, para que salga de ella; hacialo asi el Esclavo, y començaba à ir à los Tianguez, ò Mercados, cargandose de lo que valia poco precio, y llevabalo à vender à otra parte donde tenia mas precio, y de alli bolvia cargado de lo que en su Tierra era de mas valor, y de esta manera hacia principio su caudal; y quando crecia, en algun buen numero, empleabalo en cosas maiores, y asi crecia la ganancia, y con este su trabajo, è industria remediaba la necesidad, y pobreça de su Amo. Tambien acostumbraban estos Señores de Esclavos, dejarlos libres, y horros à su muerte, por causas que para ello declaraban; y si esto no hacian, quedaban los Esclavos à sus Herederos, como los demàs bienes, que tenia."

We shall only further remark, in addition to this long extract, that slavery of every description was tolerated amongst the Jews. The Nethinims were their hereditary slaves, who, being Gibeonites and of the number of those nations doomed by them to destruction, saved their lives by practising a fraud on Joshua, as is recorded in the ninth chapter of his book, who formally, in the twenty-third verse of the same chapter, pronounced the sentence of perpetual slavery against them: "Now therefore, ye are cursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and *hewers of wood* and drawers of water for the house of my God." They are again mentioned in the ninth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles: "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold, they were written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, who were carried away to Babylon for their transgression. Now the first inhabitants, that dwelt in their possessions in their cities were, the Israelites, the priests, Levites, and the Nethinims." From this passage it may be inferred that the Hebrew nation consisted at that early period of three distinct orders, viz. the priests, the populace, and their slaves. Another class of slaves existing among the Jews were those properly designated Hebrew slaves: these were their own countrymen; and their slavery was not, except in some cases, perpetual, since their masters were obliged at the expiration of a certain number of years to release them. Their treatment of them was also regulated by the following express laws contained in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus and in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus; whilst their conduct towards their other slaves seems to have been little restricted by the laws of the Pentateuch: "Now these are the judgments which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: *then his master shall bring him unto the judges;* he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall *bore his ear* through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever. And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do. If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her. And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he take him another wife; her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money."—"And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant: but as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee. And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bond-men. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but shalt fear thy God. Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; *of them shall ye buy* bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession: and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men *for ever:* but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour." Slavery amongst the Jews was, however, of more ancient date than their first occupation of the land of Canaan; since even before they entered Egypt, where they dwelt for above three hundred years, it is recorded of Abraham in the sixteenth chapter of Genesis, that his wife Sarai having no children of her own, gave him her bond-woman Hagar the Egyptian as a concubine, whom both then and at a subsequent period she seemed to have considered and treated in every respect as a slave, although the Jews had not at that time any particular reason for entertaining enmity or aversion to the Egyptians. But a more convincing proof of the antiquity of the custom of selling if not of buying slaves amongst the Hebrew nation, is afforded in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis, which thus records the criminal conduct of the Jewish patriarchs in selling their brother Joseph to the Ishmaelites,—equally so both as regarded their old father, whose favourite he was, as well as the unfortunate object himself of their unjust envy. "And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him. And they said

specie positum, ascendebat, qui Quauxicalli, id est lapis aquilaris, vocabatur. Ex hoc theatro scalas aliquot ibi vicinas scansim ascendebat, e quibus tamen brevi iterum desultans, alias in latere positas exsuperabat, firmis manibus suum idolum continuò gestans. Posteà ad locum illum itabat quo captivi consederant. Horum singulis a summo ad imum, idolum apporrigebat, dicens, Ecce, hic deus tuus. Re peractâ in altero latere per gradus quosdam se proripiebat. Jam ergò omnes et singuli qui pro victimis aderant, ad locum supplicio destinatum se conferebant, et morti præparabant, qui ex ordine quoque singulatim neci dabantur. Immolationis autem forma communissima illa erat, quod mactandorum, pectoribus diruptis, cor vivum extraherent. Ipsum cadaver cruore undiquaque madidum e gradibus templi deturbabatur. Sacrificium vero sex sacerdotes peragebant; horum binis mactandi manus, duobus aliis pedes, et quinto collum firmantibus, sextus pectus scissim dirumpebat, et cruentis manibus palpitans cor evellebat. Hoc munus qui obibat, Chachalmua, id est, rerum consecratarum minister, vocabatur; quod officium omnium dignissimum *solâ hæreditatis successione* in alios transferebatur, quo modo his in locis feudis posteri succedunt. Homicidii iste designator pro summo sacerdote ac Papâ habebatur, cui pro temporis et solennitatis conditione diversa nomina indebantur. Pro diversitate temporis, iidem ut nomen, sic vestes quoque permutabant. Ab officio Papæ vel Topilzni nuncupabantur. Vestis illius rubea fimbriæ vice in extremitate villis appendebatur. Capite coronam ex pulcherrimis ac flavescentibus pennis textam gerebat. Ex auribus annuli aurei gemmis ornati dependebant. Labiis versus mentum gemmæ quippiam simile insertum erat. Sacrifici sex qui hostiam mactabant, facies manusque atras et informes ostendebant, quorum quinque capillos floccis intorserant admodum crispis et intricatis. Medio capite tæniâ coriaccâ revincti spectabantur. In syncipite scuta exilia papyracea variis coloribus depicta suffixa gerebant. Vestes ex filo candido atroque contextæ variabantur. Hoc habitu ipsi cacodæmoni quâdam tenus similes, fœdis vultibus omnibus astantibus terrorem certissimum incutiebant. Summus sacerdos

one to another, Behold, this dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit: and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams. And Reuben heard it, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, Let us not kill him. And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, but cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again. And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stripped Joseph out of his coat, his coat of many colours, that was on him. And they took him, and cast him into a pit: and the pit was empty, there was no water in it. And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes, and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt. And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood? Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother, and our flesh: and his brethren were content. Then there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt. And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit: and he rent his clothes. And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child is not; and I, whither shall I go? And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood: and they sent the coat of many colours, and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no. And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces. And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted: and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him. And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's and captain of the guard." It is evident from this account, that ten out of the twelve patriarchs of the twelve tribes of Israel were implicated in the same degree of guilt, and in vain do we seek for arguments to urge in palliation of their conduct; they were all grown-up men, and had long before arrived at years of discretion: nor can it even be said that some of them from fear might have followed *the multitude to do evil,* since their two elder brothers (and primogeniture carried with it great weight amongst the Jews) felt some sentiments of commiseration for their younger brother, and for the affliction into which they knew that their father would be thrown on receiving the intelligence of his death; and they differed in opinion from the others, who proposed *to murder him, and to throw him into a pit.* Reuben indeed seems to have acted a proper part on the occasion; and his exclamation on not finding his brother in the pit, "The child is not; and I, whither shall I go?" proves that he was not devoid of every feeling of humanity. But what a scene of hypocrisy was afterwards acted by them all, when all his sons and daughters rose up to comfort their sorrowing father after having shown him the coat, dipped in the blood, which he believed to be his son's! How, after reading this history, can we feel or pretend to feel any reverence for the Jewish Patriarchs? Their moral characters were not only bad, but infamous; and to praise them would be to insult virtue. The Bible records many other crimes which at a subsequent period they committed; and *the evil report,*—true it cannot be doubted,—which before this time Joseph had brought to his father of them, was the cause of their originally hating him. Reuben alone is presented to us under favourable colours;—but how great must have been the enormity of which he afterwards became guilty, to have been deprived by his father of his birthright, and to have been cursed by him (endued moreover with a prophetic spirit, and therefore well acquainted with the vain attempt which he made to spare him the grief of being deprived of Joseph) on his death-bed, as is recorded in the fourth verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis!

magnum latum et acutissimum cultrum manibus librabat. Alius monile ligneum serpentis formâ excisum gestabat. Sex hi sacerdotes idolum suum prætergredientes, submissâ veneratione ingeniculabantur. Lapis in quem sontes illidebantur pyramidis formam habebat, et in opposito sacelli idoli jacebat. Huic tanta acuties erat, ut in illum illisus facili operâ totus diffinderetur. His omnibus sacerdotibus ex ordine stantibus, hi qui in bello capti pro victimis servabantur, magnâ populi frequentiâ adducebantur ad eum locum qui supplicio destinatus erat. Ducebantur verò nudi. Horum qui primus adstabat hinc pedibus, illinc manibus correptus, in acutum lapidem nudus illidebatur. Quo facto, dicto ocius, quintus annulum ligneum collo innectebat. Summus verò sacerdos mirâ agilitate cultro pectus discindebat, ex quo palpitans evulsum cor, ita ut fumabat soli veluti ostendens, obvertebat. A quo iterum conversus ad idolum, viscus in ejus faciem cruentum excutiebat. Ab eo cadaver per gradus subjectos devolvebat, qui saxo tam propinqui erant ut vix binorum pedum intervallum intercederet. Hoc ritu consequenter et alii mactabantur. Porrò in unum cumulum congestis cadaveribus, domini accedentes quem quisque in bello ceperat, auferebant, et ex carnibus coctis lautas epulas domi, et splendida convivia agitabant. Hoc modo qui unâ vice immolarentur, plerunque 40 aut 50 numerabantur. Nam ad hostes vivos capiendos Mexicani admodum agiles et expediti fuerant. Qui Mexicanis finitimi erant, hi magnâ ex parte tum eorum mores, tum leges et statuta, tum cultus alios æmulabantur." cap. xx. "Indorum peculiaris alia quoque ratio diebus festis sacrificandi fuerat, quam Racaxipe Veliztli, id est, hominum excorationem vocabant; ideò quod uni, vel pluribus sclavis quos ad id selegerant, corium detraherent. Hæc detractio a *peculiariter ordinatis et deputatis fiebat*. Si quis hoc munus obiisset, tum ostiatim per omnes plateas et fora civitatis circuibat, saltando et cantillando, nescio quid animi exprimens. Quos prehendebat, si quid erogare stipis cogebantur, tergiversantibus pellem cruentam in facies illidebat ut cruore diffluerent. Hoc ludicrum, quamdiu pellis integra esset, durabat. Quo tempore ita passim discurreret, stipis quam plurimum colligebat quæ idoli cultibus impendebatur. Hujus festi ea ratio erat, ut sacrificus cum hostiâ suâ seu homine mactando apertâ luctâ prius decerneret hoc modo; sclavo de saxo religato in manus gladium cum scuto indebant, qui si antagonistam sacrificum æquè armatum prostravisset, non saltem a victimæ sorte liber evadebat, sed ducis insuper et bellatoris titulum sortiebatur; quo nomine etiam deinde apud universos magni fiebat. Quod si verò in pugnâ succumberet, nullâ morâ super lapide isto ex quo revinctus erat, cædebatur et mactabatur. Porrò aliud quoque sacrificii genus colebant, ad quod sclavum quemdam seligebant qui idolum ipsum repræsentaret, et illud in omnibus vivus exprimeret; hoc pacto, sacerdotibus suis quotannis sclavum unum tradebant incolæ ut viva idoli imago nunquam deficeret. Provinciam ergo hanc initurus, sclavus probè primum lavabatur et mundabatur. Ita veluti initiato, habitum et insignia idoli, et ipsum illius nomen quoque conferebant, et integri anni decursu sclavum non minus ac idolum ipsum destinatis cultibus venerabantur. *Duodecim* ministris velut asseclis assiduo ne quo aufugeret, stipabatur. Si fors aufugisset, custodum primarius in ejus locum sufficiebatur qui idolum referret, et immolaretur. Sclavo hujusmodi conclave templi omnium ornatissimum et spectatissimum locabatur, in quo ageret, et cibum caperet, et huc ad eum subinde civitatis primates ingrediebantur honoris causâ, cibum ei ministrantes, et alia officia honoraria deferentes. Animi causâ fors aliquò per civitatem prodeambulaturum primatum magnus ponè numerus insequebatur. Is quam manibus gerebat fistulâ nonnunquam cantillabat in plateis, ut sui præsentis populis aliquod signum daret. Ad perceptum sonitum ex ædibus certatim effluebant tum viri, tum fœminæ ulnis infantes gestantes, quos ante pedes ejus deponebant, et divinâ veneratione per gentem prosequebantur. Idem et populus reliquus præstabat. Nocte in admodum firmam caveam ferream* illum includebant ne fugâ securus eluderet, et hoc usque ad festæ diei appulsum sedulo ita continuabant, quâ pro victimâ tandem sistebatur. Hoc et similibus dolis Sathanas fatuas gentes ludos fecerat. Eorum qui hujusmodi insaniâ ab Indis mactari solebant numerus tantus erat, ut tuto pronunciari vix possit. Nam pro compertissimo narratur aliquoties ultra 5000 homines mactatos et immolatos fuisse. Ad quam infandam crudelitatem confidentius patrandam cacodæmon superstitiosos homines hâc ferè astutiâ inescabat. Si commodum videbatur, Sathanas sacerdotibus persuadebat ut regulis significarent parum abesse, quin dii jam fame et inediâ conficerentur, et taberent; facerent ergò quod ad rem conferret. His fatui reges incitati bellum confestim decernebant, et subditis suis ut indicto tempore armati confluerent, mandabant, deos enim suos jam victimas et alimenta poscere. Sed et per feciales missos hostibus suis bellum denunciabant, et denunciationi causam addebant. Ubi ergò præsentibus armis utrinque concursum est, pugnâ

* Since the Mexicans were unacquainted with iron, it is probable that the translator of the Spanish text of Acosta's History into Latin has here been guilty of some mistake.

commissâ nihil aliud moliebantur quam ut alter alterum vivum prehenderet. Nec tam se invicem cædere et prosternere, quam capere et ligare studebant, ut nimirum vivas pro diis victimas trophæis adducerent. Hoc loco et id sciendum est, Indos nullum quemquam regem creasse et coronasse, quin is prius aliquarum provinciarum victor factus fuisset, et captivorum plurimos ante se ad deorum sacrificia egisset. Eo pacto in honorem sacrilegi et teterrimi Sathanæ sanguinis humani inæstimabilem copiam assiduò profundebant."—Cap. xxi.

The reflection that human sacrifices were almost as common among the Jews at one period of their history as among the Mexicans and Peruvians, must give rise to grave considerations. Neither can we, in attempting to vindicate the chosen people of God, charge other nations with an equal degree of depravity in this respect; since, whatever might have been the sentiments of darker ages, enlightened men of the present day would smile with derision at those who should venture to assert that the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans, in any age offered human sacrifices in the manner recorded of the Jews by their own Prophets, whose accounts we cannot charge with exaggeration, because they were inspired; or imagine their words to have been misrepresented, because they are found in Holy Writ. Isaiah in the fifty-seventh chapter of his Book, addressing the Jews, says "But draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the seed of the adulterer and the whore. Against whom do ye sport yourselves? against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue? are ye not children of transgression, a seed of falsehood, inflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, *slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks?* Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering. Should I receive comfort in these? Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set thy bed: even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice." And Jeremiah in the second chapter of his Prophecies: "Why trimmest thou thy way to seek love? therefore hast *thou* also taught the wicked ones *thy* ways. *Also in thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor innocents:* I have not found it by secret search, but upon *all these*." And in the seventh chapter the same prophet cries, "Cut off thine hair, O Jerusalem, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation on high places; for the Lord hath rejected and forsaken the generation of his wrath. For the children of Judah have done evil in my sight, saith the Lord: they have set their abominations *in the house which is called by my name,* to pollute it. And *they* have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, *to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire;* which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart." And in the nineteenth chapter, wherein is declared the signification of the type of breaking the potter's vessel, we are informed by Jeremiah that Tophet, or the valley of Hinnom, which is mentioned in other parts of Scripture as a place famous for the celebration of human sacrifices, was close to the walls of Jerusalem. The high places which are alluded to could not have been natural hills or mounds of earth, as they are said to have been built: they had altars erected on a platform above, and were probably constructed on the same plan as the Mexican Teocalli. The passage referred to in Jeremiah is the following: "Thus saith the Lord, Go, and get a potter's earthen bottle, and take of the ancients of the people, and of the ancients of the priests; and go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate, and proclaim there the words that I shall tell thee; and say, Hear ye the word of the Lord, O kings of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem; Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle. Because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burnt incense in it unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have *filled* this place with *the blood* of innocents; they have built also the high places of Baal, *to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal,* which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind: Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that this place shall no more be called Tophet, nor, The valley of the son of Hinnom, but, The valley of slaughter." Ezekiel also, in many parts of his Prophecies, testifies as to the frequency of human sacrifices amongst the Jews, especially in his twentieth chapter: "Notwithstanding the children rebelled against me: they walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgments to do them, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; they polluted my sabbaths: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the *wilderness.* Nevertheless I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth. I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would scatter them among the heathen, and disperse them through the countries; because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had

polluted my sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols. *Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live;* and *I polluted them* in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that *I might make them desolate,* to the end that they might know that I am the Lord. Therefore, son of man, speak unto the house of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me. For when I had brought them into the land, for the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they presented the provocation of their offering: there also they made their sweet savour, and poured out there their drink-offerings. Then I said unto them, What is the high place whereunto ye go? And the name thereof is called Bamah unto *this* day. Wherefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, Are ye polluted after the manner of your fathers? and commit ye whoredom after their abominations? For when ye offer your gifts, *when ye make your sons to pass through the fire,* ye pollute yourselves with all your idols, even unto this day: and shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, saith the Lord God, I will not be inquired of by you. And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone. As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched-out arm, and with fury poured out, will I rule over you." In the twenty-second chapter of the same prophet we find these words with reference to Jerusalem: "Moreover the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Now, thou son of man, wilt thou judge, wilt thou judge *the bloody city?* yea, thou shalt shew her all her abominations. Then say thou, Thus saith the Lord God, *The city sheddeth blood in the midst of it,* that her time may come, and maketh idols against herself to defile herself. Thou art become guilty *in thy blood that thou hast shed;* and hast defiled thyself in thine idols which thou hast made; and thou hast caused thy days to draw near, and art come even unto thy years: therefore have I made thee a reproach unto the heathen, and a mocking to all countries. Those that be near, and those that be far from thee, shall mock thee, which art infamous and much vexed. Behold, *the princes* of Israel, *every one* were in thee *to their power* to shed *blood.*" And in the twenty-third chapter, Ezekiel reproves Israel and Judah under the simile of two sisters, named Aholah and Aholibah: "The Lord said moreover unto me, Son of man, wilt thou judge Aholah and Aholibah? yea, declare unto them their abominations; that they have committed adultery, and *blood is in their hands,* and with their idols have they committed adultery; and have also caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to pass *for them* through the fire, *to devour them.* Moreover, this they have done unto me: *they have defiled my sanctuary in the same day,* and have profaned my sabbaths. *For when they had slain their children to their idols,* then they came *the same day into my sanctuary* to profane it; and, lo, *thus have they done in the midst of mine house.* And, furthermore, that ye have sent for men to come from far, unto whom a messenger was sent; and, lo, they came: for whom thou didst wash thyself, *paintedst thy eyes,* and deckedst thyself with ornaments." It says in the twenty-first chapter of the Second Book of Kings: "Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign, and reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Hephzibah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel. For he *built up* again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them. And he built *altars* in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I put my name. And he built altars for all the host of heaven *in the two courts of the house of the Lord.* And he *made his son pass through the fire,* and *observed times,* and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger. And he set *a graven image of the grove* that he had made in the house, of which the Lord said to David, and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever. Neither will I make the feet of Israel move any more out of the land which I gave their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them. But they hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do more evil than did the nations whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel. And the Lord spake by his servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of Judah hath done these abominations, and hath done *wickedly above all that the Amorites did, which were before him,* and hath made Judah also to sin with his idols; therefore thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold, I am bringing such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of it, both his ears

shall tingle." The sins of the Amorites and the former inhabitants of the land of Canaan are enumerated in the twelfth chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, amongst which, that of eating human flesh is mentioned: "For it was thy will to destroy by the hands of our fathers, both those old inhabitants of thy holy land whom thou hatedst, for doing most odious works of witchcrafts and wicked sacrifices. And also, those merciless murderers of children, and *devourers of man's flesh,* and the feasts of blood with their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help. That the land which thou esteemedst above all other, might receive *a worthy colony* of God's children. Nevertheless, even those thou sparedst as men, and didst *send wasps**, forerunners of thine host, to destroy them by little and little." The Jews are also accused by the prophet Micah, in the third chapter of his book, of eating human flesh: "And I said, Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel; Is it not for you to know judgment? who hate the good, and love the evil; *who pluck off their skin from off them,* and their flesh from off their bones; *who also eat the flesh of my people* †, *and flay their skin from off them;* and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron." This address of Micah is to the princes of the house of Israel who were

* Xicotencatl and Xicochimalco were both Mexican proper names; the first of which signified "the wasp on the lip," and the other "the wasp on the shield."

† Voltaire, inclining to the opinion that cannibalism is a lesser crime than offering a human sacrifice to the Deity, appeals to the authority of Scripture to prove that the Jews were guilty of both these abominations. Some divines have declared this to be a gross calumny against the Jews, thereby betraying their own ignorance. The passage alluded to in the writings of Voltaire is the following: "Les Juifs en immolaient (des garçons et des filles) Cela s'appelait l'anathème; c'était un véritable sacrifice; et il est ordonné, au vingt-unième chapitre du Lévitique, de ne point épargner les âmes vivantes qu'on aura vouées; mais il ne leur est prescrit en aucun endroit d'en manger, on les en menace seulement. Moïse, comme nous avons vu, dit aux Juifs que, s'ils n'observent pas ses cérémonies, non-seulement ils auront la gale, mais que les mères mangeront leurs enfans. Il est vrai que, du temps d'Ezéchiel, les Juifs devaient être dans l'usage de manger de la chair humain; car il leur prédit, au chapitre xxxix., que Dieu leur fera manger non-seulement les chevaux de leurs ennemis, mais encore les cavaliers et les autres guerriers. Et en effet, pourquoi les Juifs n'auraient-ils pas été anthropophages? C'eût été la seule chose qui eût manqué au peuple de Dieu pour être le plus abominable peuple de la terre." A note added to the context assigns strong reasons in favour of the construction there put upon the words of Ezekiel: "Voici les raisons de ceux qui ont soutenu qu'Ezéchiel, en cet endroit, s'adresse aux Hebreux de son temps, aussi-bien qu'aux autres animaux carnassiers; car assurément les Juifs d'aujourd'hui ne le sont pas, et c'est plutôt l'inquisition qui a été carnassière envers eux. Ils disent qu'une partie de cette apostrophe regarde les bêtes sauvages, et que l'autre est pour les Juifs. La première partie est ainsi concue: 'Dis à tout ce qui court, à tous les oiseaux, à toutes les bêtes des champs: Assemblez-vous, hâtez-vous, courez à la victime que je vous immole, afin que vous mangiez la chair et que vous buviez le sang. Vous mangerez la chair des forts, vous boirez le sang des princes de la terre, et des beliers, et des agneaux, et des boucs, et des taureaux, et des volailles, et de tous les gras.' Ceci ne peut regarder que les oiseaux de proie et les bêtes feroces. Mais la seconde partie a paru adressée aux Hébreux mêmes: 'Vous vous rassasierez sur ma table du cheval et du fort cavalier, et de tous les guerriers, dit le Seigneur; et je mettrai ma gloire dans les nations, etc.' Il est très-certain que les rois de Babylone avaient des Scythes dans leurs armées. Ces Scythes buvaient du sang dans les crânes de leurs ennemis vaincus, et mangeaient leurs chevaux, et quelquefois de la chair humaine. Il se peut très-bien que le prophète ait fait allusion à cette contume barbare, et qu'il ait menacé les Scythes d'être traités comme ils traitaient leurs ennemis. Ce qui rend cette conjecture vraisemblable, c'est le mot de *table:* 'Vous mangerez à ma *table* le cheval et le cavalier.' Il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'on ait adressé ce discours aux animaux, et qu'on leur ait parlé de se mettre à table. Ce serait le seul endroit de l'Ecriture où l'on aurait employé une figure si étonnante. Le sens commun nous apprend qu'on ne doit point donner à un mot une acception, qui ne lui a jamais été donnée dans aucun livre. C'est une raison très-puissante pour justifier les écrivains qui ont cru les animaux désignés par les versets 17 et 18, et les Juifs désignés par les versets 19 et 20. De plus, ces mots, *je mettrai ma gloire dans les nations,* ne peuvent s'adresser qu'aux Juifs, et non pas aux oiseaux; cela parait decisif. Nous ne portons point notre jugement sur cette dispute, mais nous remarquons avec douleur qu'il n'y a jamais eu de plus horribles atrocités sur la terre, que dans la Syrie, pendant douze cents années presque consécutives." Another strong reason for attaching the sense in which they are here understood to the words of Ezekiel is, that Isaiah expressly says in the ninth chapter of his Prophecies, that the Jews *through the wrath of the Lord of hosts* should become cannibals. And the only doubt that can possibly arise, as to the precise meaning of the prediction of the latter prophet, is, whose flesh was to be eaten,—whether their own or that of their brethren; since "every man shall eat the flesh of his own arm" might mean, shall eat the flesh of his kindred, and of those who were of the same tribe. At any rate, those who began by eating the flesh of their own arms would be very likely to end by devouring the flesh of their enemies; which seems to be the real sense of the prophecy of Isaiah: since what signification otherwise can the next disjointed, and, in this case, mutilated sentence bear: "Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh?" It may be proper to cite the entire passage of Isaiah:—"Through the wrath of the Lord of hosts is the land darkened, and the people shall be as the fuel of the fire: no man shall spare his brother. And he shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry; and he shall eat on the left hand, and they shall not be satisfied: they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: and they together shall be against Judah. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still."

guilty of cannibalism. The heads of Jacob were the priests and elders, of whom it is said in the fourteenth verse of the thirty-sixth chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles: "Moreover *all* the chief of the priests and the people transgressed very much after *all* the abominations of the heathen; and *polluted the house of the Lord* which he had hallowed in Jerusalem." It is evident from the passages of Scripture which have been quoted, that in Jerusalem itself the worship of Jehovah was mixed up with that of idols; the temple profaned probably with human sacrifices, and the flesh of human victims eaten on solemn festivals. These enormities did not continue for a day or for a year, but, according to Ezekiel, for many ages, from the time of the children of Israel first entering the land of Canaan to the period of the Babylonian captivity. This interval comprehends two periods of Jewish history, that of the Judges, and that of the Kings. Under the judges the Jews were so wicked, that it is said in the last verse of the last chapter of the Book of Judges, "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Under the kings, from the age of Rehoboam the son of Solomon to the carrying away into captivity, scarcely any thing is recorded of the Jews, taken in the mass, but idolatry, witchcraft, and human sacrifices. Here Jewish history may be properly said to end, almost where profane history commences; for the prophetic spirit being wanting to the second temple as well as the Urim and Thummim, and the rod of Aaron that budded forth almonds, the succession of inspired historians ceased, and the relations of later Hebrew writers are rejected as apocryphal and uncertain. We however know generally, that the posterity of those who returned from Babylon and founded the second temple, much exceeded in iniquity their forefathers, and were accordingly visited with the severest judgments in the destruction of their city and their temple by the Romans, whose standard was much less an abomination than the unhallowed rites with which the Jews themselves had profaned the sanctuary. The motto taken by Cortes, "Judicium Domini apprehendit eos," seems obliquely to refer to them; and the Mexican tradition of the destruction of Tulan, and of the apparition of the child with the putrid head, the pestilential effluvia proceeding from which destroyed so many of the Tultecas, seems also applicable to Jerusalem, and to the sufferings, especially that of pestilence, which the Jews sustained during the course of their memorable siege. In referring the motto of Cortes to the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, which happened so many centuries before his age, we must suppose, entering into the feelings of the Spanish general, that he recognized in Mexico a second Jerusalem*, and in his own conquests a triumph over the Jews of the New World, as Titus had before vanquished those of the Old.

The secret correspondence of Cortes with the Spanish Court, which may probably still exist either in the archives of Simancas, or in the recesses of the Escurial, would, if ever published, throw great light on a mystery which religious and state policy has long kept concealed. Peter Martyr does not refer to two or three letters of that conqueror, but to a "huge volume" which was laid before the Council of the Indies, of which Garcia de Loaisa, the Emperor's confessor, was president; and he and Gomara, who was chaplain to Cortes, both confess that they have *imposed reserve upon themselves* in treating of the Mexican superstitions. In fact, all that Peter Martyr says of Huitzilopuchtli, the tutelary deity of Mexico, whose temple he briefly describes in the course of his eight Decades, is comprised in a single line of the fourth chapter of his Fifth Decade, where he writes to Adrian the Sixth, "It is a fearful thing to be spoken what they declare and report concerning their idols: *omitting* therefore to speake of their greatest marble idol Wichilabuchichi, of the height of three men, not inferiour to that huge statue of Rhodes." And it should also be observed that he does not so much as *mention* Quetzalcoatl. If it be argued that the Mexicans could not have been by religion Jews, because the spirit of Judaism was repugnant to a coalition with idolatry and to the mixture of other rites and ceremonies with its own, and forbade altogether the worship of graven images, that objection will have no weight when it is recollected what is said of the mixed worship of the Samaritans in the seventeenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, and of the eleven hundred shekels of silver, in the seventeenth chapter of Judges, which a woman dedicated to make a graven and a molten image to Jehovah. The passage alluded to in the Book of Kings is the following: "And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from

* When we read in Gomara and in other early Spanish historians, of the prodigies which preceded the overthrow of Mexico so nearly resembling those which Josephus records to have happened shortly before the final destruction of Jerusalem, it is impossible not to perceive the spirit in which these relations were composed, and the feelings which were latent behind the comparison. Half revealed truth becomes generally, as soon as recognized, persuasive, because those who do not even purpose to bestow information, must certainly be exempt from the charge of deliberately intending to deceive.

Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. And so it was at the beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not the Lord; therefore the Lord sent lions among them, which slew some of them. Wherefore they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast removed, and placed in the cities of Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land: therefore he hath sent lions among them, and behold, they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the land. Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence, and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land. Then one of the priests, whom they had carried away from Samaria, came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord. Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, *and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made,* every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succothbenoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim. *So they feared the Lord,* and made unto themselves of the lowest of them priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the *houses* of the high places: they feared the Lord, *and served their own gods,* after the manner of the *nations whom they carried away from thence.*"

On the supposition that Cortes discovered the Jewish religion established in Mexico, it is easy to assign a reason for the three years' delay in sending over regular clergy from Spain, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations which Cortes, *publicly at least,* made to the Emperor to that effect: since the real cause might have been a wish to avoid scandal, and to have time to root out with the secular arm some traces of Judaism, which could not fail to strike a clerical order of men, however they might have been passed over unheeded by the military followers of Cortes. It is proper however to observe, that this delay, which seems very extraordinary, considering the age, the zeal of the Spanish nation, and above all the state of the new vineyard, is ascribed, in the second chapter of the fifteenth book of Torquemada's History to other causes, amongst which are enumerated the death of the Pope (Leo the Tenth), and the Emperor's doubts whether he could conscientiously annex to the crown of Spain the newly-discovered kingdoms. The analogies between many of the Mexican and Jewish superstitions afford convincing proof that they were derived from a common source: and it is a curious fact, that many obscure passages in Scripture may be elucidated by referring to the works of Torquemada, Garcia, and Acosta. It is said of Manasseh, in the twenty-first chapter of the Second Book of Kings, "And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house, of which the Lord said to David, and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever." Commentators have been much perplexed by this verse, and have confessed themselves unable to explain what the image of the grove could have been—which, if considered in connection with the following extract from the eighth chapter of the seventh book of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy, (remembering at the same time that groves and high places, whether natural or artificial hills, are generally associated together in Scripture, because the high places were planted and ornamented with groves,) may be easily understood,—" Estos Indios Occidentales entre muchos sacrificios que hacian, era uno hacer á honra de los montes unas culebras de palo, ó de raices de arboles, dandoles cabeça de culebra, y unas muñequillas de lo mismo que llamaban Ecatotontin; y estas figuras de culebras y niños fingidos, las revestian de una massa que llaman Tzoalli, hecha de semillas de Bledos; y ponianlos en unas armaçoncillas de madera, hechas á manera de sierras ó cerros montuosos, sobre cuia cumbre los fijaban. Y esta era una manera de ofrenda que ofrecian á los montes altos y sierras empinadas." "Amongst the many sacrifices which these Indians of the West made, there was one which they performed in honour of the mountains, by forming serpents out of wood, or of the roots of trees, to which they affixed serpents' heads, and also dolls of the same, which they called Ecatotontin; which figures of serpents and fictitious children they covered with dough, named by them Tzoalli, composed of the seed of Bledos; and placed them on supporters of wood, *carved in the representation of ridges of hills or mountains,* on the top of which they fixed them. This was a kind of offering which they made to the mountains and elevated hills." Isaiah says, in the sixth verse of the fifty-seventh chapter of his Prophecies, "Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering. Should I receive comfort in these?" The Mexicans were accustomed to place smooth round stones, which they probably found in the beds of rivers, in their temples, and to use them for altars or some other

consecrated purposes. This kind of stone was called a Teotecpatl. The reverence which the Jews felt for smooth stones might have originated in the ordinance contained in the twenty-fifth verse of the twentieth chapter of Exodus; "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it;"—since it is probable that, in obedience to this prohibition, if they formed the altar of a single block of stone, they reduced it to a proper shape, and polished it by rubbing another piece of stone against it; or if they built it of several stones, that they chose such as were smooth and even, and not rough and shapeless fragments.

The Peruvians resembled the Jews in another superstition connected with stones, which Acosta thus notices in the fifth chapter of his fifth book: "Aliquò profecturi, tum aut veteres calceos, aut plumas, aut mansam Cocam cujus magna ibi copia est, in viarum divaricationibus, vel in montanis ac eorum fastigiis, quæ Apachitas nominant dispergebant. Illis fors destituti, ad minimum tamen, biviis lapidem imponebant qui instar sacrificii esset, juxtaque de itineris felicitate et incolumitate vota faciebant, quorum tunc pro somnio suo compotes quoque reddebantur. Et hæc in concilio quodam provinciali Peruano ita enarrata fuerunt. Sacrificiorum hujusmodi in viis integræ persæpe strues positæ reperiuntur. In hanc superstitionis insaniam vetus detortum proverbium esto, 'Sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii, ita qui tribuit insipienti honorem.' Sicut enim Mercurius lapidum vim non sentit, sic insipiens non attendit aut curat beneficia sibi præstita." The proverb cited by Acosta is found in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Proverbs of Solomon. It is translated in our English version of the Bible, "As he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool:" which is evidently wrong; as, if it has any sense at all, it supposes a case that never happened *. The fortieth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Ezekiel has already been quoted, and is referred to here on account of the phrase "paintedst thy eyes;" which, though explained to signify to dye with black the borders of the eyelids, in order to give greater expression to the eyes, would also correspond with the Mexican custom of partially painting the face, beginning at the inner and proceeding to the outer angle of the eye. It is surprising that Acosta,—who has traced no less strong a resemblance between the ritual observances of the Mexicans and the Jews than Garcia has discovered in their moral codes †, and who even ventures to express himself in the following terms in the eleventh chapter of the fifth book of his History of the Indies,—"Sic quicquid dicant alii, a Domino et Servatore nostro Jesu Christo *prope nihil uspiam in evangelio suo constitutum et ordinatum est*, quod Sathanas variis modis æmulari et in superstitiones gentiles convertere non annisus sit; *id quod ex deinceps dicendorum attentione clarius et manifestius elucebit*,"—should still reject the rational conclusion adopted by Las Casas, That the Jews had colonized America at an earlier period than the Spaniards, and had introduced their customs and superstitions amongst the inhabitants of that continent. Was it, we may ask, in consequence of Acosta's having been so much later an historian than Las Casas, and having visited America nearly fifty years after that illustrious prelate, when the active exertions of the early missionaries and Spanish clergy had already rooted out many of the primitive superstitions of the Indians, that he did not become sensible of what had so forcibly struck Las Casas? Or was it, that he dared not avow an opinion which would not have been tolerated in the age in which he lived, and was consequently compelled to advance an absurd hypothesis? Or, finally, had Las Casas access to any means of information of which Acosta was deprived,—such as original Hebrew documents, a copy of the Teoamoxtli or divine book of the Tultecas, the History of Votan, or books in any other languages, which might have been discovered among the Indians?—for where all has been misrepresentation and concealment, proof cannot be said to exist of alphabetical writing having been wholly unknown in America, or that it might not have been a secret, like the ἱερα γραμματα, or sacred characters of the Egyptians, which were only known to some of the priests, who might have thought, with that famous nation of antiquity, that esoteric doctrines were best conveyed to the people through the medium of picture-writing; because that system of education was best calculated to keep them ignorant and superstitious; and, powerfully

* "To sin as it were with a cart-rope," is another passage occurring in our English translation of the Bible which is liable to the just animadversions of Bishop Louth. What can be the meaning of such a metaphor? One might almost imagine that a Jewish Rabbi had been the translator of the passage in question who had been reading in the Talmud a fable similar to that of Totec, who commanded the Tultecas to bind the image of Sin with thick ropes, and to drag it out of the city of Tulan.

† A curious parallel of the Jewish and Indian moral laws may be found in that chapter of the third book of Garcia's Origin of the Indians, which he has entitled, "Como los Indios guardaron los Preceptos del Decalogo." "How the Indians obeyed the Ten Commandments."

working through their imagination and their fears on their reason, to induce them to believe the most monstrous fables that fancy could invent of their gods. The words of Las Casas, " Loquela tua manifestum te facit," " Your speech betrays you," in reference to the Mexicans, or some other tribe of Indians, whom he took to be real Jews, deserve the most serious attention; because we have here the opinion of a person who was well acquainted with the Mexicans and Peruvians, and who, proceeding to America immediately after its discovery by the Spaniards, spent there the greatest part of a long life, and solemnly recorded, in a testamentary document, his conviction of a fact, which he might have had many reasons fornot choosing to divulge. Acosta's alleged reasons for denying the In dians to be Jews or descended from Jews, are found in the twenty-third chapter of the first book of his History of America, to which he has prefixed the inscription, " Quod *multi* falsissimè illud statuant, Indos ex genere Judæorum defluxisse." He there says, " Longè autem diversa per Atlantidem quærenda via est, quâ Indiani in hunc novum orbem pertigerint. Augurantur itaque nonnulli hujus semitæ indicium apud Esdram reperiri, in cujus libro quarto hæc ferè verba leguntur: 'Tu autem vidisti eum colligentem ad se aliam multitudinem pacificam. Hæ sunt decem tribus quæ captivæ factæ sunt de terrâ suâ in diebus Oseæ regis, quem captivum duxit Salmanasser rex Assyriorum, et transtulit eos trans flumen, et translati sunt in terram aliam. Ipsi autem sibi dederunt consilium hoc, ut derelinquerent multitudinem gentium, et proficiscerentur in ulteriorem regionem ubi nunquam habitavit genus humanum, vel ibi observare legitima sua, *quæ non fuerant servantes in regione suâ.* Per introitus autem angustos fluminis Euphratem introierunt; fecit enim eis tunc Altissimus signa, *et statuit venas fluminis usquequò transirent;* per eam enim regionem erat via multi itineris, anni unius et dimidii, nam regio illa vocatur Arsareth. Tunc inhabitaverunt ibi usque in novissimo tempore, et nunc iterum cum cœperint venire, *iterum* Altissimus *statuet venas fluminis ut possint transire.* Propter hæc vidisti multitudinem cum pace.'—Hæc itaque Esdræ verba Indis aptare satagunt, dicentes a Deo illos eo perductos esse ubi nunquam habitarit genus humanum, et terram illam quam ingressi sint tanto intervallo distantem esse, ut ad eam obtinendam unius et dimidii anni profectione opus fuerit, gentemque illam naturâ pacificam esse. Hinc indubitatâ consequentiâ obtinere volunt, Indos omnino de gente Judaicâ esse, quod plerique meticulosi et timidi, superstitiosique et acuti, ac mendaces sint. His annectunt Indorum quoque habitum vestesque, ac *facies* Judæorum omnino similes esse; nam et ipsos simplici tunicâ et quadrato pallio amictos, aut nudis omninò pedibus incedere, aut soleis levibus supernè tantum revinctis inambulare; jam verò hanc ipsam quoque Hebræorum fuisse vestiendi rationem modumque, tum ex Judaicis historiis, tum ipsorum quibusdam pigmentis tabulisque antiquis patere aiunt; ex quibus omnibus haud difficulter monstrari posse autumant, maximam eorum partem hoc modo vestitam olim fuisse; Samsonem ipsum quoque olim Indorum similia vestimenta saltem poposcisse, tunicas nempe et syndonem, hoc est, ut Hispani vocitant, Camiscttam, et Mantam, contendunt. Sed hæc mihi omnia conceptus animi videntur mere puerilis et phantastici, quæ et ipsa tamen contra ipsorum sententiam longè durius depugnant quam ut eam quoquomodo stabilire possint. Primum enim satis probè novimus Judæos usos esse typis et literis; at his carent Indi *; Judæi avidè pecunias corradunt conquiruntque; at Indi pecuniæ summi con-

* This fact has not been clearly proved. Nunez de la Vega, the bishop of Chiapa, seems to hint at the existence of letters in America at a period anterior to the arrival of the Spaniards, when he says that he found in an old Indian calendar *the name of Ninus written in the Latin tongue.* Rosales likewise, in his History of Chile, gives the following account of a curious inscription discovered in that province: " The tradition of some Apostle having come to preach the Gospel in this kingdom is further confirmed by a marvellous thing which still exists in the valley of Taurua, where there is a stone a yard and a half high, and two in length, on which are imprinted the footsteps of a man wearing shoes, who there left the impression of his feet, having undoubtedly been accustomed to ascend upon it to preach to the Indians of that valley, and so leaving his feet imprinted on the stone, and who also wrote on the front of it three lines in plain letters cut in the rock in characters which no one understands or can explain. Father Joseph Maria Adamo, belonging to the Society of Jesus, a missionary in the province of Cuio, and who has laboured many years gloriously in the conversion of the Indians of that province, caused them to be faithfully copied out and transcribed, and sent them to three Fathers of the Company, famous for their skill in languages: to Father Angelo de Magistris at Cordova, to Father Conine at Peru, and to Father Nicolas Mascardi in Chiloe; and they none of them were able to read them, so that their signification is still unknown." Garcia states further, from the information of others, that letters resembling Greek characters were discovered in his time, as it would appear sculptured in stone, both in Peru and in the province or Chiapa: " El primero fundamento es, que averiguando Yo en el Perú, si havia algunas antiguallas, ò congeturas, por donde constase haver tenido los Indios letras, fui informado de un Español, que trataba en las Minas de Çamora, que es junto à Loja en el Perú, como entre Çambieta, i Paracuza, Pueblos de Indios de la sobredicha Ciudad de Çamora, està una Peña alta con un pico, ò bordo salido fuera, en cuia frente estàn esculpidos quatro renglones, cada uno de vara i media de largo, cuias letras parecen Griegas. Y no es contra esto lo que en muchas partes havemos dicho, que los Indios no usaron de letras, porque las pudieron perder por algun Diluvio, de que ellos

temptores sunt*; Judæi cum se non circumcisos videbant circa præputium, Hebræos se, aut Judæos haberi posse, apertè inficias ibant; at Indorum præputia in totum integra sunt, nec de istâ superstitione quicquam compertum habent†; etsi Æthiopes quidem et populi Orientales circumcisionem sibi adhibuerint. Hæc jam ergò inter sese collata, quo modo, et quâ, obsecro, ratione, plenè intelligi queunt? Qui amabo fit, ut cum Judæi de origine

tienen noticia: como los mismos Griegos las perdieron por algun tiempo, por aquel Diluvio tan famoso de Deucalion: ò por Guerras, *como sucediò en España antiguamente,* por la venida de Estrangeros, i de los Moros, en tiempo del Rei D. Rodrigo.

"En unos Edificios antiguos, que ai en el Perù, junto à la Ciudad de Guamanga, à la orilla del Rio, llamado Vinaque, de quien hicimos mencion en la quarta Opinion, refiere Cieça, que se hallò una Losa, en la qual havia ciertas letras, que parecian Griegas.

"En Nueva-España, averiguando Yo esto mismo, me refiriò un Mestiço de aquella Tierra, que en la Provincia de Chiapa, en unos Pueblos que ai de Indios alçados, que llaman Lacandones, perseveran oi Dia unos Edificios mui fuertes, labrados de Cal, i Canto, con sus Pilares, i en cada uno de ellos està un Letrero, que segun me dijo el sobredicho Mestiço, parecen ser letras Griegas."

The rumour of inscriptions existing in Yucatan reached the ears of the venerable Las Casas also, who probably only doubted the fact because he had not the opportunity of going there to verify it. If however such inscriptions had been numerous in the New World, it is not likely that they would have long survived the mutilating hands of the first Spanish missionaries. We may however remark, that two curvilinear ornaments, shaped like the letter S, and symmetrically disposed thus—S ƨ—occur upon a broken bust represented in the ninth plate of the third part of the Monuments of M. Dupaix, under the number 16, which but for their situation would not have been noticed here; although viewed simply as ornaments, and not as letters, their occurrence is rare in Mexican monuments, which is not the case with the *other platted symbol* between them. The inscription to which Garcia refers, as mentioned by Cieça, is spoken of in the following passage of the eighty-seventh chapter of his Chronicle of Peru: "Of these, the river which is the largest is named the Vinaq, on the banks of which are situated some large and most ancient edifices, which certainly, judging from their ruined and dilapidated state, must have been built these many ages. Having inquired of the neighbouring Indians, who were the founders of those ancient structures? they replied, Bearded and white men like ourselves, who they say arrived in that country long before the reign of the Ingas, and there established their residence. And to me it appears that the plan of this and of other ancient buildings existing in this kingdom differs from that which the Ingas followed in their buildings; for this edifice is square, whilst theirs were long and narrow. It is reported, likewise, that certain letters have been discovered upon a block of stone in this edifice, which I do not affirm; neither can I refrain from entertaining the private opinion, that in former times a race of people sufficiently cultivated and civilized to have constructed both these and other buildings which we do not see, arrived in these parts."—Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru, cap. lxxxvii. pag. 221. From the various authorities which have been cited, it would appear that letters or alphabetical writing had an imaginary if not a real existence in different parts of America very remote from each other;—in Peru, Mexico, Yucatan, and Chili. The Peruvian quipos might have been a kind of syllabic writing like that of the Japanese; and the Spaniards seem to have consigned them to intentional oblivion. As regards the tradition of letters in Mexico, it may be proper to recollect what Torquemada says of the book which the Indians declared that they buried underground on the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them, between the columns of which Christ was painted crucified, and the intermediate spaces were filled up with alphabetical characters. The curious tenure by which those Indians held that book resembled that by which, as Sir William Betham says in the first volume of his Irish Antiquarian Researches (which learned and interesting work it is to be hoped he will continue), the ancient Irish family of Mac Maor were the constituted guardians and keepers of the book of the Canons of St. Patrick, which was otherwise known by the name of the Book of Armagh, which book was perhaps confided to their care by Saint Columba, or some of his disciples, on condition that they should hold it in trust. Sahagun affirms, in the following very singular passage of the eighth chapter of the third book of his History of New Spain, that the children of the Mexicans who were educated in the temples learned hymns which were written down in books in characters: "les enseñaban todos los versos de canto para cantar que se llamaban divinos cantos, los quales versos estaban escriptos en sus libros por caracteres." "They instructed them in all the verses which they were accustomed to sing, to which they gave the name of divine hymns, all which verses were written in their books in characters." This passage, from its singularity, has been marked in the original MS.; and it is certainly difficult to comprehend how the Mexicans could have recorded words, and a certain succession of different sounds, the connection of which with things and figures is merely arbitrary, by means of paintings, which would seem only fit to have preserved a general recollection of events.

* Gumilla asserts the contrary of the Indians of the Oronoco: and the Mexican merchants, who were a privileged class of men very distinct from the other Mexicans, are said by Torquemada and Sahagun to have been indefatigable in travelling over vast tracts of country, despising dangers either from the enemy or the difficult nature of the roads which they had to pass, *in the pursuit of gain.* It would be interesting to know the real history and origin of these merchants; perhaps they considered themselves the honourable of the earth, and boasted of their Tultec genealogy.

† Acosta here manifestly contradicts himself, as Garcia has observed; since he elsewhere admits that the Mexicans did practise a ceremony corresponding in some manner to the ancient Jewish rite of circumcision. Herrera, almost in the very words of Acosta, notices, in the seventeenth chapter of the second book of his third Decade, this custom as prevalent amongst the Mexicans: "A los niños recien nacidos sacrificaban las orejas, y el miembro viril, con sacar un poco de sangre, i esta ceremonia se hacia principalmente en los hijos de reies, ó de grandes señores." If however there is any thing equivocal in the words of Acosta and of Herrera, Bernal Diaz is quite explicit on the subject in the following passage of the two-hundred-and-seventh chapter of his History of the Conquest of New Spain: "Tenian por costumbre que sacrificavan las frentes, y las orejas, lenguas, y labios, los pechos, braços, y molledos, y las

et antiquitate suâ tantopere glorientur, et eandem in altero quoque orbe sedulò asserverent descriptam, continuatamque, soli hi in Indiâ degentes, sui generis ceremoniarumque, et Messiæ, et judaismi, tam turpiter obliti fuerint?"

The three principal arguments by which Acosta endeavours to prove that the Indians could not be Jews,—viz. Because they were uncircumcised, Because they did not expect the Messiah, and Because they set no value on lineage,—will have little weight with those who consider what strong counter authorities may be adduced to show that that learned writer was himself mistaken on all these points. With respect to circumcision, Peter Martyr and Gomara, whose veracity as historians has never been doubted, both affirm that the Indians were circumcised. The former, addressing Leo the Tenth, in the tenth chapter of his third Ocean Decade, says, speaking of the Indian fugitive who came to the Spanish settlement of Darien, "He sayde further, that in his countrey there were cities fortified with walles and governed by lawes, and that the people also used apparell; but of what religion they were I did not learne, yet hadde our menne knowledge, both by the woordes and signes of this fugitive, that they were circumcised. What

piernas; y en algunas provincias eran retajados, y tenian pedernales de navajas con que se retajavan." "They were accustomed to sacrifice (to draw blood from) their foreheads, ears, tongues, and lips, breasts, arms, and the fleshy parts of their bodies and their legs. In some provinces they were circumcised, and they had flint knives with which they performed the ceremony." Since no testimony can be more positive as to a matter of fact than that of Bernal Diaz respecting the existence of this rite amongst the Indians, his means of information can alone be called in question; but that point he has himself settled, by premising to his account of these sacrifices this remark: "las (maldades de sacrificios) que yo vi y entendi, pornè aqui por memoria"—"the sacrifices which I have seen and known, I write down here from memory." Of the History of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, but one opinion has ever been formed;—that its style is rude, and the narrative perfectly authentic. Doctor Robertson thus characterizes it: "It contains a prolix, minute, confused, narrative of all Cortes's operations, in such a rude vulgar style as might be expected from an illiterate soldier. But as he relates transactions of which he was a witness, and in which he performed a considerable part, his account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such a pleasing naïveté, with such interesting details, with such amusing variety, and yet so pardonable in an old soldier, who had been, as he boasts, in 119 battles, as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language." Bernal Diaz appears to have been a soldier who had a great deal of observation though but little learning, and his narrative is very interesting. With respect to the reality of the existence of the rite of circumcision amongst the Indians, since many writers have affirmed it and many have denied it, we shall draw a line of distinction between these two classes of authors, leaving to others the task of forming whatever conclusion may appear to them the most reasonable. *The earliest Spanish writers* who wrote on the affairs of America, such as Peter Martyr (who scarcely would have ventured to have stated a deliberate falsehood to the Pope, and one too which lie, sooner than any other person, would have been capable of detecting,) and Gomara, (who was chaplain to Cortes, and dedicated his History of the Conquest of Mexico to Don Martin Cortes his son, and therefore had the best means of information,) and Bernal Diaz, who was one of the first conquerors,—a title given to all the companions of Cortes; and other Spanish writers also who are acknowledged to have been men of the greatest learning and research, such as were Garcia and Torquemada, who had themselves visited America,—have all declared, that various Indian nations used circumcision. On the other hand, many European literati and scholars who wrote in *the succeeding age*, who were not Spaniards, who had never visited America, who were little conversant with Spanish authors, whose studies were chiefly confined to classical literature, and *whose fears* were excited by the progress of the Reformation and by every thing calculated to *provoke fresh topics* of religious controversy, vehemently denied that such was the fact. They argued as if they considered it to be derogatory to the honour of God to make the admission; for not being able to derive the American circumcision, like the Colchian, the Egyptian, and the Phœnician, from the Jews, without conceding that the Indians might have borrowed *other superstitions* from them, and *that they had colonized* the western hemisphere,—their only resource was to attempt to throw discredit upon the testimony of the most respectable Spanish authors; since the other alternative,—of maintaining that the Devil had imitated amongst the Indians this revered sign of the ancient covenant which God had made with Abraham,—might have appeared to them of dangerous adoption, and likely to entail inconvenient consequences. There is an old remark, than which none has been more frequently perverted to sophistical purposes, merely from not considering the nature of the truths alluded to, and distinguishing great moral truths from historical truths, and time taken as an indefinite period, from time amounting to only a few centuries, which is, "Tempus probat veritatem:" this, like the other, "Vox populi, vox Dei," is only true in part, and especially in religious matters ought to be received with caution. For how is it possible that what was doubtful two thousand years ago should be certain now. Shakespear somewhere observes, that "uncertainties do crown themselves assured." But still it must be recollected that false religious creeds are in the beginning like despised weeds, which are blown about and inclined by every wind of doctrine; but that in time they become trees of stately growth, under which nations repose, and the shade of which often casts a deadly influence around. Neither are the opinions of learned men, or of any particular age, a test of truth,—since the erroneous opinions which the learned men of the sixteenth century (emphatically called the enlightened age of the revival of letters) adopted with regard to a portion of *contemporaneous history* (for so the history of the state in which religion, civilization, and the arts were found amongst the Indians by the first Spaniards who visited the American continent may be designated,) afford a striking proof. If, however, the errors of past times cannot serve the useful purpose of beacons, to light on the way to truth those which follow, they will at least forcibly admonish the too credulous, who are inclined to take every thing for granted which they believe former ages to have believed, to reflect upon the possibility of a former age having been itself deceived, and transmitting its delusions to remote posterity.

nowe thinke you hereby, most holy Father, *or what doe you divine may come hereof when time shall subdue all these under your throne?*" And in the first chapter of his fourth Decade, inscribed to the same pontiff, he gives the following account of the people of Yucatan: "This nation is not apparreled with wooll, because they have no sheepe, but with cotton after a thousand fashions, and diversly coloured. The women are clad from the wast to the ancle, and cover their heade and brests with divers *vayles,* and are very carefull that their leggs and feete bee not seene. *They frequent their temples often,* to the which the better sort pave the wayes with stone from their houses. They are great idolaters, and are circumcised, but not all. They live under lawes, and trafficke together with greate fidelitie by exchanginge commodities without money. The sawe crosses; and beeing demaunded by interpreters whence they hadde them, some say that a certaine man of excellent beauty passinge by that coast left them that notable token to remember him. Others report, a certaine manne brighter then the sunne *dyed in the working thereof.* But concerninge the truth, there is no certainety knowne." In the third chapter of the same Decade he says that the inhabitants of the Island of Cozumella, situated on the coast of Yucatan *, were circumcised. And in the sixth chapter, speaking again of that island, in which the Spaniards found innumerable books and rich cotton hangings, he observes, that "they were idolaters and circumcised." Garcia likewise, in the following passage of the first section of the eighth chapter of the third book of his Origin of the Indians, confutes the error of Acosta respecting the use of circumcision amongst the Indians: "Dice lo quarto el Padre Acosta que si los Judios no se vieran circuncidados, no se tuvieran por Judios; pues era tan estimado este precepto, que como dice Maimonides, aun en Sabado era licito executarle; i que los Indios poco ni mucho no se retajan, ni han dado jamàs en esa ceremonia. En esto se engañó, lo primero, porque él mismo refiere en su Historia como los Mexicanos sacrificaban el miembro viril á los niños recien nacidos, i que en alguna manera remedaban la circumcision de los Judios, que usaban los Guaycurues del Paraguay, como dice el Compendio i Descripcion de Indias. Y Herrera afirma que en Guaçacoalco, i Iluta, se circuncidaban, i en Cuetxala, i que asi lo tenian por costumbre, lo qual prueba la conformidad, aunque en Yucatan no se usase, como asegura el P. Cogolludo contra Pineda é Illescas, i Laet contra Pedro Martir, i Gomara. Ni es tampoco cierto que los Españoles se equivocasen con las bubas de los Indios, como discurrió Laet, de que se rie Grotio. Lo segundo, porque demás de lo dicho de la republica de los Indios que escrivio el P. Roman, i de la Historia General que hiço Gomara, i de otras historias de aquellas partes, *consta como en otras provincias se circuncidaban los Indios,* de que arriba hicimos mencion." That the Mexicans and other nations of New Spain, as well as the Peruvian Ingas, who boasted of their being the descendants of the sun, greatly prided themselves on their origin and the antiquity of their race, may be proved from the works of Gomara and other Spanish authors, and likewise from the later Chichimecas and Acolhuacans prefixing the epithet of Teo, or *divine,* to the patronymic appellations of their ancestors. Gomara gives the following reason for the kings of Mexico styling themselves Aculhuatli: "Los Señores de Mexico que son los majores y los grandes, y en fin los reies de los reies, se precian de ser, y de se llamar de Culhua, diziendo que decienden de un Chichimecatlh, cavallero mui esforçado, el qual ato una correa al braço de Queçalcoatlh por junto al ombro, quando andava y conversava entre los ombres. Lo que tuvieron por un gran hecho, y dezian ombre que ato á un dios, atara todos los mortales, y assi de alli adelante le llamaron Aculhuatli, que como poco a dixe, Aculli es el huesso del codo al ombro, y el mesmo ombro. Valio y pudo mucho despues aquel Aculhuatli, y dio comiençó a sus hijos de tal manera, que vinieron sus decendientes a ser reies de Mexico en aquella grandeza que Motecçuma estava, quando Fernando Cortes le prendio. Assi que parece que vienen de Chichimecatl, aun que por diversos efetos; y dizen que por diferenciar se, tienen aquel cuento los de Tezcuco, y este los de Mexico."—La Conquista de Mexico, fo. cxx.

The interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus affirms in the following passage, in direct opposition to Acosta, that the Mexicans and other nations of New Spain made great account of lineage: "Altri dicono che non solo scapparono di questo diluvio quelli due dell' arbore, ma che altri 7 restarono ascosi in certe grotte, e che passato il diluvio, uscirono e repararono il mondo, spartendosi per esso; e quelli che dipoi successero l'adoravano per iddii, ognuno in la sua nazione; e cosi li Tepanechi adoravano uno che si diceva Hulhuetcotli, et li Chishimeche a Quetzalcoual, et li Culue a Tzinacoual, perchè d'essi uscirono le generazioni sue; e per questo *facevano gran conto*

* The marble image of the lion, which although an animal not proper to America was discovered on that coast, might have had some reference to the history of Daniel, and have been a memorial of a famous event in the Jewish history.

di lignaggi, e dove si trovavano, dicevano io sono del tale lignaggio; et a quel suo primo fondatore adoravano, e gli facevano gli sacrificii e dicevano che quello era il cuore del popolo, al quale avevano fatto un idolo servato in buonissimo luogo, e vestito, e tutti li sucessori mettevano in quel luogo gioje riche, come oro e pietre preziose; inanzi a questo loro cuore ardeva sempre legna dove mettevano il Copal o incenso." Nunez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapa, in that part of the preface to his Diocesan Constitutions, where he speaks of Votan and of the treasure discovered by himself in the "Casa lobrega," confirms the account given by the anonymous interpreter of the Vatican MS. of the great respect, *amounting to idolatry*, which the Mexicans and other nations of New Spain paid to their ancestors: since he not only mentions the stone images of the ancient Indian pagans preserved in the cave, but adds, that their names were in the calendar, and that Votan, who was looked upon by the Indians of one province *as the heart of the people*, was the third in order,—Mox being the first. The calendar to which the Bishop of Chiapa refers was not the Mexican but the Chiapanese, which Boturini says, in the following passage of his Idea de una Nueva Historia, corresponded with that of the Tultecas: "Concuerda el systema de los Kalendarios de Chiappa y Soconusco con el Tulteco, que tengo explicado arriba; pues en lugar de los quatro caracteres Tecpatl, Calli, Tochtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiappa de quatro figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Been *, y Chinax; y las otras veinte figuras cuyos nombres son, Mox, Ygh, Votan, Ghanan, Abagh, Tox, Moxic, Lambat, Molo, (en otros Mulu,) Elab, Batz, Enob, Been, Hix, Tziquin, Chabin, Chic, Chinax, Cahogh, Aghual, sirven en lugar de los veinte symbolos, Cipactli, Ehecatl, Calli, Cuetzpallin, Cohuatl, Miquiztli, Mazatl, Tochtli, Atl, Ytzcuintli, Ozomatli, Malinalli, Acatl, Oçelotl, Quauhtli, Temetlatl, Ollin, Tecpatl, Quiahuitl, Xochitl, para formar la cuenta de los dias de el año †.

* Omitting the tradition of the Hebrew-Indian nation, which Doctor Cabrera in the following passage of his short treatise on the peopling of America cursorily alludes to,—"The Licentiate Don Francisco Ortiz also informed me that there is in the possession of the present curate of Saint Catharine of Yatahuacan a little historical book of an Hebrew-Indian nation, which may probably be that of Been, mentioned by Nunez de la Vega," (to which tradition, it should be observed, the Bishop of Chiapa lent his much higher authority,) —it is impossible not to remark the resemblance which many of these proper names bear to Hebrew. Mox is like Moses; Ygh, perhaps pronounced by the Chiapanese Ysh, resembles Isaac; Ghanan is almost the same as Canaan; Abagh recalls to our recollection Abel; and all the other names (one or two excepted) are analogous to some other names mentioned in Scripture. Chinax, which is elsewhere written Chin, seems to refer to Shem; as do Chabin and Enob to Japhet and Enoch. In the last edition of Garcia's *Origen de los Indios*, we find the clause which follows inserted by the editor in the text: but Garcia notices himself other Indian names which resembled Hebrew. "El nombre de Joseph havia entre los Indios Hurones; i los Souroquis al fin de sus cantares decian *Alleluia*, si se cree á Lescarbot, Duret, Hornio, i Rugero Guillermo, à quien cita: en otra parte, dice, que en la Nueva Inglaterra ai ciertos Indios, cuio idioma conviene con el Hebreo; i el P. Sepp, ó Techo dice, que los Calchines del Paraguay tenian muchos nombres Judios, i observaban varias costumbres suias, como dice Rogers, i en el Compendio, i Descripcion de las Indias se dice, que el Cacique de la tierra donde se fundó Antioquia, se llamaba Isac, i su muger Judit." Amongst the names enumerated by Garcia is that of Anna, which he says signifies in Hebrew 'kind' or 'compassionate,' by which name the wives of the Ingas Lloque Yupanqui, and Pachacuti, were called, who were styled by another title analogous in its signification, Huacha Cuyac, or 'the friend of the poor.' The Peruvians, like the Jews, were charitable to their own countrymen and brethren: and probably in Peru, as well as in New Spain, —agreeably to the precept contained in the twenty-eighth verse of the fortieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, "My son, lead not a beggar's life, for better it is to die than to beg,"—beggars were scarce. Gomara at least informs us that the Spaniards saw none till they arrived at Cholula, which was an inland city of New Spain; and where they might have been tolerated on account of its being a place of pilgrimage, and a city renowned for its sanctity: "El termino que alcançan en llano es grasso, y de gentiles labranças que se riegan, y tan lleno de gente que no ay un palmo vazio. A cuya causa ay pobres que piden por las puertas, que no lo avian visto hasta entonces por aquella tierra." La Conquista de Mexico, fo. xxxviii.—"The territory of open country which they possess is rich, consisting of well-cultivated fields, which they irrigate, and so populous that not a foot of land is unoccupied. On which account there are beggars who ask alms from door to door, none of whom had they (the Spaniards) seen till then in that country."—The following is the passage alluded to in Garcia, who remarks that in the kingdom of Quito, Abba was the term which the Indians used to express *father*, as Gumilla observes that it was amongst the Indians of the Oronoco: "Sea lo que fuere, lo cierto es, que Anna es nombre Hebreo, cuia significacion quadra bien al estado, i dignidad de Reina; porque Anna quiere decir 'graciosa,' ò 'misericordiosa;' i asi, para maior abundancia de esta significacion, i de el nombre que tenia de Anna la Muger de Pachacuti Inga, le daban los Indios otro titulo, i renombre en su lengua, que significaba lo que Anna: el titulo era, Huacha Cuyac, que quiere decir, 'amadora,' i 'amiga de los pobres.' Tambien mando Pachacuti Inga, que diesen este mismo titulo, i renombre al nuevo Señor, i Orejon, que en cierta Fiesta armaban caballero. En la provincia de los Puruaes, que es en el Reino de Quito llaman al Padre *Abba*, la qual voz es Syriaca, i usaban los Hebreos de ella, segun Martino, por haverseles pegado, i mezclado con la suia, en tiempo que vivieron entre los Syrios: aunque S. Augustin dice claramente, que Abba es voz Hebrea."

† Boturini assigns the following meaning and etymology to Cipactli, the first sign in the Mexican calendar: "Siendo Cipactli syncope de las palabras, *ce, icpac, tlatli*, como Cicpactonal de *ce, icpac, tonalli*, se viene a saber, que Cipactli significa *el Padre superior á*

The painting preserved in the Library of the Institute at Bologna is probably a Chiapanese calendar, which seems singularly to confirm what Boturini says of the agreement of the twenty Mexican signs of the days of the year with those of Chiapa; since the first sign at the bottom of the first page is Mox, which corresponds with Cipactli; the second is Ygh, which answers to Ehecatl, or the wind; and the third is Votan, agreeing with the Mexican sign Calli, or the temple. The same agreement will likewise be found between the Mexican and Chiapanese symbols at the bottom of the seven remaining pages of the calendar, in which the order of the Mexican symbols is preserved, the sign of the Rabbit (Tochtli) following that of Mazatl the stag; and Ocelotl, the tiger, that of Acatl, the reed or arrow *. It is probable that when the Mexicans had extended their conquests during the latter part of the reign of Ahuitzotl, or under Montezuma, as far as Tequantepec and Chiapa, they obliged the Chiapanese, in order to enforce a uniformity in the celebration of religious festivals, to adjust their calendar to the Mexican; and hence in the painting of Bologna the calendars are combined. The figure of a heart, in which many of the signs of the Chiapanese calendar terminate, refers, it must be supposed, to Votan, the signification of whose name was a heart. Boturini † has remarked, that "the systems of the Indian calendars, as well as the symbols employed in them, varied, and that the inhabitants of some of the provinces of the diocese of Oaxaca divided their year into thirteen months; making use, probably, of a lunar calculation, while other Indian states of the same diocese counted their days by winds and by serpents." He observes in the following passage, speaking of the planets, that "the week of the Chiapanese, *resembling that of the Tultecas, consisted of seven days*," which is the more remarkable, as the alledged ignorance on the part of the Indians of a week of seven days has been used as an argument to prove that they could not be descended from the Jews. It is true that the Mexican lesser period of time contained only five days ‡; "Los Indios de Chiappa cuentan siete de ellas correspondientes a los dias de su semana, y en las

todos, y Cicpactonal el Padre superior al sol; y assi Cipactli es el primer Padre de toda la humana generacion, que dicen los Indios tuvo por muger á Oxomozco; y es como si nosotros dixeramos *Adan y Eva*, los que sublimaron á honores de divinidad." "Cipactli being a syncope of the words *ce icpac tlatli*, in the same manner as Cicpactonal is of *ce icpac tonalli*, we learn that Cipactli signifies *the Father who is superior to all*, and Cicpactonal the Father who is superior to the sun. Cipactli accordingly means the first Father of the whole of the human race, whose wife, as the Indians say, was Oxomozco, or, as we should say, *Adam and Eve*, on whom they conferred the honours of divinity." The derivation and meaning which Boturini assigns to the name Cipactli is curious; but since a serpent seems to have been considered by the Mexicans as the emblem of light, perhaps from the piercing nature of its eyes, which induced the Jews to attribute the property of wisdom to it, or from its delighting to bask in the rays of the sun, or from its darting motion, or from the ring which it forms, round like the solar orb, symbolical of eternity, and a fit type of the everlasting revolutions of that luminary; it may be proper to recollect what the interpreter of the Vatican Codex says *of the creation of light on the first day*, and to consider whether Cipactli may not be a syncope of the words *ce*, one, or the first, and *izpatli*, which is the same as icpatli; the letter *c* with a dash under it being pronounced in Spanish like *z*. The sign which immediately follows Cipactli in the calendar is Ehecatl, or *the wind*, which was dedicated to Quecalcoatl, who was the reputed lord of that element. Torquemada says that the images of Huitzilopuchtli, Quecalcoatl, and Tlaloc, were each represented with a golden serpent bearing different symbolical allusions. That with which Huitzilopuchtli was girded, being very large and thick, signified *the severity* of the deity, and that he was as a poisonous serpent to those who displeased him; and the wreathed serpent in the hand of Tlaloc, the god of water, denoted the thunder and flashes of lightning which accompany rain. The Jews probably entertained many superstitions about serpents, from the fiery serpents which were sent against them in the wilderness, and the serpent with which Moses performed so many signs and wonders before Pharaoh.

* It will be found, on comparing the first eight pages of the painting of Bologna with those of the Codex Borgianus, numbered 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and those of the lesser Vatican MS., which follow in the same order (page 49), that the signs of the Bologna calendar read horizontally, correspond with the signs of the other paintings read also horizontally, without any reference to the divisions of the pages.

† The authority of Boturini, being a man of great learning, is so often referred to, that some surprise must be felt at Gama's assertion, that Don Mariano Veytia (who by some chance was appointed Boturini's executor, and became possessed after his death of whatsoever papers had not been before confiscated) declared that that celebrated scholar confessed to him, on his death-bed, that he should expire without being able to comprehend the Mexican calendar. Such an absurd story was probably spread by those who thought that Boturini many years before he died knew too much.

‡ The *dies quinta* was held in almost as much esteem by the early Christians as the *dies septima*. The Copts, as Ludolfus informs us in his Ethiopian Commentaries, entertained a superstitious veneration for that day. As regards the consecration of the sabbath, the Jews were commanded, by a perpetual ordinance, to rest from all manner of work on the seventh day, because God employed six days in the work of the creation, and rested on the seventh day. But the progress of modern geological science has induced many learned men to attempt to put an entirely new construction on the words of Moses, and to maintain that by six days he might have meant six indefinitely long periods of time: and to this conclusion they have been led by a consideration of the order in which the various strata which

ruedas y tablas de los symbols Tultecos de los dias de el año, hallo despues de la triadecaterida, el numero septenario tan distinguido en la Escritura Sagrada, por haver en el septimo dia de la creacion del mundo tomado descanso el benignissimo Criador." Idea de una Nueva Historia, pag. 43. "The Indians of Chiappa reckon the number of them (the planets) to be seven, corresponding with the days of their week; and I have found in the wheels and paintings of the Tultec signs of the days of the year, the number seven following that of thirteen, so celebrated in the holy Scripture, on account of the Blessed Creator having rested on the seventh day of the creation of the world."

The names of the Chiapanese chiefs whose heads are found in the calendar, bear a considerable resemblance to Hebrew proper names; and even the signs of the Mexican calendar seem to have some reference to the emblems under which Jacob, when dying, *predicted* the destinies of his posterity. With respect to the burning incense (sahumar) to the Ceiba tree, which superstition of the Chiapanese, Nunez de la Vega, treating of their calendar, mentions,—from the roots of which, he says, they believed that they derived their lineage,—it might as well have beenexplained by him to be in commemoration of Jesse the father of David, "the root of Israel," as to be "*an act of adulation to Ninus*," which latter name the bishop supposes to have been corrupted, "first into Ymos, and lastly into Mox," since Boturini observes, that he could perceive no resemblance between the names of the other chiefs in the Chiapanese calendar and those of the descendants of Ninus. Proceeding now to the last argument by which Acosta attempts to prove that the Indians could not have been Jews, and which Spizelius has employed in a triumphant manner to throw discredit on the relation of Montecinio, what shall we say when we find from the writings of Acosta himself, as well as from the works of Sahagun and Torquemada, and the commentary of the anonymous interpreter of the Vatican MS., that the Indians of New Spain did expect a Messiah whom they even named Mexi, which name exactly resembles the Hebrew, whose advent they expected in the year of the Cane, which was probably, on that account, named Xiuhteuctli, or the year of the Lord. Although Cortes himself is silent on the subject, Torquemada has recorded in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters of the fourth book of his Indian Monarchy, (the translation of which account is here inserted,) the curious fact, that when that Spanish general arrived on the coast of New Spain he was not only taken by the Mexicans for their Messiah, but actually received their adorations in that character, seated on a throne erected for the purpose on the deck of his ship. To this absurd belief of the Mexicans, Torquemada is inclined to attribute the rapid progress of the Spanish arms, as the necessary consequence of the general commotion into which their empire was thrown by the rumour, every where circulated, that the Messiah had come to take possession of the kingdom. The relation of Torquemada is as follows: "When Juan de Grijalva prosecuted the discovery which Francisco Hernandez de Cordova had commenced along the coasts of New Spain, he arrived with his fleet at San Juan de Ulua, as has already been said; and since it was a new thing to the people of the land to behold ships on the sea,—for never had such a thing entered their imaginations,—it caused them great surprise and fear, and they reported the fact to the governors and commanders stationed by the Emperor Motecuhçuma through the whole of that district. On hearing these tidings they all assembled, and agreed amongst each other to go with the intelligence to their lord Motecuhçuma, who held his court in this city of Mexico; and in order not to proceed on mere surmise to disturb the kingdom, and for more perfect information on the subject of their mission, they determined to see that miracle or prodigy which terrified and kept them in alarm and admiration. They settled, therefore, that some of their number should go to the sea, and embarking in canoes,

compose the earth's surface are placed over each other, and of the contents of each; since in the lower strata, or in those which are of primitive formation, no remains of human bones, or even of those of animals, have been discovered, the only indication of organic life being connected with its lowest grade, that of plants: neither in the strata which immediately succeed are human bones discovered, but only the fossil remains of animals. Whence they contend, that *before the creation of man* both vegetables and animals existed and *had died*, and that the Mosaic account of the creation may be explained in a new manner without derogating from the authority of Holy Writ. If, however, we consider how express the words of Scripture are, and that Moses, when he wrote the Pentateuch, if he were inspired, could not have written *days* for indefinitely long periods of time, without at the same time informing the Jews how they were to understand his meaning, and likewise admonishing them that their sabbath was not an *imitation*, as they always believed it to be, (as regarded the interval of time between rest and labour,) of God's resting from the creation, but only a commemoration of that event; and further, that the sense in which they would fain understand the words of Moses is quite contradictory to that in which Saint Paul took them, who says that sin came into the world by man, and *death* by sin; evidently declaring that until the creation of Adam there was no such thing as death or sin,—this new interpretation of the Pentateuch will appear inadmissible.

should carry with them refreshments of bread and fruit and other provisions, that, if they were men like themselves, they might tell them that they came to sell those things to them if they stood in need of them; but should this not be the case, that they might inform themselves what those vast masses were, and what they contained within them. The plan was accordingly executed; and some principal Indians, men of resolution, took the charge on themselves, and embarking in canoes, rowed towards the ships; when seeing on one of them the royal standard fanned by the breeze, and supposing that in that, as in his proper vessel, the captain of all the others was, they proceeded to it and came on board. Those in the ship, when they beheld them approaching, stationed themselves so as to observe what they did: but the Indians, who in the mean time had come alongside of them, made them a profound reverence, and gave them to understand by signs that their intentions were peaceable, and that they came to sell them provisions and articles of dress. Those on board inquired likewise by signs of what country they were, and what had brought them thither. They answered that they were Mexicans. Our countrymen replied by saying, 'Since you are Mexicans, inform us of the name of your king.' They said that his name was Motecuhçuma; and on this quitted their canoes to come on board the ship, which they entered without any distrust, and displayed before them rich cotton dresses and some articles of provision which highly gratified our countrymen, who exchanged them with the Indians for blue and green and other coloured beads, which appeared to them to be of a very fine quality and to exceed in value the dresses which they had brought with them. The Indians having concluded their barter of these articles, and remaining a considerable portion of the day in the ship, motioned to withdraw; when the captain said to them, 'Farewell; carry these stones to your lord Motecuhçuma, and tell him that we are unable now to see him, since we are on our return to our own country, but that we shall come back again and shall pay him a visit at his city of Mexico': on which the Indians embarked in their canoes and reached the shore, where they immediately painted, as well as they were able, the ships and their rigging, the persons whom they had seen, their dress, their features and beards, and other particular objects which appeared to them new and strange. They then set off directly for Mexico, travelling with the greatest expedition night and day without stopping to take rest, and soon arrived at that city, and proceeded to the palace, confiding to no one the news of which they were the bearers, since it was not customary to declare or make public the purport of state dispatches before the king had listened to them and was in possession of the facts. They desired the porters to notify to Motecuhçuma their arrival, and that they had come in haste. The king was informed by his attendants in waiting that the governors and commanders of the coasts of the North Sea awaited his pleasure and had come in great haste to see him. The king was both troubled and surprised, as he judged that the affair must needs be very urgent, since those whom he had stationed on guard in that district had come without permission to see him; (neither was his surprise without just cause, since he had strong reasons to anticipate something untoward, from the prodigies which he had beheld, which prognosticated to him adversity and approaching ruin, so that he was continually haunted with the suspicions of the great misfortunes which he foreboded). He replied to the attendants, 'Is it true that the captains of the sea-coast have all come in a body?' They again addressed him and said, 'Please your Majesty, they are without; let them be summoned into your presence and see you.' Montecuhçuma answered, 'Tell them that they may come in, I must see them.' As soon as they had entered the apartment in which he was, they immediately prostrated themselves to the ground and kissed it, and rising saluted the king, and said, 'Lord, we are worthy of death for having come without your leave into your royal presence, but the nature of the business which has brought us is so grave and important that it must plead our excuse. It is an undoubted truth that we all of us who have come here have seen gods, who have arrived on this coast in large water houses' (by this term they meant a ship), 'and we have spoken, and conversed, and eaten with them, and given them rich mantles; and they have in return given us these precious stones which we have brought with us.' They then presented to him the beads and bugles which they had brought; and said, 'They gave us these beads, and added, Go to your court and give them to Motecuhçuma your lord, and tell him that we are on our return to our own country, but shall come back again and pay him a visit.' To this speech the emperor answered not a word, revolving the matter in his breast; but he simply observed to the captains, 'You must feel weary after such a long and speedy journey; go and repose yourselves, and let not a word transpire of the intelligence which you have brought me; I wish it to be kept secret, lest it should cause a commotion amongst the fickle and easily-excited populace.' The captains withdrew, and they assigned to them the apartments which they were to occupy, since that was an ancient custom.

'Motecuhçuma remained alone, pensive, and even very apprehensive of some great change in his kingdoms; for he was possessed of much foresight, and reflected on past prodigies which had happened, and recollected what his

soothsayer had told him; in recompense for which he caused his house, while he was in it, to be thrown to the ground, and overwhelmed him in the ruins. He also called to mind what his sister Papan had informed him many years before, and what Neçahualpilli had likewise said to him; and it appeared to him that these were not fortuitous coincidences, but that they portended some great disaster and change in the government: and since weighty matters of state are wont to be imparted to others and to be debated in council, he immediately caused summonses to be sent to all the persons of whom his council was composed, who were King Cacama of Tezcuco, his nephew, whom he sent for by express; Cuitlahuatzin, his brother, the lord of Itztapalapan; Ycihuacohuatl, Tlilpotonqui, Tlacochcalcatl, Quapiatzin, Tizoc, Yaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Huitznahuacatl, Tlaylotlac, and Ecatempatiltzin, who were his ordinary counsellors; to whom he declared what had happened. And a considerable time having been employed in the interchange of opinions and conjectures respecting the true state of the case, his council terminated their deliberations by persuading themselves and being convinced that it was Quetzalcohuatl, whom in times past they had worshiped as a god, and who they likewise expected would again return to reign over their kingdoms; since he himself had long before promised them that he would do so, when he departed from thence to the provinces of Tlapala and disappeared on the coast of the sea, going in the direction of the east; and since they on this account expected him, they thought that those who had arrived were his train.

"Under this persuasion they resolved that a certain number of persons should be named to go and receive him: and whilst preparations were making in the mean time for their departure, orders were issued to the commanders and governors of the sea-coasts to be very vigilant in keeping a watch and look-out for every arrival by sea, especially on the coasts of Nauhtla, Toztla, Mictla, and Quauhtla; since from those places, as being more conveniently situated, a better look-out could be kept and more speedy and certain intelligence brought to the court of any new event. With these commands the governors and commanders were dismissed, and five lords were appointed as bearers of the present which the emperor sent to Quetzalcohuatl, who were Yohualychan who was the principal, Tepuztecal who was nearly of equal rank, Tizahua and Huehuetecatl; the fifth and last was named Hueycamecatleca. They were commanded to proceed as expeditiously as possible to the sea-coast, and to speak on the part of Motecuhçuma and of his senate to Quetzalcohuatl their lord, and to offer him the kingdom, and a rich present which was given to them that they might be the bearers of it. And this it was that Gomara and Antonio de Herrera make confused mention of, as having been brought to Ferdinand Cortes by the governors of Motecuhçuma on his first landing, which they notice in the following words: 'Which present it is said was sent for Juan de Grijalva, when he touched on those shores; but that, notwithstanding the haste of those who carried it, they found that he was gone.' The fact was as they state; but I do not understand how those who drew up the account of which Herrera availed himself, could have omitted that which I say in this chapter, and many other particulars which shall be observed in the sequel; since the circumstances which they mention, and those which I relate, are intimately connected with each other, and those who could have given an account of the former, could likewise have done so of the latter; although I think that the error lay in their only seeking information from the Spaniards, who at that period returned from the Indies, without verifying facts by applying to the Indians, who were mainly concerned in most of them, or I may say in all, since they were the mark which all who have written on the affairs of the conquest strove to hit, and were those who were very well acquainted with them, and in the beginning recorded them by means of figures and characters, and afterwards, when some of the most curious amongst them had learned how to write, wrote them down; which histories are in my possession: and so high is the estimation in which I hold them, on account of their language and the style of their composition, that I should be glad to feel myself competent to the task of translating them into Spanish with the same elegance and grace as the Mexicans penned them in their own language; and since these histories are true and authentic, I follow them to the letter; but lest the accounts which they contain should appear strange to those who read them, I affirm that they are merely a true relation of what actually happened, but that other authors have not noticed them before me, because the few that have written on the affairs of the Indies were ignorant of the events which then occurred, nor had they any one to give them the requisite information; neither should I have mentioned these facts, had I not found that they were verified by Father Bernard de Sahagun, a grave and pious ecclesiastic, who was of the second number of those who undertook the conversion of the natives of New Spain, but was the first of the first of the investigators of the most secret things of this land, of which he knew all the secrets, and employed himself for more than sixty years in composing works in the Mexican language, and in incorporating into it all the information which he was able to acquire.

"Amongst the gentiles of the East there was a prophecy which was uttered by Balaam, and is recorded in the Book of Numbers, which related to the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, which the gentile prophet delivered in these words: 'A star shall be born from Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise from Israel which shall slay the captains of Moab." And Saint John Chrysostom, commenting upon this passage, cites the authority of some who said that those gentiles believing in the future birth of that star, they appointed twelve sentinels, who at stated seasons of the year ascended to the top of a high mountain named Victorial, and remained there during three days, praying to God, and beseeching him that he would manifest to them the star of which Balaam had prophesied,—who having beheld it, the kings came to adore the newly-born infant god. I know not whether the devil, jealous of this prophecy, and desirous of keeping another people in a continual state of watching and anxiety, instituted this piece of fraud amongst the Indians of New Spain,—to understand which it is proper that I should premise, that in ancient times there was a man of the kingdom of Tula who was named Quetzalcohuatl, as we have observed elsewhere, who was a famous magician and necromancer, whom they afterwards worshiped as a god, and who was accounted a king of that country. He was conquered by another greater and more powerful magician, such another as we may suppose Zoroaster of Babylon to have been, who deprived him of his kingdom; from thence he fled to the city of Chollula, whither the other pursued him; when, forsaking that kingdom, he fled to the sea, pretending that the god, who was the sun, called him to the other side of the sea, to the borders of the East; but he promised that he would again return with great power to avenge himself of his enemies, and to redeem (*redimir*) his people from their afflictions and the yoke of tyranny under which they groaned; for they said of him that he was very compassionate and merciful: this lie was preserved in the recollection of those who lived in that age, and acquired much greater credit in all the ages which afterwards succeeded; and the Mexicans so fully believed in his return, that their kings, when mounting the throne, took possession of the kingdom upon the express condition of being vicars of their lord Quetzalcohuatl, and of abdicating it on his arrival, and obeying him in it as his vassals.

"This history, therefore, being duly known, we assert that that nation expected Quetzalcohuatl, and believed it as very certain that he would return to rule over the kingdoms of New Spain; and on every symptom and demonstration of a change or rumour of any novelty, they immediately thought that it was he: and when they received the intelligence which we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, and further heard that they (the Spaniards) had arrived in the quarter where he had disappeared, and that they had come in large ships through the midst of so vast and dangerous an ocean, they felt convinced that it was he, and could be no one else: and for this reason they were still more vigilant in watching his return; placing sentinels to keep a look-out towards the sea,—not for three days only during every month of the year, like the Gentiles of the East, but night and day the entire year round; at the expiration of which period, Juan de Grijalva having sailed to Cuba, and the expedition of Ferdinand Cortes by the same route, being the consequence of his return, it necessarily followed that the Indians saw his ships, and, in obedience to the express commands of their king, they proceeded post to carry him the intelligence, taking with them paintings, in which were represented the number of the vessels, and the kind of people whom they beheld on board; all of which they showed to Motecuhçuma, who, on receiving the news of this second armament, (which was towards the latter end of February of the year 1519,) assembled those who constituted his council, and other persons possessed of talents and authority, and communicated to them the tidings which had been brought to him by the sentinels of the eastern sea-coast, of what had newly appeared on the sea, which confirmed the accounts of the preceding year; and the matter having been laid before them, they deliberated upon the measures which it might be proper to adopt; and as, when the Magi entered Jerusalem inquiring for the newly-born king, Herod and all his confederates and partizans were troubled, and the doctors consulted together and decided upon the place where he should be born,—so the Indians who composed the council of the king were troubled together with him, and in great perplexity replied, 'that since it was true that their god and king Quetzalcohuatl had gone to the kingdom of Tlapala to visit the god who was the sun, whose return all their forefathers had expected, he likewise who had appeared in the ships might be that god, since it was not humanly probable that mortal men could have penetrated so far into the depths of the ocean, without being swallowed up by its waves; and that therefore they believed that it was he, and that, since he had come, it was fit that ambassadors and noblemen should be sent to offer him obedience upon the part of the senate, and to receive him.' Hence, as we may infer, originated the custom amongst the Mexicans of the monarchy being elective and not hereditary, which we may prove by observing, that if they believed that they had a living king, who at some time or other was to return to take possession of his kingdom, it was impossible that they

could consent that another should enter upon the perpetual possession of it, but only that he should hold it like a viceroy, who in the absence of a king exercises all the regal functions, with a condition which implies that the exercise of those functions will be for no longer a period than during the absence of the latter, and that he will be ready and prepared to forgo them when and as soon as the natural and lawful heir should appear. But this was folly in them, as was also their believing that that magician had gone to visit the sun, in order afterwards to return to enjoy the earthly kingdom which he had forsaken: but I can well imagine that, granted that the devil had invented this piece of fraud, and devised this trick in order to deceive this nation, it was likewise by permission of God, not for the sake of keeping these mistaken men in a state of delusion, but in order that as soon as Christians should arrive in those parts with the annunciation and tidings of his Holy Gospel, they might be already in some measure disposed to receive it, from the warning which had been given to them, and the anxiety which they felt about another's coming and depriving them of the kingdom. But if the devil had been able thoroughly to comprehend the matter, he would have known that Quetzalcohuatl, whom he pretended to be the king and god of that nation, would in reality be the true God and Lord of the whole creation; and that, in the same manner as Cortes came to strip Motecuhçuma of the possession of his kingdom, (whom the Indians, unconscious of the meaning of their message, sent to welcome as Quetzalcohuatl,) so likewise that this lord and supreme king would come in the character of the monarch of the universe to destroy him, and to dispossess him of the kingdom, especially as they already had had forebodings of the same; it having been predicted to them ten years before by Papan the princess of Tlatelolco, as we read in a preceding book in the chapter which treats of the prodigies which portended the destruction of the Mexican empire.

"Returning to my subject,—I say that those Indians, having arranged with their king what under such peculiar circumstances ought to be done, prepared a great present (whether it might have been the same as that which had been sent for Juan de Grijalva and which had been brought back, or whether it was another like it, or a larger than the first, I do not know); but one addition which it received was, that they sent with it all the sacerdotal habits which they said had been worn by Quetzalcohuatl when he was in that country, who, as it would hence appear, was both priest and king, like Numa Pompilius in Rome: and here we have an example of the pontifical and regal dignities having been united at one period of time in the world, as we have elsewhere observed. All the articles of which the present consisted, which Motecuhçuma took from his treasury in order that they might be sent to those strangers who had made their appearance by sea, were wrapped up in rich mantles which they put into petacas, which having been done, Motecuhçuma made the following speech to the lords whom he sent as his ambassadors: 'Go, my friends, and discharge faithfully the duties of this embassy, which we entrust to you, this august senate and myself; take care that nothing detains you on the road, but proceed with as much expedition as possible into the presence of our lord and king Quetzalcohuatl, and say to him, Your vassal, Motecuhçuma, who is at present the regent of your kingdom, sends us to salute your majesty, and to give you the present of which we are the bearers, together with these sacerdotal ornaments, which have always been held in the highest veneration and esteem amongst us.' Charged with this dispatch, the ambassadors withdrew from the presence of the king, and immediately set out on their journey; and travelling with the greatest possible haste arrived at the sea-coast, which Cortes with his entire company had already reached.

"On their coming to the sea-coast they embarked in canoes, into which they conveyed all their baggage, and directed their course to the ships of Ferdinand Cortes; and perceiving the flag of the captain's vessel, they rowed towards it, imagining that there they should find the lord and king whom they sought. All on board the ships intently observed what passed, and when the canoes reached the captain's vessel, the Indians gave them to understand by signs that they wished to come on board; those on deck inquired of them whence they came, who they were, and what they wanted: they replied that they were Mexicans, and that they had quitted Mexico to seek their lord and king Quetzalcohuatl, who they knew was there. Although the Spaniards did not understand their words, they knew the purport of them by their signs, and, astonished at their demand, they debated the matter with each other, and said, What can they mean by saying that their king and their god is here, and that they wish to see him? Cortes listened to their conversation, and he and all the rest having considered the matter well and deliberated together, they agreed amongst each other that Don Ferdinand Cortes should dress himself in the richest apparel that he had, and that they should prepare a throne for him in the fore part of the vessel, on which he should sit counterfeiting royalty, and that the Indians should then be introduced to see and speak to him. Having accordingly so done, they told the Indians that they were welcome, and that he whom they sought was there, and that they would be permitted to see and speak to him. The Indians on hearing this drew their canoes closer to the captain's vessel, and those

above assisted them, and lifted up the baggage which they had brought with them: they as soon as they found themselves in the ship sat down on the deck, and dressed and adorned themselves with their finest ornaments, and untying their packages disposed the articles of which the present consisted in judicious order. Having so done, they begged to be permitted to behold him whom they sought; and were conducted to the fore part of the vessel, where Ferdinand Cortes was already expecting them, with the mock majesty which we have just mentioned: they were introduced to him carrying the present in their hands; and when they saw him seated majestically on the throne, believing that he was their god and lord Quetzalcohuatl, they immediately prostrated themselves upon the ground and kissed it,—that being the obsequious mark of adoration with which they did homage to their gods; when, rising, he who was the principal of them all, addressed him, 'Our God and Lord, we welcome your arrival, since we, who are your vassals and servants, have long expected you. Motecuhçuma, your vassal and the regent of your kingdom, has dispatched us to your presence that we may salute you in his name, and he beseeches you to accept this trifling present, and these precious ornaments which you were accustomed to wear when you were amongst us in the character of our king and god.' Having so said, they began to attire him in the ornaments which they had brought; upon his head they put what seemed like a helmet decorated with gold and gems of great value and with a rich plume of feathers; they clothed him in a vest of fine texture, named a Xiculli, which reached from the throat to the waist, and descended to the middle of the arm; they next threw a chain of precious stones of great value and beauty round his neck: and in this manner they proceeded to load him from head to foot with ornaments and costly sacerdotal vestments, adding to the ordinary habits worn by the god Quetzalcohuatl those likewise which belonged to the gods Tezcatlipoca * and Tlalocatecutli, all of which they laid at his feet, (as is also customary with them when they make a present to a person of high rank,) signifying by that act that they recognised him as the greatest of their gods. After they had so done, an interpreter said to them in the name of Ferdinand Cortes, 'What! is this all that you have brought me to welcome my arrival amongst you?' On which the principal ambassador replied, 'Lord and king! this was what was given to us to carry to your majesty, and no more.' Ferdinand Cortes then desired some of his men to take them into the cabin and to treat them courteously, allowing them time to repose themselves, and afterwards to set before them provisions of Spain, inviting them to partake of them with all civility and politeness. When these Indians came on board the ship, many of the men crowded from the other vessels around the captain's ship to see what was there passing; and they saw and heard what I have related: at which they were astonished, and were at a loss for suitable terms by which to express what they thought of such great simplicity and of a scene so new to them.

"They agreed to terrify these messengers by throwing them into irons, loading them with chains, and discharging the artillery, and challenging them to wrestle with them; all with the object of inducing them to report terrible things of them, in order that those who heard them might be seized with fear, and dread them as those who were fated to march on to victory, and to become the lords of the country. The Indians slept in the ship that night, and on the next day as soon as it was morning the Spaniards put into execution what they had planned the day before: they took the Indians and threw them into irons, and having chained them by the feet began to fire off the artillery. The Indians, who beheld themselves prisoners and in irons, confounded with the noise and the thunders of the cannon and the smell of the powder, fell senseless on the ground, and there remained for a long space of time as it were dead: the soldiers, on seeing them in this state, raised them in their arms, and seating them, threw water in their faces, and made them

* Tezcatlipoca was adored, according to Sahagun, under the name of Camaxtle, in some of the states contiguous to Mexico. The following passage may suggest a reason why to the habits worn by the god Quetzalcohuatl, were added those belonging to Tezcatlipoca: "Antes de la Fiesta, quatro ò cinco Dias, adereçaban todos los Templos, y Salas de los Dioses, y encalaban lo desollado, y descostrado de ellos; y tres Dias antes, pintabanse los Achcauhtin, unos de negro, otros de açul, y otros de blanco, y cada qual como mejor le parecia; y luego à las espaldas de la Casa, ò Templo principal de el Demonio, bailaban el Dia entero. Luego vestian la Estatua de su Dios Camaxtle, que era de tres estados de alto, *y junto de sì tenia otro Idolo pequeño, que decian averle traìdo los primeros Pobladores de esta Republica.* Este Idolo ponian siempre junto à la grande Estatua de Camaxtle; y tenianle tanta reverencia, y temor, que no le osaban mirar, ni alçar los ojos en su presencia; aunque diversas veces sacrificaban delante de èl mucho numero de Codornices. *Vestian este Idolo con las vestiduras del Dios Quetzalcohuatl, en esta ocasion,* que era el Dios de los Chololtecas; porque decian estos Idolatras, *que era Hijo de Camaxtle;* y estas vestiduras traìan los mismos Chololtecas, para esta Fiesta, por no estàr la una Ciudad, de lo otra, mas de quatro leguas; y esto mismo hacian los de Tlaxcalla, quando festejaban esotros, à su falso Dios: eran muchas, y se las vestian con grandes ceremonias, y cubrianle la mala cara con otra peor, y mas fea mascara."—*Monarquia Indiana,* lib. x. cap. xxxi.

drink it; on which they recovered from the terror and fright into which they had been thrown. They then took off their fetters; and the captain said to them, 'I am informed that the Mexicans are very valiant, possess great strength, and are good wrestlers, and that one alone would be enough to conquer ten or twenty of his enemies, and to compel them to submit; on which account, in order to ascertain the truth and to assure myself of the fact, I wish you to contend with my people, that I may see whether you are more valiant than they.' He gave them shields, swords, and lances for the contest. The poor unhappy Indians, who, if even they had known how to make use of the arms which had been given to them, were more dead than alive from the chains and the noise of the artillery, did not only not accept the challenge, but declined it by saying, 'Lord! this was not the purpose for which we came, nor did Motecuhçuma send us to quarrel with you, or to enter upon a trial of strength with your people, but only to visit you in his name, and to kiss your hands as we have done; and if we obeyed your commands, and could be guilty of such great presumption, we should not only excite his displeasure, but should pay the forfeit of our lives.' To this the captain replied, 'You need make no manner of excuse, for you must do what I order you; as I have heard of you Mexicans that you are valiant, and you must use your utmost endeavours in attacking and defending yourselves from my men.' He could not however prevail upon them; and seeing that they would not either singly, or two and two, or in any way try their strength and skill in fighting with the Spaniards,—in order to induce them to accept the challenge, they loaded them with abusive epithets and dismissed them, telling them that they were cowards and effeminate persons, and that being such they might go back to Mexico, and that they would come and conquer the Mexicans, who should all die by their hands; and that they might tell Motecuhçuma that his present had displeased them, and that they would march to Mexico and would plunder them of whatever they had and take it for themselves. (Whether they knew what they were saying or no will be seen in the sequel; for they spoke at random, not knowing the future, and without having made any trial of the land.)

"With this answer, and these threats, (worthy most certainly of the folly of Motecuhçuma and of his counsellors,) the Indians entered into their canoes; and so great was their haste that every moment's delay appeared to them the herald and sad harbinger of death: they immediately therefore began rowing,—not only the rowers whom they had brought for the purpose, but all indiscriminately, each urging and exhorting the other to apply a strong hand to the oar, as well in order to find themselves at a distance from and fairly rid of the ships where they had been treated so indifferently, as to hasten their return, to give an account to their king of what had passed between them and Quetzalcohuatl. Proceeding in this rapid manner, they reached a small island called Xicalanco, where they partook of some refreshment and rested themselves for a short space of time; from thence, continuing their course, they arrived at a town named Tecpantlayacac on the sea-coast, from whence they journeyed on to Cuetlaxtla, a place situated some leagues inland, where they slept; the lords and principal persons of that town entreated them to remain there the following day to rest themselves; but they replied, 'Our haste is urgent; for the embassy with which we are charged to our lord Motecuhçuma is of such a nature that it is unprecedented in these kingdoms, and it is not fit that any one should know its nature before him; and for this reason it is our duty not to stay to repose ourselves, but to travel on in haste.' They immediately set off, and proceeded on their journey with such distressed and harassed feelings, that they reaped no consolation from food or sleep, nothing gave them the slightest satisfaction, but they sighed as they went along, overcome with sorrow, wonder, and dismay; they scarcely addressed each other, preserving a strange silence; or if at intervals they spoke, they said, 'We have beheld terrible and uncommon things, which portend evils and great tribulation; but, O Lord God! who are they, and from whence shall they come, who shall conquer the Mexicans? Are not we the powerful, the ancient, and the dreaded in all these lands? Why do we allow ourselves to be disturbed and pained? why do our hearts, heaving within our breasts, forbode to us future ills? —this is a sign of some great impending calamity.' With these and similar reflections they occupied their minds on the road, and arrived by rapid stages at the city of Mexico at an advanced hour of the night, and proceeded straight to the palace of king Motecuhçuma, when they bade the attendants in the ante-room inform the king of their arrival; and if he was asleep to awaken him, for the business upon which they came did not permit delay or procrastination, and to say to him, 'Lord! the ambassadors have returned whom you sent to the sea to receive our god Quetzalcohuatl.' The guards went into his chamber and delivered the message to him, which when Motecuhçuma had heard, he answered, 'Tell them not to come in here, but to go to the hall of judgment, and to wait for me there.' He then commanded slaves to be prepared for a sacrifice, and proceeding to the hall of judgment, he assembled those who composed his council, and other persons whose office it was to sacrifice the slaves, with whose blood they sprinkled

the ambassadors. This was a customary ceremony on the arrival of any very important embassy, when the circumstances which gave rise to it were grave and unusual.

"After the idolatrous ceremony of sprinkling the ambassadors with the blood * of these sacrificed victims had been gone through, Motecuhçuma seated himself upon his throne and chair, in order to hear with state and majesty the tidings which his ambassadors had brought to him: for agreeably to the belief which he had adopted, he was convinced that it was Quetzalcohuatl who had arrived on the sea-coast; and he expected to receive perfect information of the arrangements necessary to be made preparatory to his visit. The ambassadors immediately prostrated themselves upon the ground and kissed it, (which they name in their language Tlalcualiztli, being an idolatrous ceremony of adoration,) and in this prostrate state, the principal person amongst them, who had gone as superior of the rest on that embassy, commenced the delivery of the following speech: 'Powerful lord and king! As soon as we arrived at the sea shore, these your servants and myself, we beheld some very large houses entirely of wood upon the water, contrived very artificially both within and without, which go through the deep water of the sea like the canoes which we employ here upon our lake and aqueducts: we were told that these houses were called ships; and it would be impossible for any of us to explain the variety of buildings and things which they contain within them. We went in canoes to them, and entered the principal ship, or water-house, where was the flag which they carried with them. The ships were many; and in each there were many persons, who all stood looking at us until we entered the captain's vessel. We immediately requested to see the lord Quetzalcohuatl, (in search of whom we had come,) in order to give him the presents which we had brought with us: and they showed us, in a separate part of the ship, a lord seated upon a throne, clothed in very rich apparel, and pointing to him with their finger, they said to us, Behold him whom you seek. We prostrated ourselves at his feet, kissing the ground and adoring him as a god. We next addressed the speech to him which you commanded, and proceeded to dress him in the robes and jewels which you gave to us, and delivered to him the other articles of which the present consisted: and having laid it all at his feet, he gave us to understand that it was very little. That day they treated us well, and set provisions before us, and gave us an agreeable liquor to drink, which they called wine: that night we slept in the ship. In the morning they wished to come to a trial of strength with us, and ordered us to fight with them, which we persisted steadily in declining: they then threw us into chains and discharged their artillery, which greatly terrified us with thunder and lightning, and caused us to fall on the ground as if dead. After we had recovered ourselves, and they had obliged us to take some refreshment, we inspected their arms, their horses, and their dogs which assist them in fighting, at which we were still more terrified. It would be tedious and would take up too much time to give a minute account of every thing which we saw:—they say that they have come here to conquer us and to rob us; that is all we know. If they should come here, we shall know both what they want, and how far their power may be commensurate with their will. We can only say that we return back greatly terrified and alarmed.'—Motecuhçuma was very much astonished at the words of the ambassadors; his face changed colour, and he displayed extreme sorrow and dismay; the conviction took possession of his mind, that he himself as well as all the subjects of his empire would have to suffer much and to endure many indignities. Under the influence of this impression he began to weep bitterly, as did likewise all those by whom he was surrounded: their tears and lamentations spread afterwards through all classes of the city, high and low; and they soon began to assemble in groups in the public squares and the streets, and to utter lamentations, each one exciting the other's grief by the suggestion of melancholy and tender recollections: they spoke of the great evils which threatened them, and of the ruin and destruction which impended over them, as if they had already happened,—their hearts divining what was afterwards to befall them: all were dejected and a prey to grief; fathers sorrowing for their sons exclaimed, 'Alas, my sons, what troubles must you see, and, what is worse, what must you go through and suffer!' Mothers made the same lamentations over their daughters; adding other piteous ejaculations, which their great love and sorrow prompted. They passed the night and an entire day in their manifestations of public affliction; and Motecuhçuma, as more interested in preserving the honours and dignities which it might be his fate to lose, felt more acutely than all the rest."

The above account, of Cortes having been supposed by the Mexicans to be their god Quetzalcohuatl, is so curious

* Aaron was consecrated to the sacerdotal dignity by Moses, with the ceremony of being sprinkled with the blood of a *sacrificed* victim, as we learn from the twenty-first verse of the twenty-ninth chapter of Exodus.

that we cannot refrain from subjoining in a note the original passage in Spanish *; remarking at the same time, that if most historians have passed over in silence the events here recorded, it was because they had not access to the same means of information as Torquemada, or even the opportunity of consulting his History, in consequence of the proscription which the first edition of the Indian Monarchy underwent in the course of the seventeenth

* "Quando Juan de Grijalva vino al Descubrimiento, que Francisco Hernandez de Cordova avia reconocido, por estas Costas de la Nueva-España, llegò con su Armada hasta San Juan de Ulua, (como dexamos dicho) y como era cosa nueva para los Moradores de la Tierra, vèr Navios, en el Mar, porque jamàs lo imaginaron, hiçoles grande novedad, y espanto, y dieron noticia de ello à los Governadores, y Capitanes, que el Emperador Motecuhçuma tenia, por todas aquellas Poblaciones. Con estas Nuevas, que oieron, se juntaron todos, y deliberaron, entre sì, de ir à dàr estas Nuevas à su Señor Motecuhçuma, que tenia su Corte en esta Ciudad de Mexico, y por no venir à tiento, à alborotar el Reino, y por traer raçon clara del Negocio, determinaron de vèr aquel Milagro, ù Prodigio, que los espantaba, y tenia en pasmo, y admiracion. Dieron traça de que algunos fuesen à la Mar, y metidos en Canoas, llevasen refresco de Pan, y Fruta, y otras cosas de regalo, para que si fuesen Hombres, como ellos, les dixesen, que iban à vender aquellas cosas, si de ellas tenian necesidad; y que sino lo fuesen, se informasen de lo que eran aquellos bultos tan grandes, y de lo que llevaban dentro. Hiçose asi, y fueron Indios Principales, y Esforçados, à este Negocio, y metidos en sus Canoas, y remando, fueron àcia los Navios, vieron en uno de ellos el Estandarte Real, que el Aire lo tremolaba, y pareciendoles, que en aquel, como en particular, iria el Capitan de todos los otros, encaminaron à èl, y llegaron à Bordo. Los que iban dentro, como los vieron ir, pusieronse à vèr, que hacian; pero los Indios, que yà avian llegado, les hicieron una mui profunda reverencia, y por señas les dieron à entender, que venian de Paz, à venderles cosas de comer, y de vestir; los del Navio, tambien por señas les preguntaron, què de donde eran, y como venian alli? Ellos respondieron, que eran Mexicanos. Bolvieronles à decir los Nuestros: Pues si sois Mexicanos, decidnos como se llama el Señor de Mexico? Respondieron, que se llamaba Motecuhçuma; con esto los subieron al Navio, en el qual entraron sin ningun recelo, y mostraron Ropa rica de Algodon, y algunas cosas de Vitualla, de que se alegraron los Nuestros, y rescataronselas por Cuentas Açules, Verdes, y de otras colores, porque les parecieron à los Indios mui finas, y que en valor excedian à la quantidad del precio que valia la Ropa, que llevaron; y aviendo hecho el Rescate, y pasadose mucha parte del Dia, se despidieron los Indios, à los quales dixo el Capitan del Navio: Id en buen hora, y llevad esas Piedras à vuestro Señor Motecuhçuma, y decidle, que no podemos aora verle, porque nos bolvemos à nuestra Tierra; pero que vendrèmos otra vez, y llegarèmos à verle à su Ciudad de Mexico. Con esto se partieron los Indios, en sus Canoas, y llegaron à Tierra, donde luego pintaron los Navios, y Xarcia, como mejor supieron, las Personas que vieron, el trage, los rostros, las barbas, y otras particularidades, que les parecieron nuevas, y nunca vistas. Pusieronse todos en camino, para Mexico, y caminando à grandisima priesa, de Noche, y de Dia, sin descansar, llegaron mui en breve à esta Ciudad, y fueron à Palacio, sin decir à nadie el Mensage, con que venian: (porque era costumbre entre ellos, que las Embaxadas no se manifestasen, ni dixesen, hasta que el Rei las oiese, y se enterase de ellas) Dixeron à los Porteros, que diesen aviso à Motecuhçuma, de su venida, y como era con priesa. Fue avisado el Rei por la Gente de Camara, de como los Governadores, y Maiordomos de las Costas de la Mar del Norte, estaban alli, que venian con mucha priesa à verle; alborotòse, y sobresaltòse el Rei, porque pensò, que el caso avia de ser mui importante; pues la Gente de guarda, que èl tenia, en aquella Tierra, venia sin su licencia à verle, (y no fue este sobresalto, que recibiò, sin causa, porque la tenia mui grande de creer qualquier desgracia, por las cosas prodigiosas que avia visto, que le pronosticaban Ruinas, y adversidades, y con esto andaba sospechoso de acaecimientos grandes, que se esperaban) Bolviò à replicar à los Criados: què es verdad, que han venido los Capitanes de la Costa, todos juntos? Respondieronle otra vez, diciendo, Señor nuestro, alli fuera estàn, mandelos Vuestra Magestad entrar, y verlos ha. Dixo Motecuhçuma: Decidlos que entren, verlos hemos. En entrando dentro en la Sala, donde estaba, luego se postraron en Tierra, y la besaron, y levantandose saludaron al Rei, y le dixeron: Señor nuestro, dignos somos de muerte, por aver venido sin vuestra Licencia, à vuestra Real Presencia; pero el Negocio es tan arduo, y grave, que lo sufre. Es el caso, que todos juntos, los que aqui venimos, hemos visto Dioses, que han llegado à aquella Costa, en grandes Casas de Agua, (que asi llaman à los Navios) y los hemos hablado, y conversado, y hemos comido con ellos, y les dimos Mantas ricas, y ellos nos dieron en retorno estas Piedras preciosas, que aqui traemos. Luego le presentaron las Cuentas, y Abalorios, que traìan, y dixeron: Estas Piedras nos dieron, y dixeron; Id à la Corte, y dadlas à vuestro Señor Motecuhçuma, y decidle: que nos bolvemos à nuestra Tierra, y que otra vez bolveremos, y le veremos. No respondiò el Emperador à esto nada; (que solo lo estaba sintiendo en su pecho) pero dixo à los Capitanes, cansados vendreis de tan largos, y acelerados Caminos, id à descansar, y no digais à nadie esta Embaxada, que quiero secreto en ella; porque el Pueblo facil, y bullicioso, no se altere, y à su tiempo os llamarè, y avisarè de lo que conviniere. Salieronse los Capitanes, y dieronles Salas, donde estuviesen (como antiguamente lo acostumbraban).

"Motecuhçuma quedòse solo, y pensativo, y aun bien sospechoso de mucha novedad en sus Reinos: porque era de mui buen entendimiento, y consideraba los prodigios pasados, y traìa à la memoria lo que su Adivino le avia dicho; por lo qual le hechò la Casa encima, y lo matò, y acordavase de lo que su Hermana Papan le avia dicho, años antes, y lo que Neçahualpilli tambien le avia dicho, y pensaba, que no eran acaso estas cosas, sino que venian amenaçando algun gran mal, ò trueque de Govierno. Y como los negocios graves quieren comunicacion, y consejo, hiço luego llamar à todos los que lo eran de èl, que fueron el Rei Cacama de Tezcuco, su Sobrino, al qual embiò à llamar por la Posta, y à Cuitlahuatzin, su Hermano, Señor del Pueblo de Itztapalapan, y à Ycihuacohuatl, Tlilpotonqui, Tlacochcalcatl, Quapiatzin, Tizoc, Yaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Huitznahuacatl, Tlaylotlac, y Ecatempatiltzin, que eran de su Consejo Ordinario, à los quales manifestò lo que pasaba, y aviendo dado, y tomado en pareceres, y adivinanças, de lo que podia ser, concluieron su Consejo, con persuadirse, y creer, que seria Quetzalcohuatl à quien, en un tiempo adoraron por Dios, de quien tambien pensaban, que avia de venir à Reinar otra vez en estas Tierras, por averlo dicho èl mucho antes, quando pasò de aqui, à las

century. It furnishes, moreover, an explanation (affording by so doing a new proof of its authenticity) of what almost all historians have pronounced to be the unaccountable conduct of Montezuma, in sending repeated embassies and rich presents to the Spaniards, and in still persisting in forbidding them to approach his court; since their threats in the first instance to burn and plunder his city, and their reception of his ambassadors, must

Provincias de Tlapala, y se les avia desaparecido en la Costa de la Mar, è ido àcia aquellas Partes Orientales, y como por esta causa le esperaban, entendieron ser èl, el que avia llegado.

" Con esta persuasion, que tuvieron, determinaron, que se nombrasen Personas, que fuesen à recibirle, y en el interin que iban, se les mandò à los Capitanes, y Governadores de las Costas, que pusiesen gran cuidado, y vigilancia en atalaiar, y descubrir lo que por el Mar viniese, en especial en los Lugares de Nauhtla, Toztla, Mictla, y Quauhtla, para que de aquellas partes, por ser mas comodas, se viese mejor, y mas presto, y se traxese raçon mas cierta, de lo que pasaba. Con este recaudo fueron despachados estos Governadores, y Capitanes. Fueron nombrados cinco Señores, para que llevasen un Presente, que el Emperador embiaba à Quetzalcohuatl; los quales fueron Yohualychan, y este fue por Maior, Tepuztecal, que era casi igual al primero, Tizahua, y Huehuetecatl, y el quinto, y ultimo se llamaba Hueycamecatleca, y mandòseles, que con la maior brevedad posible fuesen à la Mar, y hablasen de parte de Motecuhçuma, y su Senado, à Quetzalcohuatl su Señor, y le ofreciesen el Reino, y un gran Presente, que les fue dado, para que le llevasen. Este es el que dicen Gomara, y Antonio de Herrera confusamente, que traxeron à Fernando Cortès quando saltò en Tierra, por parte de los Governadores de Motecuhçuma, y esto dicen por estas palabras: el qual presente, se dixo, que avia embiado à Juan de Grijalva quando llegò en aquellas partes, sino que por mucha priesa, que se dieron, los que le llevaban, hallaron que era ido. Y fue asi; pero no sè, como los que pusieron en estilo aquella Relacion, de que se aprovechò Herrera, se dexaron esto, como en este Capitulo lo dexo referido, y otras muchas cosas, que en lo que se sigue se diràn; porque aquellas, y estas, son corresponsivas, y quien diò raçon de lo uno, pudo darlo de lo otro; aunque pienso, estuvo el yerro en no hacer estas Inquisiciones, è Informaciones, mas que con los Españoles, que entonces vinieron, y no las averiguaron con los Indios, que tambien les toca mucha parte de ellas, y aun el todo; pues fueron el blanco donde todas las cosas de la Conquista se asestaron, y son los que mui bien las supieron, y las pusieron en Historia à los principios, por sus Figuras, y Caracterès, y despues que supieron escrivir algunos Curiosos de ellos, las escrivieron, las quales tengo en mi poder, y tengo tanta embidia al Lenguage, y estilo con que estàn escritas, que me holgarè saberlas traducir en Castellano, con la elegancia, y gracia, que en su Lengua Mexicana se dicen: y por ser Historia pura, y verdadera, la sigo en todo; y si à los que las leieren parecieren novedades, digo, que no lo son, sino la pura verdad sucedida; pero que no se ha escrito hasta aora, porque los pocos que han escrito los sucesos de las Indias, no las supieron, ni huvo quien se las dixese; ni tampoco Yo las escriviera si no las hallàra averiguadas de el Padre Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun, Religioso Santo, y Grave, que fue de los segundos, que entraron en la Conversion de esta Nueva-España, y de los primeros, el primero Investigador de las cosas mas secretas de la Tierra; y supo todos los secretos de ella, y se ocupò mas de sesenta años en escrivir Lengua Mexicana, y todo lo que pudo alcançar en ella.

" Huvo entre los Gentiles de el Oriente una Profecia, dicha por Balaàn, y referida en el Libro de los Numeros, en orden à la Venida de el Hijo de Dios, en Carne Humana; la qual declarò el Profeta Gentil, con estas palabras: Nacerà una Estrella de Jacob, y levantarse ha una Vara de Israèl, y consumirà, y matarà los Capitanes de Moab. Y San Juan Chrisostomo, sobre este lugar, refiere el dicho de algunos, que dixeron, que como aquellas Gentes tuviesen creido el Nacimiento de esta Estrella, que pusieron doce Atalaias, que en ciertos tiempos de el Año subian à un Monte alto, llamado Victorial, y estaban tres Dias orando à Dios, y pidiendole les manifestase la Estrella, que avia dicho Balaàn, y que la vieron, y entonces vinieron los Reies à la Adoracion de el Niño Dios recien Nacido, y le adoraron. No sè si embidioso de esta Profecia el Demonio, y deseoso de tener otro Pueblo en continua vela, y vigilancia, ordenò entre los Indios de esta Nueva-España, este embeleco; para cuia inteligencia hemos de advertir, que en tiempos pasados huvo un Hombre en Tierra de Tula, que se llamò Quetzalcohuatl, (como dexamos dicho en otro lugar) gran Magico, y Nigromantico, al qual adoraron despues por Dios, y fue tenido por Rei de aquella Tierra. Este fue vencido de otro Hechicero maior, y mas poderoso que èl, (que debiò de ser como otro Zoroastes en Babilonia) y le despojò de el Reino. Fuese huiendo à la Ciudad de Cholulla, y alli le siguiò, y corriò: y dexando el Reino se fue àcia la Mar, fingiendo, que el Dios Sol, le llamaba à la otra parte de el Mar, por la Vanda de el Oriente; pero prometiò de bolver despues, con mucha pujança, à vengar sus injurias, y à redimir su Pueblo de agravios, y tiranìas; porque decian de èl, que era mui Humano, y Misericordioso. Esta mentira se conservò en aquellos Tiempos, y se fue reforçando con mucha maior opinion, en todos los que despues le sucedieron: y fue tan creìda su buelta de estos Mexicanos, que los que entraban Reinando, recibian el Reino con esta condicion, de que eran Tenientes de su Señor Quetzalcohuatl, y que en viniendo se lo dexarian, y le obedecerian, como Vasallos, en èl.

" Sabida, pues, esta Historia, decimos, que como estas Gentes aguardaban à este Quetzalcohuatl, y tenian por mui cierto, que avia de bolver à Reinar à estos Reinos, de esta Nueva-España, qualquier demonstracion, y amago, que avia de alteracion, y rumor de alguno, que aparecia, luego pensaban ser èl: Y como traxeron las nuevas, que en el Capitulo pasado dexamos dichas, y mas de la parte por donde vinieron, en que se avia desaparecido, y en Navios tan grandes, enmedio de un Mar tan ancho, y peligroso, persuadieronse à que era èl, y no otro; y por esto pusieron maior cuidado, en la vigilancia de su buelta, atalaiando el Mar, no tres Dias en todos los Meses de el Año, (como los Gentiles de el Oriente,) sino de Dia, y de Noche, todo el Año entero: Al fin de el qual, como Juan de Grijalva fue à Cuba, y de su ida, resultò la venida de Fernando Cortès, por la misma Derrota, que el primero, fue fuerça, que los Indios viesen los Navios, y con el Mandato expreso, que tenian de su Rei, fueron por Postas à dàr el aviso de ello, llevando pintado, el Numero de los Navios, y la manera de la Gente, que vieron andar en ellos: Lo qual todo mostraron à Motecuhçuma; y con el nuevo aviso, que tuvo de esta segunda Armada, (que fue por fin de Febrero de el Año de mil quinientos y diez y nueve) hiço Junta de los de su Consejo, y de otras Personas de Prendas, y Autoridad, y diòles parte de las nuevas, que avian traìdo

have made him very unwilling to receive such visitors in Mexico; and his remaining doubts as to whether Cortes might not be Quecalcoatle, and his cannon some preternatural agency by which to subjugate his enemies, together with the consciousness that all his subjects would be ripe for rebellion on the first report that their god had come to take possession of his kingdom,—must have suggested to his prudence the precise line of conduct which he

las Atalayas de la Costa de el Oriente, de lo que de nuevo avia aparecido en la Mar, que confirmaba las pasadas de el Año antes. Y confiriendo el caso, trataron de lo que convenia hacer: Y como quando entraron los Magos, en Jerusalèn, preguntando por el Rei nuevamente nacido, se turbò Herodes, y todos los de su Aliança, y Valìa, y confirieron los Doctores el caso, y dieron raçon de el Lugar de donde avia de tener su Nacimiento. Asi estos Indios de el Consejo de el Rei, turbados con èl, y confusos, dixeron: que pues era verdad, que su Dios, y Rei Quetzalcohuatl avia ido à los Reinos de Tlapala, à verse con el Dios Sol, al qual todos sus Antepasados avian esperado, que tambien lo seria, que era el que en los Navios avia aparecido, pues no parecia caso Humano, que Hombres Mortales anduviesen por la Mar metidos, tan dentro de sus Aguas, sin que huviesen perecido en ellas; y asi creìan ser èl: y que pues venia, era raçon, que fuesen Embaxadores, y Personas Principales à darle la Obediencia, de parte de aquel Senado, y à recibirlo. De aqui pudieramos inferir, que estos Mexicanos tomaron la costumbre de elegir Reies, y no acostumbrar en su Republica, que lo fuesen por herencia; lo qual pudieramos probar, con decir, que si creìan, que tenian Rei vivo, y que en algun Tiempo avia de bolver à la Posesion de su Reino, que no avian de consentir, que otro entrase en èl, con Posesion perpetua, sino como los Governadores, que en ausencia de los Reies sirven el Oficio, como la Persona Real, con la limitacion, que dice solo el Tiempo de la ausencia, estando prestos, y aparejados de hacer dexacion de èl, cada, y quando que venga su Natural, y legitimo Heredero. Pero esto fue locura en ellos; como tambien lo fue creer, que este Encantador iba à verse con el Sol, para bolverse despues á goçar de el Reino Temporal, que avia dexado: Pero bien creeria Yo, que yà que el Demonio inventò este engaño, y causò este embuste, para tener engañadas estas Gentes, que tambien seria permision de Dios, no para que en el engaño perseverasen estos Hombres errados, si no para que quando llegasen los Christianos à estas Tierras, con el Apellido, y voz de su Evangelio Santo, estuviesen yà algo dispuestos para recibirle, con el apercibimiento, y cuidado que estaban, de que avia de venir otro à despojarlos de el Reino, y Señorio; y si el Demonio lo alcançara *bien à entender*, supiera que este Quetzalcohuatl, que èl fingia Rei, y Dios de estas Gentes, *avia de ser Dios Verdadero, Rei, y Señor de todo lo Criado*, y que como Cortès le venia à quitar la posesion de el Reino, à Motecuhçuma, (que sin saber lo que se decian los Indios, le embiaron à recibir por Quetzalcohuatl) asi tambien este Señor y Rei Soberano, venia en habito de Rei Universal, à destruirlo, y quitarle el Reino; maiormente que yà tenian pronosticos de ello, y aviso de Papan, la Señora de este Tlatelolco, que antes diez años lo avia dicho (como vimos en el Libro pasado, en el Capitulo de los Prodigios).

" Bolviendo al proposito, digo, que determinados estos Indios con el Rei, de lo que se avia de hacer, ordenaron un gran Presente; ora sea el que antes avian llevado à Juan de Grijalva, y que lo huviesen buelto; ora otro tal, ù maior, que avia sido el primero; pero lo que huvo mas fue, embiarle con èl todas las Vestiduras Sacerdotales, que decian que usaba Quetzalcohuatl, quando estaba en la Tierra, que segun esto, era Sacerdote, y Rei, como Numa Pompilio en Roma; y aqui se verifica, como el Sacerdocio, y el Reino ha andado junto, en algun tiempo, en el Mundo (como en otra parte decimos). Todo esto, que Motecuhçuma dio de sus Tesoros, que se llevase à los que avian aparecido en la Mar, lo embolvieron en Mantas ricas, y las pusieron en Petacas, y hecho todo esto, hablò Motecuhçuma à los Señores que iban por Mensageros, de esta manera: Id Compañeros mios à cumplir esta Embaxada, à que os embiamos, este Gravisimo Senado, y Yo: Mirad, que no os detengais en ninguna parte, si no que con toda la brevedad posible, llegueis à la Presencia de nuestro Señor, y Rei Quetzalcohuatl, y decidle: Vuestro Vasallo Motecuhçuma, que ahora tiene la tenencia de vuestro Reino, nos embia à saludar à Vuestra Magestad, y nos diò este Presente, que aqui traemos, con las Insignias Sacerdotales, que siempre han tenido en grande estimacion, y honra. Con este despacho se partieron estos Embaxadores de la presencia de el Rei, y siguieron su camino; y con la maior priesa que pudieron, vinieron à la Costa donde yà avia llegado Fernando Cortès con toda su Compañia.

" Quando llegaron estos Mensageros de Motecuhçuma à la orilla de la Mar, entraronse en Canoas, y metieron todas sus cargas en ellas, y fueronse à los Navios de Fernando Cortès, y viendo el Estandarte de la Capitana, fueronse à ella, por parecerles que alli estaria el Señor, y Rei que buscaban: Los que venian en los Navios, todos estaban à la mira de lo que pasaba; y como las Canoas llegaron à la Capitana, hicieron señas los Indios de querer entrar; y los de dentro les preguntaron: Què de donde venian, y quienes eran, y què querian? Ellos respondieron, que eran Mexicanos, y que venian de Mexico à buscar à su Señor, y Rei Quetzalcohuatl, que sabian que estaba alli. Aunque los Españoles no entendian las palabras, conocieron el intento, por las señas, y maravillados de su demanda, trataban entre sì, el caso, y decian: Què quiere decir esto, que dicen estos, que aqui està su Rei, y su Dios, y que le quieren vèr? Esto oiò Fernando Cortès, y èl con todos pensaron bien el caso; y despues de averlo platicado, concertaron, que Don Fernando Cortès, se ataviase con las mejores Ropas que tenia, y le adereçasen un Trono en el Alcaçar de Popa, donse sentase, representando Persona de Rei, y que estando de esta manera, entrasen los Indios à verle, y à hablarle. Hecho esto, dixeron à los Indios, que fuesen mui bien venidos, que alli estaba el que buscaban, y que le verian, y hablarian. Aviendo oìdo esto los Indios, juntaron sus Canoas, à bordo de la Capitana, y los de arriba los aiudaron à subir, y metieron dentro las cargas que llevaban. Luego que entraron, asentaronse sobre la Cubierta, y ataviaronse, y vistieronse lo mas galanamente, que pudieron, y desatando sus cargas, pusieron en mui buen orden su Presente. Hecho esto, pidieron licencia para vèr al que buscaban, fueron llevados al Alcaçar, donde yà Fernando Cortès estaba aguardando, con la representacion de Magestad, que hemos dicho. Ellos entraron dentro, con su Presente en las manos, y como le vieron en aquel Trono, y Magestad, creiendo que era su Dios, y Señor Quetzalcohuatl, luego se postraron en Tierra, y la besaron; (que era la Adoracion Latria, con que reverenciaban à sus Dioses) y levantandose, dixo el que iba por Maior de todos ellos: Dios nuestro, y Señor nuestro, seais mui bien venido, que grandes tiempos ha, que os esperamos nosotros vuestros Siervos, y Vasallos: Motecuhçuma, vuestro Vasallo, y Teniente de vuestro Reino, nos

adopted: since his last resource, when all other expedients had failed, was to resist with arms the invading god. It is singular that neither Cortes nor his chaplain Gomara (who wrote a History of the conquest of Mexico, which he dedicated to Don Martin Cortes the son of the general) should say a word of the scene which was acted on board the Spanish ship, in which Cortes sitting upon a throne personified Quecalcoatle and received the ambassadors of

embia à vuestra Presencia, para que en su Nombre os saludemos: y dice, que seais mui bien venido; y os suplica, que recibais este pequeño Dòn, y estos Ornamentos preciosos, que usabadeis entre nosotros en quanto nuestro Rei, y Dios. Y aviendo dicho esto, començaron à vestirle, con aquellos Ornamentos que le llevaban: Pusieronle en la Cabeça una pieça, hecha à manera de Almete, en que avia mucho Oro, y Piedras de mucho valor, y un Plumero, ricamente adereçado: Pusieronle una Vestidura, que se llamaba Xiculli, que cubre desde la garganta hasta la cinta, y los medios braços de Tela preciosa: Luego le hecharon al Cuello un Collar de Piedras preciosas, de mucho valor, y hermosura; y de esta manera lo fueron vistiendo, de la Cabeça à los Pies, con Ornamentos, y Vestiduras Sacerdotales, de grande precio, y estimacion; añadiendo à los ordinarios del Dios Quetzalcohuatl, los que eran tambien de los Dioses Tezcatlipoca, y Tlalocatecutli, los quales todos le pusieron à sus pies, como diciendo en esto, que à èl reconocian por el Maior de sus Dioses (como hacen quando dàn algun Presente à alguna Persona constituida en Dignidad). Despues que hicieron esto, dixoles el Interprete, en Nombre de Fernando Cortès: Pues no traeis mas de esto para recibirme? Al qual respondiò el Principal de ellos, y dixo: Señor, y Rei nuestro, esto nos dieron que traxesemos à Vuestra Magestad, y no mas: Luego Fernando Cortès mandò à los Suios, que los llevasen al Castillo de Proa, y los tratasen humanamente, y dexasen reposar, y que luego les diesen de Comer, de las cosas de Castilla, con toda benevolencia, y cortesia. Quando estos Indios entraron en el Navio, vinieron otros muchos de los otros Navios, à vèr lo que en la Capitana pasaba, y vieron, y oieron lo dicho, de que quedaron admirados, y no sabian que decirse, à tan gran simpleça, y novedad.

"Trataron de espantar à estos Mensageros, con aherrojarlos con Grillos, y Cadenas, y con disparar la Artilleria, desafiandolos, para que luchasen; todo esto à fin de que fuesen diciendo cosas espantosas, para que los que las oiesen se atemoriçasen, y les cobrasen miedo, que era el que los avia de hacer Señores de la Victoria, y Tierra: durmieron alli aquella Noche, y otro Dia de Mañana pusieron por obra lo que el Dia antes avian tratado. Fueronse à los Indios, y metieronlos en Colleras, y hecharonles Grillos à los Pies, y començaron à disparar la Artilleria; los Indios, que se vieron Presos, y aherrojados, y combatidos de tanto ruido, y Truenos de la Artilleria, y olor de la Polvora, caieron sin sentido en Tierra, y estuvieron por mui grande rato, como muertos: y como los vieron asi los Soldados, cogieronlos entre los Brazos, y sentandolos, los hecharon Agua en los Rostros, y dieronsela à beber, con que bolvieron de el pasmo, y asombro, que de lo hecho avian cobrado. Quitaronles las Prisiones, y dixoles el Capitan: Sabido he, que los Mexicanos son mui Valientes, y de muchas fuerças, y mui diestros en luchar, y que uno solo basta à vencer, y rendir, diez, y veinte de sus Enemigos; por lo qual, y por satisfacerme de esta verdad, y salir de esta duda, quiero, que lucheis con mi Gente, para vèr si sois mas Valientes, que ellos. Diòles Rodelas, Espadas, y Lanças para que acometiesen; los Indios, pobres, y desventurados, que quando supieran usar de aquellas Armas, que les avian dado, estaban con las Prisiones, y ruido de la Artilleria, mas muertos, que vivos, no solo no aceptaron el Desafio, pero escusaronse de èl, diciendo: Señor, no es eso à lo que venimos, ni Motecuhçuma nos mandò, que viniesemos à reñir, ni à probar fuerças, con vuestra Gente; si no que solo os visitasemos de su parte, y os besasemos las Manos, como lo hemos hecho; y si hiciesemos lo que nos mandais, y nos atreviesemos à tan grande desacato, no solo nos reñiria por ello, pero quitarianos las Vidas. A esto replicò el Capitan: No teneis que escusaros con ninguna raçon, porque aveis de hacer esto que os mando; porque tenèmos noticia de Vosotros, los Mexicanos, de que sois Valientes, y aveis de hacer todos vuestros poderìos, para ofender, y defenderos de los mios. No pudieron recabarlo con ellos: y viendo que no querian uno à uno, ni dos à dos, ni de ninguna manera, para experimentar sus fuerças, y destreça en el pelèar; (para si viniesen con ellos alguna vez à las Manos) injuriaronlos de palabra, y los despidieron, diciendo: Que eran Cobardes, y Afeminados, y que se fuesen como tales, à Mexico, que ellos venian yà à Conquistar à los Mexicanos, y que à sus Manos moririan todos; y que dixesen à Motecuhçuma, como su Presente no les avia agradado, y que yendo ellos à Mexico, les robarian quanto tenian, y lo tomarian para sì (si estos supieron los que se dixeron, ò no, bien se hecha de vèr, pues hablaron à tiento, no sabiendo lo por venir, ni aviendo hecho cata de las cosas de la Tierra).

"No estaban tan habiles, y resabidos nuestros Españoles, quando Graco Pretor, y Capitan Romano, andando en las Conquistas de España, llegò à poner Cerco à la Ciudad de Certima, cuios Moradores, viendose cercados, se fueron à èl, y le dixeron que confesaban ser sus fuerças flacas, para contra los Romanos; que à no ser asi, ellos se defenderian, como mejor pudieran, à cuia causa le pedian los dexase pasar libremente hasta el Real, que tenian yà puesto en Campo los Celtiberos, para pedirles aiuda, y Socorro; y que quando no se lo diesen, ellos determinarian entonces lo que mas les conviniese. El Capitan Sempronio Graco, (como dice Tito-Livio) les concediò esta licencia, libre, y liberalmente, y pocos Dias despues bolvieron, traiendo consigo otros diez Embaxadores de los Celtiberos, los quales llegaron delante de Graco, y toda aquella Magestad Romana, que la representaban, con grande Autoridad, à la manera, que los Capitanes Romanos acostumbraban; la qual acrecentò Graco entonces, para darles Audiencia con maior Autoridad, y Pompa, à estos Embaxadores. Nota Tito-Livio, que era la hora de Medio Dia, (y que hacia mucho Calor) y que antes de hablar, ni decir su Embaxada, pidieron al Pretor, que les mandase traer de beber; el qual, riendose de su llaneça, y simplicidad, mandò, que se lo traxesen, y aviendo yà bebido, una vez, y demandandoles la sed, otra, bolvieron à pedirla, à que no pudieron reprimir la Risa los Romanos, viendo la mucha simplicidad de la Gente, y la poca Urbanidad de su Trato, maiormente para con Romanos, que era Gente Resabida, Avisada, y mui Cortesana. Aviendo, pues, yà bebido otra vez, à contento de los Embaxadores, dixo el mas Anciano de ellos: Aqui somos embiados, de parte de los Celtiberos, à preguntarte, con què confiança nos mueves la Guerra? A la qual pregunta respondiò el Pretor: que en confiança de un mui grueso, y escogido Exercito, avia venido à hacerla, y que si querian verlo, que èl era contento de mandarselo

Montezuma. The incident was too extraordinary to have escaped the memory of either; and from the silence of both it must be inferred, either that it never happened, or that they had some reasons for consigning so curious a piece of history to oblivion. The first supposition is altogether improbable, because it directly contradicts the testimony of authors of the strictest veracity, who had the best means of information upon the subject, and likewise

mostrar, para que llevasen à los Suios maior claridad, y certidumbre de su valor, y fuerça. Y respondiendo los Embaxadores, que gustarian de ello, mandò Graco à los Tribunos, que se Armasen, y Adereçasen mui pomposamente, asi los de la Infanteria, y de à Pie, como los de à Caballo, y que Escaramuçasen todos por el Campo. Hiçose asi, y con mucha atencion, lo vieron todo los Embaxadores; y aviendolo bien visto, se despidieron del Pretor, y se bolvieron à sus Capitanes, los unos para dàr respuesta de su Embaxada, y los otros con ellos, para traer la que alli se les diese, à los de Certima. Los Embaxadores de los Celtiberos, dixeron, clara, y abiertamente à sus Capitanes, que no convenia embiar Socorro à los Cercados, por ser la Gente que era tan robusta, y dispuesta para las Armas; y los Cercados se dieron, viendose solos, y sin aiuda, de aquellos en quienes confiaban. Dos cosas vèmos en este caso: La una, la simplicidad Antigua, de nuestros Españoles en la llaneça con que piden Agua; Y la otra, la astucia de el Pretor, de enseñarles su Poder, y Pujança, para acobardarlos, y hacerles temer, y que mas facilmente se le rindiesen; y esto mismo sucede à estos Indios con Cortès, iendo en paz, buscando à su Dios Quetzalcohuatl, à los quales atemoriçò, con las cosas dichas, para que su temor fuera maior, y que con èl representasen à Motecuhçuma, el poder de los Castellanos, para que pudiese tanto el temor en ellos, como la fuerça de las Armas, con que avian de combatirlos.

"Con estos temores, y respuesta, (digna por cierto de la locura de Motecuhçuma, y de los de su Consejo) se entraron los Indios en sus Canoas, y tan apriesa, que qualquiera momento de dilacion, les parecia anuncios, y nuevas tristes de su muerte: y con ella començaron à remar, no solo los Remeros, que para esto llevaban, sino todos, sin diferencia, incitandose, y animandose los unos, à los otros, para que Remasen fuertemente, tanto por apartarse, y alexarse de los Navios, donde tan mal les avia ido, quanto por venir acà à dàr raçon à su Rei, de lo que con Quetzalcohuatl, les avia pasado. Con esta priesa llegaron à una Isleta, que se llama Xicalanco, donde comieron, y reposaron un poco, y de alli se partieron, y llegaron à un Pueblo, que se llama Tecpantlayacac, que estaba en la Ribera: De alli fueron à Cuetlaxtla, que està algunas Leguas la Tierra adentro, hicieron aqui Noche; rogaronles los Señores, y Principales de el Pueblo, que se detuviesen aquel Dia, y descansasen; ellos respondieron: La priesa que llevamos es mucha; porque la Embaxada con que vamos à nuestro Señor Motecuhçuma, es tal, que nunca jamàs se ha visto su semejante en estos Reinos: Y no es menester, que ningun otro la sepa antes que èl, y por esto nos cumple no descansar, sino caminar con priesa. Luego se partieron, y iban tan turbados, y apresurados, que en ninguna cosa recibian consuelo, ni en el comer, ni en el dormir, ni les daba contento cosa ninguna. Iban suspirando, afligida, y afectuosamente, atonitos, y angustiados. Callaban todos, guardando silencio estraño, y quando se hablaban à solas, los unos, à los otros, decian: avemos visto cosas tan espantosas, y raras, que son indicio, de que han de venir sobre Nosotros grandes males, y tribulaciones. Pero Señor Dios, quienes seràn, ò de donde vendràn aquellos, que nos han de conquistar à Nosotros los Mexicanos? Què somos los Poderosos, Antiguos, y Temidos en todos estos Reinos? Por què causa vamos tan angustiados, y atribulados? Què nuestro Coraçon con golpes, que nos dà en el pecho, nos dice la pena, que llevamos? Indicio es este de algun gran mal, que se nos acerca. En estas, y otras consideraciones, fueron su Camino, y à brevisimas Jornadas, llegaron à esta Ciudad de Mexico, algunas horas pasadas de la Noche, y fueronse derechos à los Palacios del Rei Motecuhçuma, y dixeron à los de la Camara, que diesen aviso al Rei, de su llegada, y que si estaba durmiendo, lo despertasen, porque el caso no sufria tardança, ni dilacion; y que le dixesen: Señor, buelto han los Embaxadores, que embiastes à la Mar, à recibir à nuestro Dios Quetzalcohuatl; entraron las Guardas à decirselo, y quando lo oiò Motecuhçuma, dixo: Decidles, que no entren acà, sino que se vaian à la Sala de la Judicatura, y que alli me aguarden. Luego mandò aprestar Esclavos, para un Sacrificio, è yendo à la Sala del Juzgado, congregò los del Consejo, y Ministros, que hicieron el Sacrificio de los Esclavos, con cuia Sangre rociaron à los Embaxadores. Esta Ceremonia usaban quando venia alguna Embaxada de mucha importancia, en casos graves, y nuevamente acaecidos.

"Despues que fue hecha aquella Idolatrica Ceremonia, de rociar à los Embaxadores, con la Sangre, de los que avian muerto; sentòse Motecuhçuma en su Trono, y Silla, para oìr con Aplauso, y Magestad, la Embaxada, que los Mensageros traìan: porque segun creìa, tenia por averiguado, que era Quetzalcohuatl, el que avia llegado à la Costa del Mar, y aguardaba la raçon cierta, de lo que determinaba en orden de su Venida. Luego los Mensageros, postrados en Tierra, la besaron; (que en su Lengua llaman Tlalcualiztli, que es Ceremonia Idolatrica de Adoracion) y asi postrados, començò el Principal, que avia ido por Maior, à esta Embaxada, de esta manera: Señor Poderoso, y Rei nuestro, luego que llegamos à la Orilla de el Mar, estos Criados tuios, y Yo, vimos dentro de la Agua, unas Casas grandisimas, todas de Madera, con grandes Artificios dentro, y fuera, las quales andan por el Agua honda de la Mar, como las Canoas, que acà Nosotros usamos, para nuestra Laguna, y Acequias; dixeronnos, que estas Casas se llaman Navios, y ninguno de Nosotros sabrà decir los diversos Edificios, y cosas, que en sì contienen. Fuimos en Canoas à ellos, y entramos en el principal Navio (ò Casa de Agua) donde estaba el Estandarte, que traìan. Eran los Navios muchos, y en cada uno venia mucha Gente, y todos nos estuvieron mirando, hasta que subimos en el del Capitan. Luego procuramos vèr al Señor Quetzalcohuatl, en cuia busca ibamos, para darle el Presente, que llevabamos, y mostraronnos en una Pieça apartada, un Señor sentado en un Trono, mui ricamente vestido, y señalandolo con la mano, nos dixeron: Este es el que buscais; postramonos à sus Pies, besando la Tierra, y adorandolo, como à Dios; luego le diximos, lo que nos mandaste, y le compusimos con los Vestidos, y Joias, que nos diste, y presentamosle lo demàs, que llevamos para darle, y puesto todo à sus pies, nos dieron à entender, que era poco. Aquel Dia nos trataron bien, y nos dieron de comer, y de beber de un licor bueno, que llamaron Vino; aquella Noche dormimos en el Navio; à la Mañana quisieron probar nuestras Fuerças, y mandabannos pelear con ellos; escusamonos con mucha fuerça, y resistencia. Aprisionaronnos, y soltaron pieças, que con sus Truenos,

indirectly even that of Gomara himself; since he affirms that the Mexicans, when they beheld the Spanish fleet approaching, declared that it was Quecalcoatle who was coming, bringing his temples along with him ("con sus templos à cuestas"). It is necessary to come therefore to the other conclusion,—that Cortes kept the matter a secret because there were those who did not wish it to be known in Europe that he had been taken for the Messiah in America. But great as was the folly of Montezuma in thus blindly following the faith of his ancestors, it does not surpass that of some of the modern Jews, inhabitants of Morocco, who annually confine in a coffer a virgin of their own race, in the hope that she may give birth to their expected Messiah. The fact which is here related upon the testimony of a modern traveller will perhaps be denied by those who can see nothing ridiculous or monstrous in any thing that is the subject of Jewish faith or practice. The last authority which shall be adduced to confute the argument which Acosta triumphantly brings forward to prove that the religion of the Mexicans had no tincture of Judaism mixed with it, and that the Mexicans could not be descended from the Jews,—viz. that they did not expect a Messiah,—is taken from the twenty-fourth chapter of the fifth book of that learned writer's celebrated work, The Natural and Moral History of the Indies. He there calls Quecalcoatle by his other appellation of Topiltzin, which signifies *our son*, since that is the name of which Tolpicni is evidently the corruption; which Topiltzin the Mexicans believed had gone to Tlapallan (the country of the Red Sea), and was at some future period to return to them from thence; the Jews probably having applied to Quecalcoatle the prediction "Out of Egypt have I called my son," and made him take that imaginary voyage in order to fulfil ancient prophecy by bringing him back again*.—It will be seen from the following extract that Acosta and Torquemada nearly agree in their accounts of Montezuma's embassy to Cortes and of the principal circumstances which attended it.

"Anno regni Moteçumæ 14, nati verò Salvatoris nostri Christi 1517, in boreali oceano naves, multis populis conspicuæ apparuerunt, magna sanè Indorum admiratione. Qui ut sciscitarentur, quænam illæ gentes essent, Canois suis, cibariis varii generis, ac pannis, vendendi specie onustis, ad ipsas naves quamproximè successerunt. Illis vero ab Hispanis in naves receptis, pro cibis ac vestibus fila aliquot lapidum rubrorum, flavorum ac viridium data sunt:

y Relampagos nos espantaron mucho, y nos hicieron caer como muertos. Despues, que bolvimos en Nosotros, y nos dieron de comer, vimos sus Armas, y sus Caballos, y sus Perros, que les aiudan en la Pelea, de que nos espantamos mucho mas; y seria cosa mui prolixa, y larga, contar todas las cosas, en particular. Dicen, que vienen acà, à conquistarnos, y à robarnos, no sabemos mas; si vinieren acà, sabremos lo que quieren, y lo que pueden; solo decimos, que venimos grandemente espantados, y atemoriçados. Mucho se admirò Motecuhçuma, de lo que estos Embaxadores dixeron, y mudaronsele los colores de el rostro, y mostrò mui gran tristeça, y desmaio.

"Asentòsele en el Coraçon, que se avian de vèr en mui grandes trabajos, y afrentas, asi èl, como todos los de su Imperio, y Reino: movido de este sentimiento, començò à llorar amargamente, y todos los que con èl estaban; y estas lagrimas, y llanto, corriò despues por todos los de la Ciudad, asi Chicos, como Grandes; luego començaron por las Plaças, y Calles à hacer corrillos, y à llorar, los unos con los otros, incitandose à este llanto con raçones tiernas, y sentidas: Decian los grandes males, que amenaçaban, y la ruina, y caida, que avian de tener, como si yà estuvieran en ella, adivinandolos el coraçon, lo que despues les sobrevino. Andaban todos cabizbaxos, y llorosos; los Padres, doliendose de sus Hijos, les decian: Ay de mi, y de vosotros Hijos mios, què grandes males aveis de vèr; y lo peor es, que los aveis de pasar, y sufrir. Lo mismo decian las Madres à sus Hijas, con otras lastimas, que el grande amor, y tristeça les enseñaba. Con estas muestras de tristeça pasaron la Noche, y el Dia todo, y Motecuhçuma, como mas interesado en el honor, y honra, que podia perder, lo sentia mas, que todos."

* This prophecy is cited by Saint Matthew in the fifteenth verse of the second chapter of his Gospel, who there refers to what Hosea says of the Messiah in the first verse of the eleventh chapter of his Book of Prophecies: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt;" who would appear to speak historically as well as prophetically. The clearest prophecies relating to the Messiah are, however, supposed to be found in the Psalms, which, as being a portion of Scripture so frequently recurred to to prove that Christ was the true Messiah, it is the more surprising should have been in very early ages interpolated by the insertion of the following passage in the eighteenth verse of the 103rd Psalm (the 104th in the English Bible). "Illic passeres nidificabunt, Erodi domus dux est eorum." "Sparrows shall build their nests there, the house of Herod shall be their resort." Had this prophecy been genuine, it would have been even more famous than that which made mention of Cyrus by name so many years before he was born; since the events to which it related,—the desolation of Jerusalem, and its ruined habitations, the abode no longer of man but of sparrows; and the express mention of the name of Herod in reference to the punishment which awaited him for his massacre of the children of Bethlehem,—would have stamped it with the seal of far greater importance. It may be proper to observe, that in the Venetian vulgate, *Herodii* is substituted for *Erodi*, which latter reading Sir William Betham found in an ancient copy of the Psalms, which he imagines was transcribed by the hand of Saint Columbkill himself, who was born in the year 521 and died in 597. It is probable that the interpolated passage was originally connected with the remainder of the sentence by some such expression as 'but as for the wicked and their habitations.' The remark above, that Hosea seems to speak historically as well as prophetically, is made in reference to the twenty-second verse of the fourth chapter of Exodus, where God thus addresses Moses: "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, even my first-born."

quos Indi pro gemmis accipiebant. Et cum de regis sui magnificentia multa jactassent, discedentes dicebant, se gemmas has suo domino dono exhibituros esse. His ergo Hispani mandabant, ut regi suo nunciarent, quod, qui dedissent hæc, ipsum jam convenire non possint: facturos tamen, ut in reditu suo ipsum compellent et invisant. Hoc nuncio Indi in Mexico properabant, et in linteis, quæcunque vidissent, accuratè depicta ferebant, nempe tum ipsas naves, tum homines, et horum habitum: et simul acceptos ab ipsis lapillos quoque promebant. Quibus auditis, cum Moteçuma oppidò obstupesceret: ne quicquam cuiquam de his revelarent, nunciantibus seriò interdixit. Sequente die consiliarios suos cogens, pannos ac lapillorum lineas iis ostendens, quid his rebus medii obvertendum sit, in commune consulere jubebat. Sententiis collectis, decretum est, ut in littoribus maris diligentes excubiæ fierent, et si quid novi accideret, ad regem maturè enunciaretur. Sequente anno 1518, è littoribus classem illam prospectarunt, quam Marchio de Valle, Don Ferdinandus Cortês moderabatur. Hujus indicio accepto, Moteçuma graviter percellebatur. Et cum de istis rebus cum subditis conferret, universi responderunt, haud dubio avum magnum Quetzalcoal, qui jam ab oriente, quo abierat, rediret, classis illius præfectum esse. Nam per omnem Indiam passim magnus rumor vagabatur, quod olim à potentissimo quodam domino deserti fuissent, qui abiens ipsis certum reditum spoponderit: de qua re alibi planius acturi sumus. Tandem verò communi decreto, cum honorariis amplissimis quinque insignes legati ad Hispanos emissi sunt, qui eos pro more exciperent et salutarent, dicerentque, nihil se nescios esse, magnum imperatorem Quetzalcoal jam rursus appellere: ideoque servum ejus Moteçumam ad ipsum legatos amandasse, qui dicerent, Moteçumam Quetzalcoal servum esse. Legati autem Hispanos Indi cujusdam, Marinæ, quem secum adduxerant, interpretatione intelligebant.

Is enim Mexicanæ linguæ peritus erat. Hanc itaque salutationem Ferdinandus Cortês admodum proposito suo in civitatem ingrediundi idoneam fore ratus, conclave suum exornari jubebat, et Legatos ad se intromittebat. Hunc Indi tanta submissione et veneratione adibant, ut quin adorarent, parum abesset. Dicebant autem, servum Moteçumam ipsum salvere jubere, et gubernatoris loco civitatem ejus hactenus moderari. Scire enim se, jam advenam non nisi Tolpicni esse ipsissimum, qui ante plurimos annos ad Mexicanos reditum pollicitus esset. Juxtà Ferdinando quoque vestes eas, quas Tolpicni, cum inter ipsos olim versaretur, gestare solebat, offerebant, devotè rogantes, ut eas cum cæteris oblatis donariis accipere non dedignetur. Acceptis muneribus Cortês *se ipsum illum esse*, quem salutarent, respondebat. Quod Legatis apprimè placebat, se tam familiariter et amicè ab advenis tractari haberique. Quæ certè Ducis hujus comitas meritò laudanda est. Omninò enim secum decreverat, gentem hanc beneficentia et lenitate lucrari: cui instituto jam delatæ occasiones non inidoneæ futuræ videbantur. Etsi verò, ut diximus, Cortês votum hoc unicum haberet, ut comitate et mansuetudine gentes has ad Evangelium agnoscendum invitaret: enormia tamen immanissimorum istorum homicidarum, ac Sathanæ mancipiorum peccata de cœlo ingentem pœnam sollicitabant: adeò ut moderationi Christianæ nullus hîc locus esset. Radix enim arefacta excindenda erat: ut unius cæcitas dicente Apostolo, alterius beatitas esset. Postero die duces et classis præfecti universi in prætoria navi deliberabant, qua via, quo modo, cùm Moteçuma Rex admodum opulentus et potens sit, autoritatem sibi quandam apud Mexicanos conciliarent, ut ab ipsis strenui Heroes haberentur, et ut, licet numero pauciores, præ incolarum formidine in Mexico facilè reciperentur. Isti captationi ut viam aliquam struerent, tormenta simul omnia, quæ in navibus erant, certatim displodebant: quo fragore Indos, rerum harum nescios, usque adeo terrebant, ut cœlum sibi in caput deruere putarent. Posteà Indos ad conflictum Hispani invitabant. Quod cum Indi detrectarent: magna infamia timiditatem ipsis Hispani exprobrantes, deinceps eos durius tractabant, et gladios, hastasque, et bipennes, armaque similia, metus et formidinis incutiendæ gratia ipsis ostendebant. His jam factis offensi Indi, de Hispanis longè aliam sententiam ferebant, dicentes dominum ac regem suum Tolpicni inter ipsos haud quaquam versari, sed eos Deos hostesque peregrinos esse, qui ad perdendos se huc contendissent. Legatis verò in Mexico redeuntibus, Moteçuma in domo quatuor columnarum sacris vacabat. Ad quem priusquam itarent, infelix homo magnum captivorum numerum mactabat, quorum sanguine Legatos perspergens, hoc ritu felix nuncium captabat. Cum verò de forma navium armorumque indicium acciperet, horrore totus rigebat: tandemque multis deliberationibus habitis decernebat, ad hos advenas exigendos et perdendos nullum medium commodius prostare, quam ut eos vi magica, quam artem admodum familiarem habebant, et per quam maxima sæpius opera communione diaboli confecerant, arcerent. Congregati ergò undelibet magi Moteçumæ juratò stipulabantur, hos peregrinos è suo territorio penitus ejicere. Quo facto in secreta et commoda loca, ubi cum diabolo deliberarent, et ex arte sua efficacius operarentur, secedebant. Tentatis itaque tentandis omnibus, nulla tamen parte Christianis nocere se posse videntes, ad regem redeunt, dicuntque, qui foris in navibus versarentur, altiores et potentiores cæteris hominibus esse, ut quibus nulla incantatio, nulla effasci-

natio damnum inferret vel minimum. Hoc ergò medio nihil succedente, viam Moteçuma aliam ingressus, simulat, quasi adventu hospitum apprimè delectaretur: et per omnes suas provincias mandat, ut subditi cœlestibus diis istis jam advenis in omnibus ministrarent, et parerent. Nuncium hoc, et quod simul Hispani de ipsorum Rege, et ejus regni ratione et opulentia curiosius inquirerent, Indos universos in mœrorem maximum conjectabat. Quæ res vel ipsi quoque regi id intelligenti dividiæ erat. Cum verò magos suos iterum, quid faceret, consuluisset, jusserunt, ut se alicubi absconderet. Facturos se etiam promittebant, ut in ea loca abduceretur, ubi à nemine mortalium unquam inveniri posset. Hoc cum ipsi consilium inane videretur, decrevit, hospites suos expectare, etsi cum vitæ dispendio ea res futura sit. Tandem verò è palatio suo regio in aliam domum se efferebat, ut in illo peregrini Dii commodius haberent."

We come now to the last striking trait of resemblance between the Jews and the Mexicans, which consisted in their mutual proneness to idolatry, to which we shall give the more general appellation of *divination*; understanding by that term not only the worship which they paid to inanimate objects and to the beings of their own imaginations, but likewise the predilection which both nations equally manifested for diviners, dreamers of dreams, seers of visions, and false prophets;—this was the class of people who led astray the Jews, and these were they who guided the Mexicans. If Scripture had been silent respecting the gross state at which idolatry had arrived amongst the Jews,—from the mention which it makes of the frequency of their human sacrifices, of their passing their children through the fire, and of their shedding innocent blood very much, in allusion to their immolation of infants in the valley close to the gates of Jerusalem, called Tophet,—it might reasonably have been supposed from an *à fortiore* mode of reasoning, that the Hebrew nation exceeded in idolatry every other nation of the world. But we are enabled, appealing to the authority of the Old Testament, to give a faithful account of the rise and progress of idolatry amongst them, (decline it never experienced any,) and to prove that in this contest all other nations must yield to them the palm. And here we may remark, that if but one good result be attained by bringing prominently forward so disgusting a page of history as that which records the Hebrew idolatries,—the placing the religions of classical antiquity in a more favourable light, by the contrast which they present to the bloody superstitions of the Jews, whose morals it has been so much the fashion to commend,—it will not be inconsiderable; since it will tend to advance the cause of truth. With the Jews idolatry was coëval with the foundation of their state, and existed amongst them even before they were a people, which may at first appear paradoxical, although if we refer to the thirty-first chapter of Genesis, we shall find the fact placed beyond the possibility of contradiction: for Rachel the wife of the patriarch Jacob is there said to have stolen her father Laban's idols, for the purpose of carrying those objects of her reverence to the country whither she was going. And Laban himself, although the grand-nephew of Abraham, and acquainted with the true God, who sometimes appeared to him in visions, as it would seem from his address to Jacob on overtaking him after his flight, was still an idolater, as we learn from the same chapter of Genesis; which gives the following account of the cause of the quarrel between Jacob and Laban, of the subsequent departure of the former from the house of the latter, and of Rachel's stealing her father's images. "And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not toward him as before. And the Lord said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred; and I will be with thee. And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock, and said unto them, I see your father's countenance, that it is not toward me as before: but the God of my father hath been with me. And ye know, that with all my power I have served your father. And your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times: but God suffered him not to hurt me. If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy hire; then bare all the cattle ringstraked. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given them to me. And it came to pass, at the time that the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ringstraked, speckled, and grisled. And the angel of God spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob: And I said, Here am I. And he said, Lift up now thine eyes and see, all the rams which leap upon the cattle are ringstraked, speckled, and grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am the God of Beth-el, where thou anointedst the pillar, and where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred. And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath quite devoured also our money. For all the riches which God hath taken from our father, that is our's, and our children's: now then, whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do. Then Jacob rose up, and set

his sons and his wives upon camels: and he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods which he had gotten, the cattle of his getting, which he had gotten in Padan-aram, for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan. And Laban went to shear his sheep: and Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's. And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled. So he fled with all that he had; and he rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mount Gilead. And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and they overtook him in the mount Gilead. And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad. Then Laban overtook Jacob. Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mount: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mount of Gilead. And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters as captives taken with the sword? Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me, and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp? And hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? Thou hast now done foolishly in so doing. It is in the power of my hand to do you hurt: but the God of your father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad. And now, though thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore longedst after thy father's house; yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" The conduct of Rachel in secretly carrying away her father's gods must appear very strange; and idolatry in her, who as well as her elder sister Leah had been for so many years the wife of a patriarch, was much more scandalous than in her father Laban. But throughout the Jewish history the same inconsistencies are met with in the characters even of persons of the greatest reputed sanctity, whom the Jews would hold forth as models for example to all succeeding ages: and it is very unaccountable how such persons, in whom *faith was the evidence of things seen,* should on so many trying occasions have exhibited in their conduct a total want of it. Of Moses himself it is said, that in the wilderness his faith was staggered. If David's conduct in taking the wife of Uriah did not argue a want of faith, he at least displayed the greatest presumption, in so openly defying God and the prophet Nathan. But it is most strange of all, that Solomon's faith in the existence of only one God should have become so completely shaken in the latter years of his reign: and that the Jews *en masse,* immediately after emerging from the Red Sea, ere well the fiery bolt that destroyed Pharaoh had returned to the hand that launched it, should have called up on Aaron to make them a golden calf, and have exclaimed, on beholding the finish which that master's hand had given to the image, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The faith of Abraham, however, in paying such ready obedience to the commands of God, as to be prepared to shed the blood of his own son upon his altar, is, after all, the high example of faith which the Jews propose for the admiration of all succeeding ages;—may it ever remain inimitable! but we fear that it has been imitated by his descendants in the New World. Whether the sins of the later Jewish kings proceeded from their want of faith, or want of knowledge, it would be difficult to say; since we read in the twenty-second chapter of the Second Book of Kings, that in the reign of Josiah a copy of the book of the law was found in the house of the Lord by Hilkiah the high priest: from the mention of which curious fact, and the subsequent steps taken by Josiah, it is very evident that the Mosaic records had nearly been lost through the utter contempt which the preceding evil generations had felt for them, and that their preservation has been owing to the discovery of this chance copy; which may serve also to explain why the Book of the Wars of the Lord, and the Books of Nathan, and of Iddo the Seer, &c. &c. have irrecoverably perished. At the same time it may be observed, that the Psalms, the only portion of the Old Testament which the laity of Europe were permitted to read during many a long and dark age, although they were required to believe its entire contents, might have been that portion only which the priests and Levites allowed the Jewish populace to exercise their private judgments upon. And hence but a few copies of the Pentateuch probably existed amongst the Jews before the period of the Babylonian captivity, and perhaps no where else but in the temple; which would explain how, without its being so much the fault of the people, all the copies of the Pentateuch might have been lost except the one which was found in the reign of Josiah, who lived towards the latter end of the seventh century before the Christian æra. Under the Judges, under the Kings, during the captivity, and after the captivity until the period of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, the Jews abandoned themselves to all kinds of idolatry: they built high places (or teocallis), they planted groves, they worshiped idols under every green tree, they adored the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven; they burned incense to the famous brazen serpent called Nehushtan (which in this manner damned more souls through idolatry than it had ever cured bodies of diseases); they worshiped other serpents; the kings

of Israel made new molten images of calves, probably in recollection of the Egyptian Apis, for certainly they must have forgotten the calf of Aaron, which had brought down plagues and not blessings upon the house of Israel; and the inhabitants of Jerusalem offered up their homage to the queen of heaven, who was perhaps the same as the Mexican goddess Chalchiuitlicue. The practice of all these idolatries and of far greater abominations did not last for a day or for a year only; but from the reign of Rehoboam the son of Solomon, from whom the ten tribes revolted, to that of Zedekiah the last king of Judah, who was carried away captive to Babylon; and from the reign of Jeroboam the first king of Israel, to that of Hoshea the last, who was also carried into captivity by Shalmaneser king of Assyria. It is true that in the reigns of the very few Jewish kings, whose names are mentioned in terms of approbation in the two Books of Kings, and in the Second Book of Chronicles, such as Hezekiah and Josiah, the people, influenced by their example, became less corrupt: but it must not be forgotten that the time existed when there was only one true prophet in all Israel, as Elijah feelingly declares in the twenty-second verse of the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, "Then said Elijah unto the people, I, even I only, remain a prophet of the Lord; but Baal's true prophets are four hundred and fifty men:" and the followers of Moses did not amount to more than a few thousand persons. This state of things amongst those who boasted that they were the chosen and the sole people of God, can more easily be imagined than described. How they ever could have arrived at it may be matter of wonder; but it should at the same time be a lesson to their descendants to moderate their pretensions to the possession of an honour to which it is clear their merits never entitled them. It may here be proper to prove, from Scripture, some of the facts alleged above; the truth of all of which must be admitted by those who may not think it right to undermine the authority of the English version of the Bible by appealing from it to the Hebrew text, or wise to set up their own suppositions against the interpretations which the most learned Hebrew scholars, including the Rabbis, have put upon the very same passages of Scripture. With respect to the similitude of the Hebrew high places to the Mexican teocallis, the former of which it might at first be supposed were natural hills; it is evident, from the manner in which they are mentioned in many places of the Old Testament, that they were artificial constructions. This may be clearly inferred from the words of Ezekiel in the twenty-fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter of his Prophecies, where he says, addressing Judah, "Thou hast also *built* unto thee an eminent place, and hast made thee an high place in every street." Of Josiah it is said, in the twenty-third chapter of the Second Book of Kings, "And the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the Lord, did the king beat down, and brake them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron. And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the *mount of corruption*, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile." It seems probable from this account that the Hebrew high places had altars upon their upper area, like the Mexican temples, and courts below; and that they were dedicated, as were those temples, to different deities. It would also appear from what follows in the same chapter, of Josiah spying the sepulchres and causing the bones to be taken from them and burned upon the altar *, in order to pollute it,—that the bones of the Jewish priests and nobles were deposited, like those of the Mexicans, in sacred mounds or tumuli within the precincts of the temple. That the Jews worshiped the sun, the moon, and the planets, may be proved from the fourth, fifth, and eleventh verses of the above-mentioned chapter of the Second Book of Kings, which records the following acts of Josiah: "And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Beth-el. And he put down the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven. And he took away the horses that the *kings of Judah* had given to the sun, at the entering in *of the house of the Lord*, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs, and *burned the chariots of the sun with fire*." That the tribe of Judah offered incense to the brazen serpent is stated in

* The thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, where that prophet prophesies over a multitude of dry human bones which he beheld in a vision, is a very extraordinary chapter; it might have laid the foundation for some of the many superstitions which the Mexicans practised with dry human bones.

the fourth verse of the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, together with the further curious piece of information that they had done so from the days of Moses (who, according to Scripture chronology, lived in the fifteenth century before the Christian era) until the reign of Hezekiah, which was about seven hundred years later; who, it is said, "removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and he called it Nehushtan." That the residue of the ten tribes, or the Samaritans, worshiped serpents, is declared in the fifteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon: "But for the foolish devices of their wickedness, wherewith being deceived *they worshiped serpents void of reason,* and vile beasts, thou didst send a multitude of unreasonable beasts upon them for vengeance." The Jewish populace, after they had sunk into the grossest idolatries, might probably have felt disposed to pay superstitious reverence to serpents, on account of the tradition of the mighty prodigies which that reptile had been the instrument of performing in the hands of Moses; and their diviners and soothsayers might have been tempted to impose upon their credulity, by further availing themselves of the current notion that it was *the most subtle* of the beasts of the field, and hence an animal fit for the purposes of divination. It is very extraordinary that the Mexicans should have assigned to the serpent the same quality of superior wisdom as the Jews did, since we read of no other nations except the Jews and the Mexicans who believed in that fact in natural history. Doctor Nardo Reccho, who epitomized, by order of Philip the Second, king of Spain, that portion of the writings of Hernandez which related to the plants of New Spain, says, speaking of the Olliuhiqui or Coaxihuitl, that that plant received the latter appellation, equivalent in signification to serpent's grass, and was also named 'the plant of the wise,' because the Mexicans attributed wisdom and prudence to the serpent: "Alia planta Olliuhiqui, a seminis coriandro similis rotunditate, eadem Coaxihuitl, id est, serpentis herba, nuncupatur: *tribuunt serpentibus sapientiam et prudentiam,* quare sapientium planta appellatur. Sacrifici enim Indi, cum videri volebant versari cum superis, et responsa accepisse ab eis, eâ vescebantur plantâ, ut desiperent, milleque phantasmata et dæmonum obversantium effigies circumspectarent: tribuit enim id Solano maniaco Dioscorides *; quare satius fuisset herbam desipientium et maniacorum, et non sapientium nuncupare."—Rerum Medicarum Novæ Hispaniæ lib. I. cap. v. From the allusion in Scripture to the deaf adder that refuses to listen to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely, it would appear that other species of serpents were considered of a more tractable nature by the Jews. A curious representation of a Mexican juggler charming two serpents with a wand, one of which is bending towards him to lick his hand, occurs in the seventeenth page of the Mexican painting belonging to M. de Fejérváry.

The custom of worshiping serpents,—in which the Jews resembled the Mexicans, who sometimes adored Quecalcoatle under that form,—was however far more innocent than another kind of worship which that extravagantly idolatrous people are said in the fifteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles to have paid to devils; "And he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made." Jeroboam is here signified, to whom the ten tribes revolted from Rehoboam, who, like all usurpers, studied in the first acts of his reign to gratify the inclinations of the people;—but over what sort of people must he have reigned, when this was the line of state policy which he thought it advisable to pursue! This single verse of the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles is sufficient, by justifying an appeal from arguments to facts, to confute volumes of laboured apology which have been written in the defence of the Jews, by those who are their mistaken friends, rather than real well-wishers to the great family of mankind, from whom the Hebrew nation was so early separated, and whose professed hatred to idolatry was, as the ancient philosophers alleged, rather a hatred to the rest of the human race, and to institutions which differed from their own, than any real aversion to idols†; and hence the opprobrium which the epithet of *uncircumcised,* when uttered by the Jews in reference to their enemies, carried with it, although religion might well blush that such a reproach should ever have been cast in her name. With respect to the worship which the Jews are said in more places than one in Scripture to have paid

* The Tultecas, according to Mexican tradition, were well acquainted with the medical properties of herbs. It is singular that they should have ascribed to some of them the same imaginary virtues as the old physicians, which coincidence was probably not owing to mere chance. The *Aristolochia* of Dioscorides was named by the Mexicans *Phapuame,* the reasons for the etymology of the Greek and Mexican proper names being the same.

† Maimonides we believe it is, who, in his decisions on questions relating to the Hebrew laws, denies that a Jew would be justified by the written law of God in killing an idolater simply because he was an idolater, admitting at the same time, that if he saw such a person drowning, it might be a question in their law whether he would have a right to save him if he refused to become a proselyte.

to the queen of heaven, it would appear from Jeremiah's expostulation with his countrymen who had fled in great numbers into Egypt when the rest of their brethren were carried captives to Babylon, that they continued that worship in the country which had again afforded to the outcast seed of Israel an asylum; since the only reply which they made to that prophet was that which is recorded in the forty-fourth chapter of his Book: "Then all the men which knew that their wives had burned incense unto other gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee. But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, *we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes,* in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem: for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil. *But since we left off* to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine. And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink-offerings unto her, did we make her *cakes* to worship her, and pour out drink-offerings unto her, without our men?" This chapter of Jeremiah is further deserving of the attention of those who may be inclined to suppose that America was colonized by Jews belonging to the ten tribes who were carried away in the earlier captivity of Shalmaneser, because it unequivocally declares that Egypt was the country where the Jews who had escaped the Babylonian captivity sought an asylum; and it is so much more probable that some of these Jews might have passed over to America from a port in the Mediterranean, than that, as grave writers contend, the Euphrates should have divided, like the Red Sea, to afford a passage either to all or to a portion of the ten tribes, who, crossing over it, they suppose journeyed through Tartary, and arrived at the narrow straits which separate the old from the new continent, and in this manner proceeded to America. If, however, we may be permitted to venture an opinion upon so obscure a question, it would be, that America was colonized by the Jews at a much later period than that of either the Assyrian or the Babylonian captivity,—shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; and that in succeeding ages other colonies, consisting both of Jews and Christians, visited that continent. It is unnecessary to adduce other passages from the Old Testament, more especially out of the Books of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, to prove the degsedation of the state at which idolatry had arrived amongst the Jews: and we have purposely refrained from referring to the works of some of their most eminent Rabbis, whose writings teem with portentous narratives, lest the facts alleged should appear to rest upon doubtful authority, or at least be pronounced to be apocryphal. We cannot omit, however, to insert in this place a short extract from the Jewish author Maimonides, whose notions upon the subject of ancient judicial astrology seem nearly to have accorded with the practice of the Nagualists, as described by the Bishop of Chiapa in his ninth pastoral letter: "The ancient astrologers having consecrated to each planet a *colour,* an animal, a tree, a metal, a fruit, a plant,—formed from them all a figure or representation of the star, taking care to select for the purpose a proper moment, a fortunate day, such as a conjunction or some other favourable aspect: they conceived that by their magic ceremonies they could introduce into those figures or idols the influences of the superior beings after which they were *modelled.* These were the idols that the Chaldean Sabeans adored, and in the performance of their worship *they were obliged to be dressed in the proper colour.* Thus the astrologers by their practices introduced idolatry, desirous of being regarded as the dispersers of the favours of heaven; and as agriculture was the sole employment of the ancients, they succeeded in persuading them that the rain and other blessings of the seasons were at their disposal: thus the whole art of agriculture was exercised by rules of astrology, and the priests made talismans, or charms, which were to drive away locusts, flies, &c." Maimonides, More Nebuchim, part 3. chap. 9. It is only necessary to observe upon this curious passage of Maimonides, that the Mexicans consecrated a particular colour—blue, green, or red—to each of their heavens, which were nine in number. The following is Nuñez de la Vega's account of the Nagualists: "The Nagualists practise it (divination) by superstitious calendars, wherein are inserted the proper names of all the Naguals, of stars, the elements, birds, beasts, fishes, and reptiles, with observations upon the months and days, in order that children, as soon as they are born, may be dedicated to that which in the calendar corresponds with the day of their birth: this is preceded by some frantic ceremonies and the express consent of parents, which is an implicit pact between the infants and the Naguals that are to be given to them. They then appoint the milpa or place, when after the completion of seven years they are brought into the presence of the Nagual to ratify the engagement; for this purpose they make them renounce God and his blessed

mother, instructing them beforehand not to be alarmed or sign themselves with the cross; they are afterwards to embrace the Nagual affectionately, which, by some diabolical act or other, appears very tame and fondly attached to them, although it may be a beast of a ferocious nature, as a lion, a tiger, &c. They persuade the children by their infernal cunning, that this Nagual is an angel sent by God to watch over their fortunes, to protect, assist, and accompany them, and that it must be invoked upon all occasions of business or occurrences in which they may require its aid." It is to the Mexican paintings, the works of Garcia and Torquemada, and the Old Testament, that we beg to refer those who may desire to be better acquainted with the Mexican and Jewish idolatries, which tend mutually to illustrate each other. Ezekiel in the eighth chapter of his Book of Prophecies gives the following account of a vision, in which he beheld the idolatry of the Jews. How applicable would this description "So I went in and saw, and behold every form of *creeping things* and abominable beasts, and *all the idols* of the house of Israel *pourtrayed upon the wall round about*" (the prophet here refers to the temple of Jerusalem, and the sanctuary of Jehovah) have been, as applied to the greater temple of Mexico, the walls of which were ornamented with very curious *imagery* carved in stone, which Cortes thus describes in his letters to Charles the Fifth: "Hay bien quarenta torres muy altas, y bien obradas, que la mayor tiene cincuenta escalones para subir al cuerpo de la torre; la mas principal es mas alta que la torre de la iglesia mayor de Sevilla. Son tan bien labradas, assi de canteria, como de madera, que no pueden ser mejor hechas ni labradas en ninguna parte; porque toda la canteria de dentro de las capillas donde tienen los idolos, es de *imagineria*, y zaquizamies, y el maderamiento es todo de mazoneria, y *muy pintado de cosas de monstruos*, y otras figuras y labores." "And it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord God fell there upon me. Then I beheld, and lo a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; and from his loins even upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber. *And he put forth the form of an hand*, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the inner gate that looketh toward the north; where was the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy. And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel was there, according to the vision that I saw in the plain. Then said he unto me, Son of man, lift up thine eyes now the way toward the north. So I lifted up mine eyes the way toward the north, and behold northward at the gate of the altar this image of jealousy in the entry. He said furthermore unto me, Son of man, seest thou what they do? even the great abominations that the house of Israel committeth here, that I should go far off from my sanctuary? but turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations. And he brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about. And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, *with every man his censer in his hand;* and a thick cloud of incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the earth."

Idolatry has existed in many countries in many forms, and it must be confessed that if the fine arts have greatly contributed by the splendour of architecture, the perfection of statuary, and inimitable paintings, to elevate the religious feelings of the soul, their proper use has not unfrequently been perverted. But there is a great deal of difference between what are called the idolatries of heathen nations: the Egyptian interests the mind by its mysteries; that of the Brahmins by the sacred solitude of their contemplative life; and the images in the Grecian temples, by the more than mortal beauty with which the sculptor sought to invest them. But it is idolatry accompanied with living sacrifices, altars reeking with gore, Jewish and Mexican idolatry, that excite our feelings of abhorrence and disgust. With respect to the simply placing a statue in a niche or on a pedestal in a temple, since many wise men and Christians have approved of the practice and even recommended it as useful, notwithstanding the reasoning of the ignorant anabaptists and iconoclasts, who, with the cross for their banner, declared that all things were common; the conclusion at which we arrive is, that, since it is not guilty, it is innocent. If the Jews were forbidden to make graven images, it was probably on account of their moral debasement; and because Moses

could not tell under what figures they might have represented Jehovah himself, a reason which has been assigned by Lyra * (a celebrated commentator on Scripture) for God's having chosen to appear to them in the burning bush rather than in any other manner; and, lastly, because he knew they were a nation utterly destitute of taste for the fine arts, and feared that they would disfigure the ark by placing in it busts resembling those of the Zapotecas, which M. Dupaix believes to have been in the style of the ancient Egyptians. Of this we may be sure, judging from the Talmud, (that deformed web of sacred history and tradition which the Jews assert to be the *mirror* of God,) that if once they had been permitted to consign the allegories of Scripture and the miraculous events of their own history to painting and sculpture, the most monstrous productions would have emanated from their school, and devils rather than angels would have been the offspring of the imaginations of a people disordered with visions, and ever prying into futurity through dreams. In the chapter of Ezekiel, immediately preceding that referred to above, the following remarkable verse occurs, "Make a chain; for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence." It is possible that in obedience to this recommendation the Inga Guainacapa caused the famous golden chain to be made, which the Spaniards were so disappointed at never being able to discover.

We are induced to cite another passage from the twenty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel, because some of the allegorical representations of the Mexican paintings incline us strongly to suspect that the Mexicans were acquainted with that prophet's famous parable of the boiling pot, which he thus delivers: "Again in the ninth year, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, write thee the name of the day, even of this same day: the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem this same day. And utter a parable unto the rebellious house, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Set on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it: Gather the pieces thereof into it, even every good piece, the thigh, and the shoulder; fill it with the choice bones. Take the choice of the flock, and *burn also the bones under it,* and make it boil well, and let them seethe the bones of it therein. Wherefore thus saith the Lord God; Woe to the bloody city, to the pot whose scum is therein, and whose scum is not gone out of it! bring it out piece by piece; let no lot fall upon it. For her blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the top of a rock; she poured it not upon the ground, to cover it with dust; That it might cause fury to come up to take vengeance; I have set her blood upon the top of a rock, that it should not be covered. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God; Woe to the bloody city! I will even make the pile for fire great. Heap on wood, kindle the fire, consume the flesh, and spice it well, *and let the bones be burnt.* Then set it empty upon the coals thereof, that the brass of it may be hot, and may burn, and that the filthiness of it may be molten in it, that the scum of it may be consumed. She hath wearied herself with lies, and her great scum went not forth out of her: her scum shall be in the fire. In thy filthiness is lewdness: because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee. I the Lord have spoken it: it shall come to pass, and I will do it; I

* Lyra was a Jew who embraced Christianity; and possessing a great store of Rabbinical learning, wrote a commentary on the Scriptures, calling in the Talmud to illustrate the Bible. His commentary became very famous, as it gratified the taste of those who thought that the history of the Jews could never be too wonderful, or the account of the discourses which God held with the Hebrews patriarchs descend too much into minutiæ. It however gave occasion to the following Latin distich: "Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset." The Talmud has in fact ever been viewed with jealousy and aversion by the greatest doctors of the Church (of course we do not here mean the Protestant church,—for where did that church exist during the many ages that preceded the Reformation?), whether on account of the traditions which it contains so frequently *contradicting* Scripture, or because the Jews affirm that Moses received it together with the written law from God during the forty days in which he conversed with him in Mount Sinai, or, as we are rather inclined to believe, because it shows that the Jews were a nation of such boundless credulity, and so inordinately fond of the miraculous, that, not content with the miracles which Scripture says God wrought in their favour, they invented with unblushing falsehood thousands more; and these pretended miracles might have a tendency to bring the other class into disrepute: since it is in vain to argue that the truth of the facts recorded in the Old Testament rests entirely upon internal evidence, and in no degree upon the character for veracity which the Jewish nation may be entitled to claim. We may here observe, that the Talmud being an obnoxious book to Christians, unceasing efforts during ages have been made to destroy it; hundreds of thousands of copies of it have been burned by decrees of the Popes, at Milan and the other large towns of Italy. But will any one therefore contend that in the same way as the Jews have been miraculously dispersed, so its anathematized pages have been miraculously kept together? With respect to Jewish conversions to Christianity, we may observe that they are very rare, although apostacy is common, and infidelity general amongst the Jews of the present day, which perhaps the writings of their own countryman Spinoza may have had some share in producing, and the customs of modern times, which do not confine a Jew within the pale of his own sect, but allow him to mix freely with other classes of the community, and thus to divest himself of ignorance and the absurd prejudices of caste.

will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent; according to thy ways, and according to thy doings, shall they judge thee, saith the Lord God."

The paintings more particularly referred to are contained in the twenty-ninth and thirty-second pages of the Borgian MS., and in the forty-first, the fifty-fifth, the seventy-seventh, and the seventy-ninth of the Lesser Vatican MS.: but the figure of a boiling pot is found in other Mexican paintings, and the scum is not unfrequently represented on it. From the following passage in the first chapter of the Book of Jeremiah, it appears that a boiling pot was a type of evil and affliction to the Jews; and it might have had the same signification in the Mexican paintings: "Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth. See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant. Moreover the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Jeremiah, what seest thou? And I said, I see a rod of an almond-tree. Then said the Lord unto me, Thou hast well seen: for I will hasten my word to perform it. And the word of the Lord came unto me the second time, saying, What seest thou? And I said, I see a seething-pot; and the *face* thereof is toward the north. Then the Lord said unto me, Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land. For, lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith the Lord; and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entering of the gates of Jerusalem, and against all the walls thereof round about, and against all the cities of Judah. And I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness, who have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, and worshiped the works of their own hands." Other Mexican paintings, perhaps, contain allusions to the future restoration of the dispersed tribes of Israel; and we may remark that it is not improbable that the three female figures in the eighty-ninth and ninetieth pages of the Lesser Vatican MS., represented each of them as suckling an infant, and no doubt introduced there with some mysterious design, may refer to the famous prophecy of the return of the Jews to their own country, with which Isaiah closes his book, which is as follows: "Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her: That ye may suck, and be satisfied with the breasts of her consolations; that ye may milk out, and be delighted with the abundance of her glory. For thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream: then shall ye suck, ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled upon her knees. As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem. And when ye see this, your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like an herb: and the hand of the Lord shall be known toward his servants, and his indignation toward his enemies. For, behold, the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to rend his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire. For by fire and by his sword will the Lord plead with all flesh: *and the slain of the Lord shall be many.* They that sanctify themselves, and purify themselves in the gardens behind one tree in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, shall be consumed together, saith the Lord. For I know their works and their thoughts: it shall come, that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come, and see my glory. *And I will set a sign among them,* and *I will send those that escape of them unto the nations,* to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal, and Javan, *to the isles afar off,* that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles. And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord. And I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord. For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain. And it shall come to pass, that *from one new moon to another,* and from one sabbath to another, shall *all flesh* come to worship before me, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh."

The supposition that the three female figures with infants at the breast refer to the above prophecy, is chiefly founded upon the situation which they occupy in relation to the Mexican paintings which precede and follow them; since the representation of the Branch is found in the same page as one of these figures, and that Quecalcoatle slaying the Leviathan occurs in the next leaf, which appears to be a consummation of all the shadows, types, and

symbols with which that and the other Mexican paintings abound. It may further be remarked, that in the same manner as the prophets used very strong language when predicting God's indignation against the Jews on account of their sins, and his retributive vengeance, so the Mexicans would naturally, if they had wished to symbolize that language by paintings, have made use of very terrible and revolting images, to do justice to the energy of the prophet's conceptions. How, except by a revolting picture, could they have expressed in painting the following denunciation contained in the thirty-fourth chapter of Isaiah—"The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams: for the Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Idumea. And the unicorns shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls; and their land shall be soaked with blood, and their dust made fat with fatness. For it is the day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion." Some of the representations contained in the Mexican paintings seem to be not unallied to events which happened at a very early period of Hebrew history, and which became the theme and boast of the Jews of all succeeding ages. Of this description was the exploit of Jael, who, although a woman, destroyed Sisera, the captain of the enemies' host, by driving a nail into his temples while he was sleeping in his tent,—a faint tradition of which might have been preserved amongst the Mexicans. In a Mexican painting in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a symbol very much resembling the jaw-bone of an ass, from the side of which water seems to flow forth; which might allude to the story of Samson slaying a thousand of the Philistines with such a bone, which remained miraculously unbroken in his hands, and from which he afterwards quenched his thirst. In the first page of the Borgian MS. a remarkable representation of Quecalcoatle (as the *head-dress* of the figure seems to indicate) vomited from the jaws of some amphibious animal occurs; in reference to which curious painting it would be interesting to know whether the Jews had any tradition that their Messiah would be devoured by a monster, who would afterwards be compelled to yield up his prey, like the serpent in the seventy-fifth page of the Lesser Vatican MS., which a fierce eagle forces to disgorge a rabbit,—the symbol of suffering innocence amongst the Mexicans, according to Baron de Humboldt, which corresponded to the lamb of the Hebrews, and which perhaps was a type substituted for the latter by the Jews of Mexico, and referred by them to Quecalcoatle, in the same manner as their brethren of Peru appear to have replaced the sacrifices of sheep in the Old Continent by those of llamas in the New, the former species of animal being unknown to the Indians before the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them. Or, finally, shall we suppose that the Mexicans might have had some acquaintance with the Book of the prophet Jonah, and have transferred a portion of his history to the mysterious page of their own, which recorded the disappearance of Quecalcoatle in the Red Sea. The writings of that prophet being amongst the most ancient in the world, (since he lived as is generally supposed about the time of the Trojan war,) and the adventures of his life being connected with the present subject of inquiry, we shall here insert his entire Book, which we shall be the more readily excused for doing, since it is very brief, and occupies only two octavo pages of the Old Testament; affording at the same time a new argument in favour of the Jews having colonized America, and transported thither their rites and traditions: "Now the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the son of Amittai, saying, Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me. But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord. But the Lord sent out a great wind into the sea, and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so that the ship was like to be broken. Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god, and cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to lighten it of them. But Jonah was gone down into the sides of the ship; and he lay, and was fast asleep. So the shipmaster came to him, and said unto him, What meanest thou, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not. And they said every one to his fellow, Come, and let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this evil is upon us. So they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah. Then said they unto him, Tell us, we pray thee, for whose cause this evil is upon us; What is thine occupation? and whence comest thou? what is thy country? and of what people art thou? And he said unto them, I am an Hebrew; and I fear the Lord, the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land. Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him, Why hast thou done this? for the men knew that he fled from the presence of the Lord, because he had told them. Then said they unto him, What shall we do unto thee, that the sea may be calm unto us? for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous. And he said unto them, Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the

sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you. Nevertheless the men rowed hard to bring it to the land; but they could not; for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous against them. Wherefore they cried unto the Lord, and said, We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life, and lay not upon us innocent blood: for thou, O Lord, hast done as it pleased thee. So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea: and the sea ceased from her raging. Then the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice unto the Lord, and made vows. Now the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights. Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the fish's belly, and said, I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord, and he heard me; out of the *belly of hell* cried I, and thou heardest my voice. For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas; and the floods compassed me about: all thy billows and thy waves passed over me. Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight; yet I will look again toward thy holy temple. The waters compassed me about, even to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head. I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her bars was about me for ever: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O Lord my God. When my soul fainted within me I remembered the Lord: and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple. They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy. But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving; I will pay that that I have vowed. Salvation is of the Lord. And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land. And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the second time, saying, Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching *that I bid thee*. So Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord. Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey. And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and *sat* in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and *beast* be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not. But it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry. And he prayed unto the Lord, and said, I pray thee, O Lord, was not this my saying, when I was yet in my country? Therefore I fled before unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentedst thee of the evil. Therefore now, O Lord, take, I beseech thee, my life from me; for it is better for me to die than to live. Then said the Lord, Doest thou well to be angry? So Jonah went out of the city, and sat on the east side of the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow, till he might see what would become of the city. And the Lord God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief. So Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd. But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered. And it came to pass, when the sun did arise, that God prepared a vehement east wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished in himself to die, and said, It is better for me to die than to live. And God said to Jonah, Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd? And he said, *I do well to be angry, even unto death.* Then said the Lord, Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night: And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?"

The cause of the prophet Jonah's anger, it may be remarked, was, that God by sparing Nineveh should have made him a false prophet, who had foretold unconditionally its destruction within forty days. But if our admiration for the prophet be not in consequence diminished, will our feelings of respect for the *man* undergo no alteration? Jonah was, nevertheless, the most famous type of the Messiah, to whom Christ himself refers in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew, on occasion of the Scribes and Pharisees asking him for a sign to satisfy them that he was the Messiah: from whence it may be inferred in what estimation the Book of Jonah was

held by the Jews, who, having lost so many other books of Scripture, had preserved this for nearly nine hundred years, until the age of Christ. "Then certain of the Scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee. But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the *heart* of the earth." Many of the Mexican paintings would seem to imply that the Mexicans were acquainted with various books of the Old Testament, and had even attempted to express in brilliant colouring and in hieroglyphics the very same metaphors as had been employed by the prophets, whose frequent denunciations of vengeance against the Jews and other nations, on account of their sins, might have laid the foundation of a school for painting amongst the Mexicans, which sought to convey the same ideas of religious terror to the imagination, but through the medium of another sense. How, it may be demanded, could so many Scriptural allegories and images have presented themselves to the minds of the Mexicans, if they had not had some acquaintance with the forcible, not to say gross, language (but well adapted to the morals of the people addressed,) in which the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah upbraid the Jews? and from what other source could they have been derived? Sahagun says, that in the reign of Ytzcoatl, the lords and principal persons amongst the Mexicans (who were the priests, the Mexican government being a theocracy,) burned all their ancient paintings, that they might not, by falling into the hands of the laity, sink into contempt. If this passage be not, as we suspect it is, wholly an interpolation, (since no sufficient reason is assigned why the Mexicans, after having preserved for so many ages the ancient Tultec paintings, should have destroyed them at a comparatively late period of time, not long before the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them,) but, on the contrary, founded on a tradition partly true,—it might relate to the destruction of the Teoamoxtli (or divine book of the Tultecas) in the reign of the above-mentioned Mexican king; from which the Mexicans might have borrowed these notions and metaphors. The following are passages in the Old Testament which seem to have suggested types and symbols to the Mexican painters. The prophet Jeremiah in the twenty-first verse of the eighth chapter of his Prophecies thus figuratively describes the grief which he felt at the afflicted state of his countrymen; which passage of Scripture might likewise have induced the Mexican priests to paint their faces black, as a symbol that they mourned and were afflicted for the sins of the people: "For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt; I am black; astonishment hath taken hold on me. Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" That the Hebrew prophets sometimes blackened their faces, is evident from the very curious account of the type (which, like that mentioned in the first chapter of the prophet Hosea, was more than mere words,) which is contained in the twentieth chapter of the First Book of Kings, by which Ahab was made to pronounce judgment against himself. Habakkuk, uttering a denunciation against the Jews on account of their wickedness, in the sixteenth verse of the second chapter of his Prophecies thus apostrophizes Jerusalem: "Thou art filled with shame for glory: drink thou also, and let thy foreskin be uncovered: the cup of the Lord's right hand shall be turned unto thee, and *shameful spewing* shall be on thy glory." The following passage in the first chapter of the same prophet has something mysterious in it, in reference as well to a curious representation in the twenty-sixth page of the Borgian MS. of fish taken in a net, (which perhaps were named by the Mexicans Tlacamichin, (or men-fish,) on account of the configuration of their heads,) as to a custom existing amongst the Matlatzincas noticed by Sahagun. It also seems to imply a charge of cannabalism against the Jews, which is darkly hinted at in more places than one in Scripture. "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? and makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them? They take up all of them with the angle, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their drag: therefore they rejoice and are glad. Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous. Shall they therefore empty their net, and not spare continually to slay the nations?" The prophet Nahum, in the fifth and sixth verses of the third chapter of his Prophecies, denouncing the fall of Nineveh, puts the following expressions into the mouth of God: "Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will show the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame. And I will cast *abominable filth* upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazingstock."

Terror is an attribute with which all the Hebrew prophets loved to invest the Deity. Thus Habakkuk, in the third chapter of his Book of Prophecies, describing the presence of Jehovah, says; "Before him went the pestilence, and *burning coals went forth at his feet.*" And David, in the eighteenth Psalm, employs similar language: "There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it." The voice of God is in various places of the Old Testament likened to the roaring of a lion; as in the thirtieth verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of the Book of Jeremiah: "Therefore prophesy thou against them all these words, and say unto them, The Lord shall roar from on high, and utter his voice from his holy habitation; he shall mightily roar upon his habitation; he shall give a shout, as they that tread the grapes, *against all* the inhabitants of the earth." And in the thirteenth verse of the forty-second chapter of Isaiah: "The Lord shall go forth as a mighty man, he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war: he shall cry, yea, roar; he shall prevail against his enemies." The latter prophet twice borrows a simile from the hissing of a serpent: "And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth: and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly." "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria." The twenty-sixth verse of the fifth chapter of Isaiah, and the eighteenth verse of the seventh chapter, are the passages of Scripture referred to. As terror was, according to the Jewish belief, the chief attribute of the Deity; so fire, as being the most destructive of the elements, was the symbol to which the prophets most frequently resorted to heighten their descriptions of his power and majesty. Thus Daniel, in the seventh chapter of his Book of Prophecies, recording a vision in which he beheld God, says; "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened."

Daniel's description of his vision resembles in its imagery (if we may be permitted to make use of that term) a passage in the ninth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, in which the newly elected king of Mexico returns thanks to Tezcatlipoca, who it is to be presumed was Xiuhtecutli, which proper name signifies literally 'the God of Heaven,' or 'the God of years.' The following is the passage alluded to: "Quien soy yo, Señor mio? y que es mi valor, que me pongais entre los que vos amáis y conoceis, y teneis por amigos y escogidos, y dignos de toda honra, y nacidos y criados para las dignidades y tronos reales, y para este efecto los criasteis habiles y prudentes, tomados de nobles y generosos padres, y para esto criados y enseñados, y que fueron nacidos y bautizados en signos y constelaciones en que nacen los Señores, y para ser vuestros instrumentos y vuestras imágenes para regir vuestros reinos, estándo dentro de ellos, y hablándo por su boca y pronunciando ellos vuestras palabras, y paraque se conformen con el querer del antiguo Dios y padre de todos los Dioses, que es el Dios del fuego, que está en la alberca de agua entre almenas cercado de piedras como rosas, el quel se llama Xiuhtecutli, el qual determina, examina y concluye los negocios y litigios del pueblo y de la gente popular, como lavandoles con agua, al qual siempre acompañan y están en su presencia las personas generosas arriba dichas?" "Who am I, O Lord? and of what account, that you should place me in the rank of those whom you love and know, and number amongst your friends and your elect, whom you esteem as persons worthy of the highest honours, and to be such as are born and educated for dignities and royal thrones, and accordingly have endowed them with talents and prudence, selecting for the purpose those who are descended from noble and illustrious parents, who have been brought up with these expectations, and who have been baptized in the signs and constellations which preside at the birth of kings, that they might become your instruments and your images to govern your kingdoms, you being in them and speaking through their mouth, and they pronouncing your words, that thus they might act in conformity to the will of the ancient God and father of all the Gods, who is the God of fire, whose habitation is in the waters, which battlements encompass where he dwells, surrounded with rocks as it were with roses, whose name is Xiuhtecutli, who determines, examines, and brings to an issue the controversies and disputes of the people and of the multitude, cleansing them as it were with water, before whom are ever present and in attendance the noble persons above mentioned?" The supposed habitation of Xiuhtecutli (the Mexican god of fire) in the waters, might almost lead us to imagine that the Mexicans had perused the following verses of the eighteenth Psalm, and thence borrowed the notion: "There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it. He bowed the heavens also, and came down:

and darkness was under his feet. And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly: yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind. He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies *. At the brightness that was before him his thick clouds passed, hail stones and coals of fire. The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice; hail stones and coals of fire."

It has elsewhere been observed, that the deity worshiped by the Peruvians under the names of Pachacama and of Viracocha (the former of which signifies the *Creator*) was probably the same as Tezcatlipoca; and it might be conjectured, from the figure of a man riding upon some unknown animal, which is carved upon the cover of the box said to contain the quipoes, (or records of the Peruvian monarchy,) that the Peruvians were not ignorant of the metaphor "And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly: yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind"—and had even attempted to make it the subject of an ornamental device. Reserving for another place all further mention of these quipoes, we shall only remark here, that whatever opinion may be formed of them, there cannot be the least doubt that the box is a specimen of ancient Peruvian workmanship. Exact delineations of the various figures carved upon the sides of this box will be found in the fourth volume of plates, each of which it will be observed, except the lower, represents a religious subject. On one side is a model of the famous temple of the sun at Cuzco, and on the other of that of the moon, before it is the pond in which, when the image of the moon became reflected, the priests and people offered up their homage to the queen of night †. At each end are figures of the sun and the moon encircled with rays, with a human figure in the orb of each,—the symbol perhaps of the Peruvian trinity, which, according to Acosta, was one god, "trinus uno" and "unus trino," consisting of three persons, the father of the sun, the sun, and the brother of the sun; to the last of whom the moon might have been dedicated, as the sun seems to have been to the first. Upon the top or principal side of this box, Pachacama seems to be represented riding upon an animal not unlike a cherub, the velocity of whose flight may be typified by the swallow carved upon its wing; the speed of the former being thus made to appear equal to that of the latter, since the swallow, the swiftest of birds, seems here unable to outstrip the cherub. The figures of the birds, beasts, fishes and creeping things around, may allude to the epithet of *Pachacama* (or *Creator*), under which the Peruvians adored their principal deity: for although they believed, as did also the Mexicans, that that deity was incorporeal, they still, like the Jews, personified him in human shape. To the objection which may be urged against our hypothesis, derived from the graceful attitude in which the person there represented appears to sit upon the animal which he is riding, and the proper position of his knees and legs,—implying that the carver of the box was not entirely unacquainted with European horsemanship,—four solutions may be offered. First, that he had seen some Tultec paintings in which men were represented riding on horses; secondly, that that position was chosen by the artist because it appeared to him the most graceful; thirdly, that it was the effect of accident rather than of design; or, lastly, that the Indians might have had horses before the arrival of the Spaniards in the New World. The last supposition may perhaps appear absurd; nor would it have been here had recourse to, if Peter Martyr, the most celebrated historian of America and the first in order of time, had not seemed in one passage of his Ocean Decades to be in doubt upon this point, and to have been embarrassed by conflicting statements; scepticism being moreover admissible regarding every thing either asserted or denied of the Indians, but more especially of the *Peruvians* and the Ingas, by the licensed Spanish authors, whose works appeared in the sixteenth century. We shall here remark, that the Peruvians entertained as much or even greater superstition for fire than the Mexicans, believing like them that that element was an instrument of destruction in the hands of the deity. Many passages in Scripture might have induced the Jews to entertain such a notion; from whom the Indians probably derived it: but we shall here only refer to the mysterious mention of it in the seventh chapter of the prophet Amos: "Thus hath the Lord God showed unto me; and, behold, he formed grasshoppers in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and, lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings. And it came to pass, that when they had made an end of eating the grass of the land, then I said, O Lord God, forgive, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small. The Lord repented for this: It shall not be, saith the Lord. Thus hath the Lord

* The Mexicans believed that Tlaloc dwelt amidst clouds and dark waters; and hence they paid a superstitious reverence to the summits of high mountains which were perpetually covered with mists and dark clouds, believing such places to be his habitation.

† The rejoicings which the Jews, of former ages at least, solemnized to the full moon are well known. Although we do not read that Solomon provided his temple with a pond for the priests and Levites to bathe in, Scripture informs us that he made a molten sea for that purpose, which contained innumerable baths, and it is to be supposed stood in the court of the temple.

God showed unto me: and, behold, the Lord God called to contend by fire, and it devoured the great deep, and did eat up a part. Then said I, O Lord God, cease, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small. The Lord repented for this: This also shall not be, saith the Lord God. Thus he showed me: and, behold, the Lord stood upon a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand. And the Lord said unto me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the Lord, Behold, I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again pass by them any more: and the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword." The account by Amos, of the Lord appearing to him upon the top of a wall, might have suggested to the imaginations of the Mexicans the sudden and unusual modes of apparition which they ascribed to Tezcatlipoca. The prediction with which the above passage closes is also very remarkable, from the terms in which it is couched; since why should the prophet have added the epithet "of Isaac" to the high places, if he had not alluded to the most abominable of all human sacrifices, that of children by their parents, in imitation of Abraham, whose voluntary offering up his son Isaac, even some of the Rabbis have been disposed to believe, gave rise to the horrid custom of infanticide, so common amongst his descendants; since an error likely enough to have been incurred by so blind and infatuated a people as the Jews would have been sufficient to have led to that dire result;—the supposing that it was the act and not the faith of Abraham that was pleasing to Jehovah, and that on other such occasions if no ram was caught in a thicket, or other miracle interposed to prevent the completion of the sacrifice, it was a sign that Heaven willed it to take place, and that the act itself would be meritorious. That the Jews, like the Peruvians, entertained notions of the efficacy of a vicarial human sacrifice and atonement, is evident from what the prophet Micah says in the seventh verse of the sixth chapter of his Prophecies, reprobating their customs: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" In the sixth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Exodus, God commands Moses to address the following language to the Jews: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." And Josephus, in his Treatise against Apion, boasts that his countrymen were a kingdom of priests, who rendered a pure homage to one God, the Creator of the universe *. The Mexicans resembled the Jews in being also a nation of priests; and their prophets were not unlike the Hebrew prophets, who are so frequently accused in Scripture of deceiving the people with lies. It is very remarkable that both nations were equally inclined to pay superstitious attention to dreams: the Mexicans had paintings expressly for their interpretation; and it is highly probable that "*hinc fons et origo malorum.*" The Jews believed in two kinds of divine inspiration, the distinct nature of which will be more clearly understood from the perusal of the twelfth chapter of Numbers; from which (but more especially from the sixteenth chapter of the same book) it would appear not improbable that the whole tribe of Levi laid claim to the possession of inspiration by dreams; for that is the only inference to be drawn from the address of Korah and the princes of the congregation to Moses and Aaron: "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, *every one* of them, *and the Lord is among them;*" since presumptuous and impious as those men were, they would scarcely have ventured to have told Moses to his face that the Lord spoke mouth to mouth with them as with him (the only other mode of inspiration), it being so easy moreover to disprove the fact. A broad line of distinction is drawn in the sixth and eighth verses of the above-mentioned chapter of Numbers between these two kinds of inspiration; the former of which was received by the priest or prophet in a sleeping state, and the latter by Moses in his full senses and awake. This chapter we the more readily insert here at full length, because it has been elsewhere referred to

* Some writers have contended that the licentiousness of the Poets having lessened the respect which the Romans entertained for their ancient faith,—the Philosophers, to remedy the evil of irreligion (but not of atheism, which is opposed both to the feelings and the constitution of human nature), thought to substitute pure theism for polytheism; hoping that an entirely new religious system in name would effect a reform in real religion, which they judged to be nothing more than a pure and spontaneous feeling of gratitude from man towards the unknown Author of his existence and happiness. They soon, however, discovered their error, and perceived that such a religion would be too simple and abstract for the grossness and the ignorance of the age in which they lived; and they became anxious to retrace their steps, and sought to restore the statue of Jupiter to the Capitol, and to replace Minerva in her hallowed fane. Two parties had, however, grown up in the state, each professing the most opposite principles: both supported by different allies; the one had reason, common sense, and learning on its side, with the great disadvantage of being obliged to defend many old abuses to the prejudice of reform; the other called in the aid of foreign superstition, availed itself of the passions and physical force of the multitude, conciliated the favour of the government, obtained imperial decrees, silenced their opponents by appealing to laws and penalties, of which they were themselves both the framers and executors, and soon acquired absolute power,—establishing at the same time a reign of terror and of persecution.

as presenting a new feature of analogy between the Mexican and Hebrew migrations, in reference to the history of Chimalman, who was shut out altogether from the Mexican camp in consequence of her quarrel with her two brothers, the leaders of the Mexicans. "And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married: for he had married an Ethiopian woman. And they said, Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us? And the Lord heard it. (Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.) And the Lord spake suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, Come out ye three unto the tabernacle of the congregation. And they three came out. And the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth. And he said, Hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses? And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them; and he departed. And the cloud departed from off the tabernacle; and, behold, Miriam became leprous, white as snow: and Aaron looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous. And Aaron said unto Moses, Alas, my lord, I beseech thee, lay not the sin upon us, wherein we have done foolishly, and wherein we have sinned. Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb. And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee. And the Lord said unto Moses, If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? let her be shut out from the camp seven days, and after that let her be received in again. And Miriam was shut out from the camp seven days; and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again. And afterward the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran." The displeasure of Moses as recorded in the above chapter, who, although slow to provocation and very meek, could not help on that occasion, as it would appear, making an appeal to God against Aaron and Miriam, renders their justification very difficult. One thing, however, may be said in palliation of their conduct: Moses had contracted two idolatrous marriages in succession, in defiance of Abraham's admonition to Eliezer his steward not to make choice of a wife the daughter of an idolater for Isaac, which he could not have been unacquainted with, and of a law afterwards promulgated by himself; for the first wife of Moses was a woman of Midian, the daughter of the priest of that land, and his second wife was an Ethiopian, whom it would be wrong to confound with the former; since the supposition would be absurd that Aaron and Miriam should have quarrelled with Moses so long afterwards, on account of a marriage to which it is evident that they had already become reconciled. In reference to an observation made above, that the Jews and Mexicans were inclined to consider dreams as *τι θειον*, (or possessing a divine nature,) we cannot help here expressing the strongest conviction that never would those two nations have fallen into such abominable superstitions, or suffered their priests so grossly to deceive them, but for the strange persuasion which they were under, that the Deity commonly communed with mortals by means of dreams and visions. What opinion would the ancient philosophers have pronounced on such a doctrine? In what language would the orators have sought to expose to public contempt those witnesses whose evidence could not be disproved, because they unblushingly asserted that they had dreamt that the fact was so, and impiously maintained that their dream was God, or in other words a vision of the deity? If the great mind of Brutus, when harassed with anxiety for the fate of his country, could have created a phantom of its own imagination which appeared to address him in his tent?—what monstrous visions might not the Mexican and Jewish priests, who had employed the day in sacrificing, and whose hands and garments had been so lately drenched in blood, have fancied that they beheld when sleep took possession of their frame? The Mexican priests fasted to excess; and it is admitted that fasting makes the imagination more active in dreams. They probably, therefore, when in the morning they took up the brush to compose their mythological paintings (a task which Torquemada says belonged more peculiarly to a class of Mexican priests remarkable for the austerity of their lives), found their invention much sharpened. The Jews might be emphatically styled "*a dreaming people*;" and it is probable that whenever any disaster threatened their state, public attention was more generally directed to dreams; the population became more credulous, and impostors more numerous and bold. Supposing for a moment that the inhabitants of this vast metropolis (London) could be induced to surrender up their judgments to the guidance of a few persons, who told them to place implicit faith in dreams,—what disorders would not ensue? Some of the multitude of dreamers would necessarily dream what would turn out true, who would be accounted prophets and inspired persons; the truth of their dreams would be insisted upon; and if religion could

once be identified with them, the popular delusion would be confirmed. Since no event can have more than two issues, when a prediction relates simply to the fact of its future accomplishment,—and the lying Hebrew prophets, as Scripture designates them, often prophesied on both sides of the question,—it necessarily followed that they even were sometimes true prophets. Saint Jerome has observed that it is no difficult thing to deceive the people; and he might have added, that it is frequently a very profitable thing. If the Roman augurs, whom Cicero is disposed to ridicule,—affirming that they could scarcely meet each other in the streets without smiling, from the consciousness that their art was only calculated to cajole the populace,—had wished to heighten the respect which the public felt for their order, by encouraging the belief that they could predict the future through dreams, as well as by the usual way of divination; such pretensions might possibly have been maintained by the stratagem of depositing, either in the temple of Jupiter or of Minerva, predictions framed so as to be adapted to all probable contingencies. One might have foretold and recorded his prophecy in writing, that the third Punic War would take place; another that it would not: one that if it did, it would be disastrous to the Romans; another that it would be fatal to the Carthaginians. And these prophecies having been laid up for some future race of priests to consult, and put in order after the event to which they related had occurred, they, by selecting the true from the false, and treating the latter as the Sibyl did her books, might by dexterously producing the former, and appealing to signatures and the faded character of the hand-writing as the proof of their genuine nature and authenticity, have easily induced the people, who are naturally inclined to the marvellous, to credit them, and who are disposed, moreover, to think it sinful to doubt any thing which their priests pledge their words to be the fact. But if it be objected to this fictitious case, that a preceding generation of mankind cares in general very little for those who follow them; the reverse, it may be replied, experience shows to be the feelings of religious corporations, with whom the credit of their order is always a paramount consideration. We shall here insert some passages from the Old Testament, to prove how common lying prophets and pretended seers of visions were amongst the Jews. The first example shall be borrowed from the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, which records in the following manner the events that followed the league which was entered into by Jehoshaphat and Ahab, the kings of Judah and Israel. "Now Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance, and joined affinity with Ahab. And after certain years he went down to Ahab to Samaria. And Ahab killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance, and for the people that he had with him, and persuaded him to go up with him to Ramoth-gilead. And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramoth-gilead? And he answered him, I am as thou art, and my people as thy people; and we will be with thee in the war. And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Enquire, I pray thee, at the word of the Lord to-day. Therefore the king of Israel gathered together of prophets four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; for God will deliver it into the king's hand. But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the Lord besides, that we might enquire of him? And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man, by whom we may enquire of the Lord: but I hate him; for he never prophesied good unto me, but always evil: the same is Micaiah the son of Imla. And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so. And the king of Israel called for one of his officers, and said, Fetch quickly Micaiah the son of Imla. And the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah sat either of them on his throne, clothed in their robes, and they sat in a void place at the entering in of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them. And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah had made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the Lord, With these thou shalt push Syria until they be consumed. And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramoth-gilead, and prosper: for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king. And the messenger that went to call Micaiah spake to him, saying, Behold, the words of the prophets declare good to the king with one assent; let thy word therefore, I pray thee, be like one of their's, and speak thou good. And Micaiah said, *As the Lord liveth, even what my God saith, that will I speak.* And when he was come to the king, the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And he said, *Go ye up, and prosper,* and they shall be delivered into your hand. And the king said to him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou say nothing but the *truth* to me in the name of the Lord? Then he said, I did see all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the Lord said, These have no master; let them return therefore every man to his house in peace. And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not prophesy good unto me, but evil? Again he said, Therefore hear the word of the Lord; I saw the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that

he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one spake saying after this manner, and another saying after that manner. Then there came out a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will entice him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go out, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, Thou shalt entice him, and thou shalt also prevail: go out, and do even so. Now, therefore, behold, *the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy prophets, and the Lord hath spoken evil against thee.* Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see on that day when thou shalt go into an inner chamber to hide thyself." Jeremiah is, however, that true Hebrew prophet who inveighs most frequently, and in terms of the greatest asperity, against the false prophets who in his days went about deceiving the people: which perhaps he was the more inclined to do, having himself been often taken for a false prophet by his countrymen, and on one occasion being in imminent danger of his life, as we learn from the seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of the twenty-sixth chapter of his book: "So the priests and the prophets and all the people heard Jeremiah speaking these words in the house of the Lord. Now it came to pass, when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking all that the Lord had commanded him to speak unto all the people, that the priests and the prophets and all the people took him, saying, Thou shalt surely die. Why hast thou prophesied in the name of the Lord, saying, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate without an inhabitant? And all the people were gathered against Jeremiah in the house of the Lord." The following passages, in which mention is made by name of these false prophets, occur in the fourteenth, the twenty-third, the twenty-seventh, and the twenty-ninth chapters of the Book of Jeremiah: "Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold, the prophets say unto them, Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine; but I will give you assured peace in this place. Then the Lord said unto me, The prophets prophesy *lies in my name:* I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them: they prophesy unto you *a false vision* and divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart." "Mine heart within me is broken because of the prophets: all my bones shake; I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of the words of his holiness. For the land is full of adulterers; for because of swearing the land mourneth; the pleasant places of the wilderness are dried up, and their course is evil, and their force is not right. For both prophet and priest are profane; yea, *in my house* have I found their wickedness, saith the Lord." "I have heard what the prophets said, that prophesy lies in my name, saying, *I have dreamed, I have dreamed.* How long shall this be in the heart of the prophets that prophesy lies? yea, they are prophets of the deceit of their own heart." "Therefore hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to *your dreamers,* nor to your enchanters, nor to your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon: for they prophesy a lie unto you, to remove you far from your land; and that I should drive you out, and ye should perish." "Therefore hearken not unto the words of the prophets that speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon: for they prophesy a lie unto you. For I have not sent them, saith the Lord, yet they prophesy a lie in my name, that I might drive you out; and that ye might perish, ye and the prophets that prophesy unto you." "For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; Let not your prophets and your diviners, that be in the midst of you, deceive you, neither hearken to your dreams which ye *cause* to be dreamed. For they prophesy falsely unto you in my name: I have not sent them, saith the Lord." From the threat contained in the following passage of the thirteenth chapter of Jeremiah, considered in connexion with what is said in the Second Book of Chronicles, of the Lord's putting a lying spirit in the mouth of the Hebrew prophets, it would appear that their prophesying falsely was sometimes the Lord's doing, that is to say, caused by him: "Then shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit upon David's throne, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, with drunkenness. And I will dash them one against another, even the fathers and the sons together, saith the Lord: I will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy, but destroy them." This state of things made the Hebrew people very credulous, and the false prophets very bold, as will more fully appear from the perusal of the twenty-eighth chapter of Jeremiah: "And it came to pass the same year, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth year, and in the fifth month, that Hananiah the son of Azur the prophet, which was of Gibeon, spake unto me in the house of the Lord, in the presence of the priests and of all the people, saying, Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, saying, I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the vessels of the Lord's house, that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took away from this place, and carried them to Babylon:

And I will bring again to this place Jeconiah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, with all the captives of Judah, that went into Babylon, saith the Lord: for I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon. Then the prophet Jeremiah said unto the prophet Hananiah in the presence of the priests, and in the presence of all the people that stood in the house of the Lord, even the prophet Jeremiah said, Amen: the Lord do so: the Lord perform thy words which thou hast prophesied, to bring again the vessels of the Lord's house, and all that is carried away captive, from Babylon into this place. Nevertheless hear thou now this word that I speak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people; The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied both against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence. The prophet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, that the Lord hath truly sent him. Then Hananiah the prophet took the yoke from off the prophet Jeremiah's neck, and brake it*. And Hananiah spake in the presence of all the people, saying, Thus saith the Lord; Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all nations within the space of two full years. And the prophet Jeremiah went his way. Then the word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah the prophet, after that Hananiah the prophet had broken the yoke from off the neck of the prophet Jeremiah, saying, Go and tell Hananiah, saying, Thus saith the Lord; Thou hast broken the yokes of wood; but thou shalt make for them yokes of iron. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; I have put a yoke of iron upon the neck of all these nations, that they may serve Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and they shall serve him: and I have given him the beasts of the field also. Then said the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah; The Lord hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith the Lord; Behold, I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against the Lord. So Hananiah the prophet died the same year in the seventh month." It is not surprising, the priests and the people being so inclined to listen to false prophets, that Jeremiah should have been under the disagreeable necessity of recording, in the twentieth chapter of his Book, the contumelious treatment which he received from the constituted authorities of the state, or that that treatment should have induced him to remonstrate in rather strong terms with the Lord. "Now Pashur the son of Immer the priest, who was also chief governor in the house of the Lord, heard that Jeremiah prophesied these things. Then Pashur smote Jeremiah the prophet, and put him in the stocks that were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord. And it came to pass on the morrow, that Pashur brought forth Jeremiah out of the stocks. Then said Jeremiah unto him, The Lord hath not called thy name Pashur, but Magor-missabib. For thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will make thee a terror to thyself, and to all thy friends: and they shall fall by the sword of their enemies, and thine eyes shall behold it: and I will give all Judah into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall carry them captive into Babylon, and shall slay them with the sword. Moreover I will deliver all the strength of this city, and all the labours thereof, and all the precious things thereof, and all the treasures of the kings of Judah will I give into the hand of their enemies, which shall spoil them, and take them, and carry them to Babylon. And thou, Pashur, and all that dwell in thine house shall go into captivity: and thou shalt come to Babylon, and there thou shalt die, and shalt be buried there, thou, and all thy friends, to whom thou hast prophesied lies. O Lord, *thou* hast deceived me, and I was deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. For since I spake, I cried out, I cried violence and spoil; because the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and a derision daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay." The imprecations which Jeremiah utters in the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of the above chapter, against the day on which he was born, and the man who brought the tidings of his birth to his father,—the former being pronounced against an inanimate object, and the latter against an unoffending person,—seem almost unreasonable, or at least argue that he did not at the moment appreciate at its proper value the high honour of being a prophet, or the fame and reputed sanctity of character which he would enjoy during all succeeding ages. We are induced to add to the foregoing complaint the following passage from the fifteenth chapter of the same prophet, for the sake of pointing out an

* It may be proper to remark that Jeremiah had placed a yoke upon his neck as a type that what he prophesied would surely come to pass. The horns of iron mentioned in the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, which were made by Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, were intended to show that Ahab the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah would push and overthrow Syria: the latter, however, was a false prophet, who carried plenty of other metal about him besides iron.

approximation in the customs of the Jews and the Mexicans, and a singular analogy in the choice of the simile *mouth,* as used by the latter in reference to Tetzcatlipoca, and here employed by God himself: "O Lord, thou knowest: remember me, and visit me, and revenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy long suffering: know that for thy sake I have suffered rebuke. Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by thy name, O Lord God of hosts. I sat not in the assembly of the mockers, nor rejoiced; I sat alone because of thy hand: for thou hast filled me with indignation. Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? wilt thou be altogether unto me as a *liar,* and as waters that fail? Therefore thus saith the Lord, If thou return, then will I bring thee again, and thou shalt stand before me: and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth: let them return unto thee; but return not thou unto them."

Commentators have been at no little trouble in endeavouring to explain to others, and rightly to comprehend themselves, the meaning of Jeremiah's apostrophe, *I am called by thy name, O Lord God of Hosts;* and some have even, rather than admit that the passage was too difficult for their ingenuity, taken refuge in a supposed mistranslation of the Hebrew: the literal interpretation of the text of Scripture seems, however, to furnish its right meaning; which is no other than that Jeremiah was called by his countrymen by the honorary appellation of the God whose priest and prophet he was. This text may receive some illustration from the following curious passage of Sahagun's History of New Spain, in which that learned author gives some account of the ancient Tultecas: "Eran muy devotos y grandes oradores, oraban à un solo Señor, que tenian por Dios, al qual le llamaban Quetzalcoatl, *cuyo sacerdote tenia el mismo nombre* que tambien le llamaban Quetzalcoatl, el qual era muy devoto è aficionado à las cosas de su Señor y Dios, y por esto tenido en mucho entre ellos, y asi lo que les mandaba lo hacian y cumplian y no excedian de ello; y le solia decir muchas veces que habia un solo Señor y Dios que se decia Quetzalcoatl, y que no queria mas que culebras y mariposas que le ofreciesen y diesen en su sacrificio." Historia Universal de las Cosas de Nueva-España, lib. x. cap. 29. sec. 1. "They were very religious and much addicted to prayer; they worshiped only one Lord, whom they considered God, and they named him Quetzalcoatl; *whose priest bore likewise the same appellation,* being also named Quetzalcoatl, who was very devout and zealous in the service of the Lord his God, and on that account held in great veneration by them; so that whatever he commanded them to do they did, without failing in any part of their obedience to him; he was accustomed frequently to declare that there was one only God and Lord, whose name was Quetzalcoatl, and that he required no other sacrifices but snakes and butterflies." We have elsewhere observed, that Scriptural phrases, a Jewish train of sentiment and Hebrew metaphors, present themselves abundantly in almost every line of the sixth Book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, which contains the prayers which the Mexicans addressed to the gods, the speeches which on solemn occasions they made to their kings, and the advice which they gave to their children. We here only wish to refer to the 376th page of the fifth and preceding volume of the present work, in order to point out the probability that God's promise to Jeremiah, "Thou shalt be as my mouth," was known to the Mexicans; since the newly elected king of Mexico, in a prayer of thanksgiving to Tetzcatlipoca, there emphatically says of kings in general, "Vuestros instrumentos y vuestras imagenes para regir vuestros reynos, estando dentro de ellos *y hablando por su boca,* y pronunciando ellos vuestras palabras." "They are thine instruments and thine images to govern thy kingdoms, thou being in them, and *speaking through their mouth,* and they pronouncing thy words." We may further remark, that the Mexicans, like the Jews, used very free language in remonstrating with the Deity. Torquemada and Acosta assert (perhaps exaggerating querulous chiding into positive insolence) that the Mexicans did not hesitate to apply the epithet *bellaco* to Tetzcatlipoca, when they imputed some bitter disappointment to his rejecting their vows. One more passage shall be adduced from Scripture, to show in what utter contempt the Jews held even that prophet, whose denunciations of vengeance and unchastened invective render his Book (laying aside its inspiration) one of the most extraordinary that can be found in any language. Ezekiel in his twentieth chapter thus bears witness to the little estimation in which his predictions were held by his countrymen; "Moreover the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop thy word toward the south, and prophesy againt the forest of the south field; and say to the forest of the south, Hear the word of the Lord; Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree: the flaming flame shall not be quenched, and all faces from the south to the north shall be burned therein. And all flesh shall see that I the Lord have kindled it: it shall not be quenched. Then said I, Ah Lord God! they say of me, Doth he not speak parables?"

One reflection must occur to those who meditate upon the history of the Jews and Mexicans,—that the two nations were equally addicted to idolatry, and that human sacrifices were quite as common amongst the Hebrews in the days of the prophets, as they afterwards became among the Mexicans and the Peruvians: the temple itself was profaned by them, and it cannot be doubted that men were devoted and sacrificed to Jehovah. This state of things being considered, it is not at all surprising that from time to time prophets should have risen up amongst the Jews who endeavoured to bring their countrymen to a sense of their guilty excesses, by threats of speedy and dreadful divine vengeance. Since, where was the rational Jew whose heart must not have sickened at the name of Tophet, and of the valley of the Son of Hinnom? Or who could have required inspiration to teach him that human sacrifices were displeasing to the Deity? The Hebrew prophets were all of them believers in a Deity of a purer nature as regarded the acceptance of sacrifice, than the mass of the people imagined the God who brought them out of Egypt to be; and who, as we have elsewhere observed, seem to have put a false construction upon that Mosaic ordinance which declared, that none devoted of men should live; and to have perverted to a dangerous precedent the faith of Abraham in offering up his son Isaac; as also not to have benefited by that page in their own history, which recorded the destruction of all the first-born in the land of Egypt in a single night, by the same Deity who immediately afterwards ordered the first-born, both of man and of beast, to be set apart (or devoted) unto him, in commemoration of that dreadful decree. If Mexican history had been handed down to us entire, we should probably have found that the Mexicans were not entirely destitute of prophets who denounced the vengeance of Tetzcatlipoca against those who sacrificed human victims at his shrine; since it has not failed to inform us that Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli disapproved of such sacrifices and proposed to the people their abolition; and that the former of those renowned kings built a temple in Tezcuco in honour of the Supreme Being, in which he only allowed incense to be burned, prayers to be offered up, music by means of plates of metal to be sounded, but *no image whatsoever to be placed.* As regards the idolatry of the Greeks and Romans, it may confidently be asserted, that it was the purity of their idolatry, compared with that of the Jews and the Mexicans, that was the sole reason why their philosophers did not all become prophets. Yet still it should be recollected that Socrates fell a victim to his zeal for reforming the religion of the state; and it cannot be doubted, if human sacrifices had been customary in Greece in the days of Pythagoras, that he who pronounced even sacrifices of animals to be impious, would have loudly protested against them; and if his protest had been written down by his disciples and been accompanied with threats, that Jupiter to punish the Greeks would either excite a civil war amongst them, or cause a Persian invasion, or finally would afflict them with any other evil which he might have thought near or probable,—he perhaps in after ages would have been revered in Greece as an inspired prophet.

We pass, by an easy transition, from dreams and visions to fables. It may, however, be deemed a more rational task to compare the laws of the Mexicans and the Jews with each other than their fables, which were infinite in number and similar in kind; for the imagination both of the former and the latter people,—unlike that of the Greeks, which loved to soar to the sunny heights of Olympus and the purple pavilions of the gods, or to repose on the banks of winding streams, or visit the battle plain,—delighted in exploring the hidden centre of the earth, and in compelling, with magic rings, spells, and incantations, genii to reveal hidden treasures, and witches to conjure up the ghosts of the dead. We shall therefore leave to others the task of unravelling the meaning of the Mexican and Hebrew fables; who, if they can obtain the assistance of a learned Rabbi, will find their labour much lightened; although we cannot refrain from inserting here two Mexican fables, extracted from Boturini's short but learned treatise, because the former seems to contain a confused tradition of Christ and the prophet Daniel; and the latter, Boturini confesses, is founded on the Mosaic history of the sun having stood still at the command of Joshua. These fables in the original Spanish are as follow: "El primero, y mas cèlebre Symbolo de los Planetas, es el del Sol, que los Indios llaman Tonàtiuh, y fabulosamente el Buboso, en su lengua Nanahuàtzin. La Fabula Indiana de su transmutacion refiere, que, satisfechos los Dioses de las virtudes Heroicas, que havian exercitado en esta mortal vida algunos particulares hombres, y resueltos à premiarlas, convocaron en un gran llano à todas las Gentes de esta Edad segunda, y mandaron que en una hoguera, que en èl havia, y à la sazon vomitaba llamas, se arrojassen los Esforzados para transformarse, y passar à Divinos honores. Congregados, pues, al rededor de la hoguera los principales Señores, empezaron à disputar entre sì à quien le pertenecia arrojarse el primero, en cuyo tiempo se apareciò à uno de ellos enfermo, buboso, y podrido el Dios Centeotl Inopitlzin, esto es, el Dios huerfano, solo, y sin padres, diciendole: Què haces aquì? No vès que tus Compañeros se detienen en vanas altercaciones. Arrimate à la hoguera; echate à las llamas, para dàr fin à tus males, que con heroyca constancia

supiste tantos años placidamente soportar, y hallaràs el principio de immortales grandezas. Hizolo assi el Buboso, y con dissimulo arrastrandose se precipitò generoso en el fuego, con grande admiracion de los demàs, los que atentos vieron, que lentamente se iba derritiendo, y transformando en las mismas llamas; y no pareciendo yà vestigio alguno de cuerpo humano, baxò del Cielo un Aguila hermosissima, que entrando en la hoguera, le arrebatò à las Celestes mansiones, y es casi lo mismo, que executò Jupiter con Ganimèdes, principal Joven de Troya, haviendo embiado à un Aguila, que le llevasse al Cielo, para que alli le sirviesse de Copero, de que naciò en parte la causa de los disgustos de Juno, y de los desayres, que hizo à los Troyanos, segun Virgilio 1. Æneid. vers. 30. et sequent.

———‘ manet alta mente repostum
Judicium Paridis, spretæque injuria formæ,
Et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores.’

y Ovid. Metamorph. lib. 10. fab. 4.

‘ Nec mora: percusso mendacibus aëre pennis
Abripit Iliadem, qui nunc quoque pocula miscet,
Invitaque Jovi nectar Junone ministrat.’

Y aunque algunos Autores, con ineptas, y torcidas interpretaciones, afearon el verdadero sentido de esta ruidosa Fabula, lo cierto es, que los Indios no quisieron dàr à entender otra cosa, sino que el Sol era un fuego verdadero, por cuya razon algunos Filosofos modernos colocan à este Elemento en el Sol, y prueban ser sus manchas los humos, que exhala, sin haver menester para mantenerse cosa, que lo alimente, por ser su innata materia abundantissima, y no poderse oprimir de los cuerpos vecinos; y aun en caso que necessitasse de ella por lo que desperdicia en la Ecliptica, se le añade otro tanto de sutiles materias por ambos Polos; y nos dice Ovidio Metamorph. lib. 2. fab. 1. que haviendo Faeton obtenido de su padre el Sol la merced de poder governar, aunque por un dia tan solamente su Luminoso Coche, puso con su inobediente derrota, y con la cercanìa de sus llamas en extrema confusion los Cielos, y Tierra, y obligò à Jupiter para remediar tan grande, y nunca visto desorden, le derribasse à fuerza de rayos, precipitandole muerto sobre las tierras de Italia.

‘ Utque ferant æquos et cœlum et terra calores,
Nec preme, nec summum molire per æthera currum.
Altius egressus cœlestia tecta cremabis;
Inferius terras.———
———————— ambustaque nubila fumant.
Corripitur flammis, ut quæque altissima tellus;
Fissaque agit rimas, et succis aret ademptis.
———————— magnæ pereunt cum mœnibus urbes:
Cumque suis totas populis incendia gentes
In cinerem vertunt. Silvæ cum montibus ardent.’

Confirmase lo dicho de otra Fabula de los mismos Indios, pero radicada en la verdad historica, de quando por mandato de Josuè se detuvo el Sol en favor de los Israelitas. Dicen, pues, que el año de *siete Conejos*, haviendose quedado el Sol immobil, fueron excessivos los ardores, que se originaron en la tierra, y que el Mosquito se le presentò delante, diciendole: Señor del Mundo. Acaso quieres abrasar de el todo la tierra, y reducir el Mundo en cenizas, pues cansado detienes tu regular curso, y te quedas immobil à las suplicas de los Mortales? Pero viendo que no le respondìa, y se estaba sin movimiento, se le acercò, y le picò en una pierna, la que retirando volviò à proseguir su derrota. El mismo hecho, con otros sales poeticos, refiere tambien Ovidio dict. loc. fab. 4. describiendo los desmayos, y detencion del Sol à causa de la muerte de su hijo Faeton, y nos dice, que à instancia de los Dioses volviò à tomar la rienda de sus caballos, y proseguir su curso regular.

‘ Squallidus interea genitor Phaethontis, et expers
Ipse sui decoris, qualis, cum deficit orbem,
Esse solet: lucemque odit, seque ipse, diemque;
Datque animum in luctus; et luctibus adjicit iram:
Officiumque negat mundo ———

Talia dicentem circumstant omnia solem
Numina: neve velit tenebras inducere rebus,
Supplice voce rogant, missos quoque Jupiter ignes
Excusat, precibusque minas regaliter addit.
Colligit amentes, et adhuc terrore paventes,
Phœbus equos.'"

The following is the translation of the latter fable. "The justice of the above observations is further confirmed by another fable of these same Indians, which is founded upon historical fact. They affirm, then, that on the year of Seven Rabbits the Sun stood still; when, the earth becoming scorched to an excessive degree, a mosquito presented itself before him and addressed him, 'Lord of the World, is it your intention to burn up the whole earth and to reduce the universe to cinders; since, fatigued as it were in your regular course, you stop and remain immoveable to the prayers of mortals?' When receiving no answer, the Sun continuing motionless, the mosquito approached nearer to him and stung him upon the leg, which, drawing back he again renewed his course." This fable is particularly deserving of attention, because it furnishes strong grounds for supposing that the Mexicans were not only acquainted with some of the circumstances preceding and attending the flight of the children of Israel from Egypt, and their subsequent wanderings in the desert, but had also preserved traditions of the events which immediately followed their occupation of the land of Canaan under Joshua. It must also be admitted, that this tradition cannot be classed amongst the number of those which connected with a belief in the Deluge, in the existence of giants, and with legends of the golden age, have been discovered nearly amongst all nations. On the contrary, it bears a Hebrew stamp and character; for, although the fancy of Ovid induced him poetically to describe the consternation which the gods and men were thrown into by the rashness of Phaëton, who drove the chariot of the Sun out of its old course, when Jupiter interposed to restore order to nature; and Pope has sublimely imagined the effect which the suspension of the laws of gravity for one moment would produce throughout the universe, in the often-quoted lines of his Essay on Man,—

"And, if each system in gradation roll
Alike essential to the amazing whole,
The least confusion but in one, not all
That system only, but the whole, must fall.
Let earth unbalanced from her orbit fly,
Planets and suns run lawless through the sky;
Let ruling angels from their spheres be hurl'd,
Being on being wreck'd, and world on world;
Heaven's whole foundations to their centre nod,
And nature trembles to the throne of God.
All this dread order break—for whom? for thee?
Vile worm!—Oh madness! Pride! Impiety!"—

we are not at liberty to seek in the region of poetry and fiction grave arguments on which to found historical conclusions. The annals of the Jews alone inform us, that thrice within the last four thousand years, words pronounced by mortal lips have effected the greatest changes in the sun, both as regards its orbicular motion and the motion of its rays. The following miracle is recorded in the tenth chapter of Exodus as having been performed by Moses, in order to compel Pharaoh to let the children of Israel depart out of Egypt, (the representation of which occurs in the twelfth page of the Borgian MS.): "And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt. And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt *three days*. They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings." In the tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua we read, that at the command of that chieftain of the Jews the solar orb stood still for a considerable period of time: "Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,

until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the Book of Jasher*? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel."

From a comparison of the following passages, taken from the twentieth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, and the thirty-eighth chapter of the Prophecies of Isaiah, it is evident that there was a time when the sun's motion, whether it should go backward or forward, depended upon the will of king Hezekiah: "And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What shall be the sign that the Lord will heal me, and that I shall go *up* into the house of the Lord the third day? And Isaiah said, This sign shalt thou have of the Lord, that the Lord will do the thing that he hath spoken: shall the shadow go forward ten degrees, or go back ten degrees? And Hezekiah answered, It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees: nay, but let the shadow return backward ten degrees. And Isaiah the prophet cried unto the Lord: and he brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz." "Then came the word of the Lord to Isaiah, saying, Go, and say to Hezekiah, Thus saith the Lord, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years. And I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria: and I will defend this city. And this shall be a sign unto thee from the Lord, that the Lord will do this thing that he hath spoken; Behold, I will bring again the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down in the sun-dial of Ahaz, ten degrees backward. So the sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down."

Sacred history declaring that the sun has stood still, and profane history being altogether silent on the subject, it is evident, or at least highly probable, (if the Mexican fable was founded upon historical truth, as Boturini supposes it to have been,) that it was derived from a Hebrew source. This assumption will acquire further corroboration if it can be shown that this fable is accompanied with any of the characteristics that usually belong to the miracles which are related in the Old Testament. Those miracles are in general the greatest that can be conceived, brought about by the most insignificant means, and frequently wrought for the purpose of accomplishing ends which to erring human judgment must appear comparatively trivial: since of what importance, after all, can the issue of the greatest battles in support of the most just of causes, and fought by the most glorious of nations, appear when compared with the derangement of the laws of the universe? We are not informed of the precise object of the sun's standing still in the Mexican fable; but a mosquito or some stinging fly was that which caused it to go on again: and it deserves to be remarked, that flies are particularly alluded to by Moses as instruments by which the Deity accomplished great ends. One of the plagues sent upon the Egyptians was a plague, as it is probable, of stinging flies, which is thus described in the eighth chapter of Exodus: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me. Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they are. And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there; to the end thou mayest know that I am the Lord in the midst of the earth. And I will put a division between my people and thy people: to-morrow shall this sign be. And the Lord did so; and there came a grievous swarm of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses, and into all the land of Egypt: the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm of flies." In the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth verses of the twenty-third chapter of Exodus, God promises to extirpate the enemies of the children of Israel who dwelt in the land of Canaan, by means of hornets: "I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee. And I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee." The same promise is repeated in the twentieth verse of the seventh chapter of Deuteronomy: "Moreover the Lord thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed." And it is referred to as having been carried into execution in the twelfth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Joshua: "And I sent the hornet before you, which drove them out from before you, even the two kings of the Amorites; but not with thy sword." It is evident from the passages of Scripture which have been quoted, that the mosquito's agency introduced into the Mexican fable of the Sun having stood still,

* The Book of Jasher has been unfortunately lost. Not long ago it was reported to have been found, and to be in the possession of a Jew in this country.

makes it still more probable that it was derived from a Hebrew source. It may be also proper to remark, that there are certain prophecies in Scripture respecting the sun, which seem all to be represented as fulfilled in the Mexican paintings. "The sun shall be darkened," "it shall be turned into blood," are denunciations which often occur in the Old Testament; and the sun is frequently painted in the superstitious calendars of the Mexicans darkened and *streaming with blood.* The great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, which is mentioned by St. John in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations, appears also to have presented itself to the imagination of the Mexican painters; and commentators, by consulting the plates contained in the present work, will be relieved from the difficulties which one and all confess that they have felt in guessing what this curious costume could have been. As regards an observation which we have made above respecting the miracles recorded in the Old Testament,—that in general neither the end to be attained, nor the means by which the miracle itself is effected, bear any proportion in magnitude to it,—we must do the Rabbis the justice to give their solution of this difficulty, which they explain on the principle of Aaron's rod, which became a serpent, swallowing up the rods of the magicians which became serpents also, as narrated in the twelfth verse of the seventh chapter of Exodus, giving us to understand by this explanation, that the Jews rest their claim to be considered God's peculiar people, solely upon the magnitude of the miracles which he performed in their favour, and on their superiority over all other miracles: for they absurdly suppose that to work miracles, provided those miracles be neither great nor many, may be the lot of common mortals, even when their end is mischievous. If this mode of reasoning of the Rabbis be just, the whole system which they are anxious to uphold would fall to the ground; since what could be proved by miracles, if the origin ascribed to them be of so precarious a nature, and if they may be referred to more than one cause? yet this is the only solution which the Rabbis offer for God's accomplishing the most trivial ends by the greatest miracles. The ancient philosophers believed that they understood too little of the Deity, of nature, or of man, to place much faith in miracles and prophecies, or to admit any extravagant inferences to be drawn from them. They would have allowed little more to the man who called himself a prophet, than that he was to be credited in those particular predictions which he had uttered, which time had already shown were true; and his further demands would have been rejected with contempt. If to reason by analogy on physical questions can never lead to more than probable conclusions, how manifest is it that such a mode of reasoning must be much more inconclusive, where the subject itself is above nature and consequently beyond reason, which miracles confessedly are! And yet the Hebrew people, the most ignorant and unphilosophical of all nations, were those who deduced conclusions of the greatest latitude from them. That the Jews were a very unphilosophical nation, may be proved from the literal sense in which they chose to understand the thirteenth verse of the tenth chapter of Joshua; inferring that, as the moon was commanded to stand still as well as the sun, not only had the latter motion, but likewise that, since the second command could not have been for the sake of adding to the light of the sun, it must have been to prevent the moon coming into collision with the sun, which would have been a necessary consequence on the supposition that those luminaries were two large balls which revolved in the same circle round the earth. The ancients entertained in common the erroneous belief in the sun's annual motion through the signs of the zodiac: but the Jews are the only people in the world who seem to have been ignorant of the earth's motion round its own axis. Before terminating these notes, we shall point out some analogies in the miscellaneous customs of the Jews and the Mexicans. Both nations were most punctual in the payment of their religious offerings, first-fruits, &c. The Mexicans, as Montezuma informed Cortes, feared if they failed in this portion of their religious duties that they would incur the severest vengeance of the gods: and the prophet Malachi, or rather God speaking through the mouth of that prophet, assures the Jews that they would lie under a peculiar curse if they did not bring the full quantity of tithe to the temple. It is probable, from the curse denounced and the blessing promised in the following passage of the third chapter of the Book of Malachi, that the Rabbis would soon, on establishing themselves in the New World, have taught their Mexican and Peruvian converts the necessity of complying with this precept of the old law; "Will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the Lord of hosts. And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts." The

paintings of the Mexicans show that censers were used in profusion in the ceremonies of their religion: and it appears from the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the sixteenth chapter of Numbers, that they were in as common use amongst the Levites: "And Moses said unto Korah, Be thou and all thy company before the Lord, thou, and they, and Aaron, to-morrow: and take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the Lord every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer." The Mexicans were accustomed to mark their respect for the persons of ambassadors by burning odoriferous perfumes in censers before them, which it would seem from the forty-sixth verse of the second chapter of the prophet Daniel was a ceremony with which the Jews were acquainted: "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshiped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him." The Mexicans, like the Jews, used the ceremony of prostration when admitted to the presence of their kings. How gratifying, therefore, must it have been to the vanity of the latter people, who were at that time captives in Babylon, to learn that the haughty ruler of Asia had prostrated himself to the earth before a child of their nation! And into what repute must it have brought the art of interpreting dreams! The Mexicans were accustomed to decorate the inner walls of their temples and palaces with figures painted in vermilion. And we learn from the twenty-third chapter of Ezekiel that a similar custom prevailed amongst the Jews; since the prophet, describing Samaria and Jerusalem under the type of the two sisters Aholah and Aholibah, there says of the latter, "When she saw men portrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, *the land of their nativity:* and as soon as she saw them with her eyes, she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them into Chaldea." The Mexican priests lodged round their temples in chambers built for the express purpose; and it says in the twenty-seventh verse of the ninth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, that a certain portion of the Levites lodged round the temple constructed by Solomon: "And they lodged round about the house of God, because the charge was upon them, and the opening thereof every morning pertained to them." The Mexican temples contained fountains or ponds in their court-yards in which the priests performed their ablutions; and Solomon is said, in the seventh chapter of the First Book of Kings, to have made a molten sea which contained two thousand baths, which served the same purpose, and it is to be supposed stood in the court of the temple. Although images were forbidden to the Jews, still frequent mention is made in Scripture of cherubim carved as ornaments upon wood: these cherubim were perhaps sometimes merely winged heads, such as now decorate tombs; and it is probable that the Jews ornamented the outside of their edifices with similar heads sculptured in stone. M. Dupaix has observed that heads sometimes of a very cadaverous aspect were inserted by the Mexicans into their walls, for the purpose, as he supposes, of giving a relief to their monotonous appearance. (Representations of these mural ornaments will be found in the fifth plate of the second part of his Monuments of New Spain.) The Mexican priests were accustomed to pierce their bodies with lancets formed out of a diaphanous stone named the Yztli; and to draw blood from their arms, legs, wrists, tongues, ears, &c. And it is said of the idolatrous Hebrew prophets, in the twenty-eighth verse of the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, "And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them." Every thing that related to the preserving unextinguished the sacred fire which burnt in their temples, was considered by the Mexicans as a matter of the utmost consequence. And it would appear from the following passage of the first chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees, that the Jews attached scarcely less importance to the keeping in the fire of their altar: "For when our fathers were led into Persia, the priests that were then devout took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it in an hollow place of a pit without water, where they kept it sure, so that the place was unknown to all men. Now after many years, when it pleased God, Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia, did send of the posterity of those priests that had hid it to the fire: but when they told us they found no fire, but thick water; then commanded he them to draw it up, and to bring it; and when the sacrifices were laid on, Neemias commanded the priests to sprinkle the wood and the things laid thereupon with the water. When this was done, and the time came that the sun shone, which afore was hid in the cloud, there was a great fire kindled, so that every man marvelled." The manner in which the Jews kindled their sacred fire is not precisely known. That it was a religious rite, accompanied with certain ceremonies, cannot be doubted: and we may even be permitted to believe, from the expression in the fourteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Ezekiel,—"And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches which hath devoured her fruit,"—that they were acquainted with the Mexican method of kindling fire from wood. Many passages in the Old Testament would lead

us to imagine that the ground plan, at least, of the greater temple of Mexico resembled that of the temple of Jerusalem*; and the temple of Palenque (of which a representation will be found in the twelfth plate of the third part of M. Dupaix's Monuments of New Spain) was perhaps in its basement story not unlike the steep and pyramidal rock, the four sides of which were fashioned and rendered smooth by the labour of man, (according to Josephus,) upon which the Hebrew temple was built; whilst its upper area, divided into different courts, *with porticoes having light against light*, and containing various edifices, might have imitated in some degree Herod's temple, in the inner court of which was the sanctuary, which rose like a *tower* high above all the other buildings. It is generally admitted that the temple of Solomon was twice rebuilt; first by the Jews under Ezra after their return from the Babylonian captivity, and at a later period by Herod. It is most extraordinary, however, that the plan of that temple, which was drawn out by God himself for David to be given to Solomon,—as we are informed in the nineteenth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, "All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern,"—should have become unintelligible to later generations: for we defy Mr. Nash or any other eminent architect, whatever learning or ingenuity they may bring to the task, to comprehend the description of Solomon's temple, as given in the First Book of Kings and the First Book of Chronicles; and can assure them that they will reap little assistance from consulting the vision of Ezekiel, as recorded in the forty-seventh and forty-eighth chapters of that prophet's Book. What is here asserted admits the most simple proof; since it is only necessary to recur to plans of that temple, which celebrated scholars have caused to be engraved and inserted in their works, to find that they almost all materially differ from each other; whilst the Rabbis in their plans mix absurdity with ignorance. It cannot be expected that much light should be thrown upon the question by Josephus, whose description of Herod's temple is inapplicable to that which was founded so many ages before by Solomon, and who is besides an historian who is guilty of the greatest exaggerations: but an obscure passage in the fourteenth chapter of his Jewish Antiquities, seems to afford grounds for supposing that the Hebrew temple was built upon a hollow artifical platform, like many of the Mexican temples. The following is the passage alluded to: "Ἀνελων δε τους ἀρχαιους θεμελιους, και καταβαλομενος ἑτερους, ἐπ' ἀυτων τον ναον ἠγειρε, μηκει μεν ρ οντα πηχων, το δ' ὑψος κ περιττοις, οὑς, τῳ χρονῳ συνεζησαντων των θεμελιων, ὑπεβη. και τουτο μεν κατα τους Νερωνος καιρους ἐπεγειρειν ἐγνωκειμεν." "But Herod having taken away the ancient foundations and laid new ones, erected the temple upon them, which was one hundred cubits in length, and twenty additional cubits in height, which (latter) number of cubits it sunk, the foundations after the expiration of a time having collapsed. In the age of Nero we resolved to build it up again." It is obvious, from the reasons above assigned, that we cannot compare the temple of Jerusalem, as a whole, with any of the Mexican temples, because we have not a perfect idea of all its parts; it is only therefore from scattered passages of Scripture that we are enabled to guess that there were many features of resemblance between these different structures. That Solomon's temple was high, we learn from the twenty-first verse of the seventh chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, where it is expressly so designated: "And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it; so that he shall say, Why hath the Lord done thus unto this land and unto this house?" That it had an ascent, which was probably by steps, up to it, is incidentally mentioned in the ninth chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, which contains an account of the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon: "And when the queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of Solomon, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his *ascent* by which he went up into the house of the Lord; there was no more spirit in her." That the temple, when repaired by Simon the high priest, had a double height, (which phrase is very obscure,) we learn from the following passage of the fiftieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life repaired the house again, and in his days fortified the temple: and by him was built from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the temple." This description would be almost applicable to the architecture of the temple of Palenque, or to the platforms of more than one story upon which the Mexican temples were built. The roof and the windows of the house of the forest of Lebanon, built by Solomon, are thus described in the seventh chapter of the First Book of Kings; from which it would appear that the roof of that house was supported by transverse beams resting upon three rows of pillars;

* It deserves to be remarked, that the name of the *holy house*, which Josephus always bestows upon the temple of Jerusalem, is the literal signification of the Mexican term teocalli.

which was the plan adopted by those who constructed the palaces of Mictlan, although in those palaces, the halls being long and narrow, single rows of pillars were judged sufficient to support the roof: "And it was covered with cedar above upon the beams, that lay on forty-five pillars, fifteen in a row. And there were windows in three rows, and light was against light in three ranks. And all the doors and posts were square, with the windows: and light was against light in three ranks.

M. Dupaix has remarked, that the sides of the Mexican temples almost invariably corresponded to the four cardinal points, whilst the staircases were always on the east, because the chapel above looked towards the east; and when the ascent was by a single staircase, faced the upper landing-place. The same was the position of the temple which Ezekiel beheld in his vision, as is evident from the first verse of the forty-seventh chapter of his Prophecies: "Afterward he brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward: for the forefront of the house stood toward the east, and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar." The stairs of the altar appertaining to this temple are said, in the following passage of the forty-third chapter of the same prophet, to have looked towards the east: "And the altar shall be twelve cubits long, twelve broad, square in the four squares thereof. And the settle shall be fourteen cubits long and fourteen broad in the four squares thereof; and the border about it shall be half a cubit; and the bottom thereof shall be a cubit about; and his stairs shall look toward the east." It had also many courts, like the greater temple of Mexico, as Ezekiel declares in the twenty-first verse of his forty-sixth chapter: "Then he brought me forth into the utter court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and, behold, in every corner of the court there was a court." From the fourteenth verse of the thirty-eighth chapter of Jeremiah, it appears that the temple of Solomon had many courts likewise: "Then Zedekiah the king sent, and took Jeremiah the prophet unto him into the third entry that is in the house of the Lord: and the king said unto Jeremiah, I will ask thee a thing; hide nothing from me." A causeway is also mentioned in the sixteenth verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, as leading to the latter temple: "To Shuppim and Hosah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going up, ward against ward." The Jews were commanded by Moses not to make an altar of hewn stone: smooth uncut stones were therefore probably used by them in the construction of the altars belonging to their temple. And Sahagun affirms that the court of the greater temple of Mexico was paved with smooth and uncut stones as slippery as glass. Josephus records the vast size of the blocks of hewn stone of which the temple of Jerusalem was built. And M. Dupaix expresses his astonishment at the equally large masses of granite which he discovered in the walls of the palaces of Mictlan; wondering at the same time by what means they had been worked, since their perfectly smooth surface bore no marks of the chisel; and he could not believe it possible that the founders of Mictlan had reduced those blocks to proper shape and dimensions merely by the friction of one stone against another. It did not occur to M. Dupaix that emery might have been employed in working them, with several kinds of which Sahagun says the Mexicans were acquainted; which in conjunction with the saw would have given to those stones the smooth surface that he describes. It appears from the ninth verse of the seventh chapter of the First Book of Kings, that the stones with which the temple of Solomon was constructed were sawed both on the inner and the outer side: "All these were of costly stones, according to the measures of hewed stones, sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside toward the great court."

That the Tultecas were the founders of many of the most splendid monuments of the New World may be inferred, not only from the signification of the proper name Tulteca, which means *an architect*, but likewise because the figure of a feathered serpent is sometimes represented in Mosaic on their walls, which undoubtedly referred to their god Quetzalcoatl. A gigantic serpent of this description ornaments the ruins of the fortress of Xochicalco; and here we may observe, that the original drawing of that monument (from which the fifteenth plate in the first part of the Monuments of New Spain has been taken) has suffered considerable mutilation, one half of it having been torn off. Since nothing appears more admirable in the architecture of the New World than the beautiful and durable Mosaic ornaments which cover the walls of the palaces of Mictlan, it is highly probable that those structures were erected by the Tultecas; and they furnish an argument in favour of the belief, that the Tultecas were originally a Jewish colony which in remote ages had settled in America; since we do not read that any other nation of the old continent, except the Jews, ever introduced this style of ornament into architecture; whilst Josephus, it should be remarked, commends in the highest terms the skill which his countrymen displayed in uniting together the stones of which

the walls of the temple were composed, the joints of which were scarcely visible. And the art of working in mosaic seems probably alluded to in the sixth verse of the third chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, where the embellishments which Solomon added to the temple are thus described; "And he *garnished* the house with precious stones for beauty, and the gold was gold of Parvaim." The walls of the Mexican temples were delicately plastered, and frequently ornamented with stucco, especially those of the temple of Palenque, the exterior of which presented to the eye groups of colossal figures, which viewed from the ground must naturally have suggested to the mind of the beholder the relievos which decorate the temple of the Parthenon; save that in the former, the immortal genius of the Greeks was wanting. That the Jews were accustomed to add this kind of ornament to their buildings we learn from the simile contained in the seventeenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Ecclesiasticus: "A heart settled upon a thought of understanding is as a fair plastering on the wall of a gallery." M. Dupaix, in describing the figures in plaster upon the walls of the temple of Palenque, notices, as a peculiarity in them all, the excessive size of the nose. He did not perhaps know that Solomon ascribed beauty and majesty to countenances distinguished by that characteristic, as he intimates in the comparison introduced in the fourth verse of the seventh chapter of his Song: "Thy neck is as a tower of ivory, thine eyes like the fishpools in Heshbon, by the gate of Bath-rabbim, thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus." Since it cannot be doubted that Solomon was the *arbiter elegantiarum* of Jewish taste, it may be inferred that the peculiar physiognomy of the above-mentioned figures, (which induced M. Dupaix to think that they represented an extinct race of mankind,) was only, as regarded the junction of the nose with the forehead, an exaggeration of the Hebrew line of beauty into a complete curve.

In some of the temples of Yucatan, according to the testimony of Captain Don Antonio del Rio, statues of men *with palms in their hands*, in the act of beating drums and dancing, are formed in stucco on the walls: and it should be observed, that to rejoice with branches of the palm-tree was peculiarly a Hebrew custom, the observance of which Moses strictly enjoined to the Jews.—The following passage is extracted from Captain Don Antonio del Rio's narrative of his visit to the ruins of Palenque, (which preceded, and probably led to, the more extensive researches of M. Dupaix,) in which he takes occasion to mention other ancient temples existing in Yucatan.

"The Rev. Father Thomas de Soza, a Franciscan friar of the convent of Merida, many years collector of alms destined for the holy house of Jerusalem, who, in pursuing the duties imposed upon him from his situation, had repeatedly traversed the province, fortunately happening to be at Palenque, favoured me with a circumstantial account of that country, of which I shall now avail myself in his own words.

"At the distance of twenty leagues from the city of Merida southward, between the curacy called Mona y Ticul and the town of Nocacab, are the remains of some stone edifices; one very large building has withstood the ravages of time, and still exists in good preservation: the natives give it the name of Oxmutal. It stands on an eminence of twenty yards in height, and measures two hundred yards on each façade. The apartments, the exterior corridor, the pillars with figures in medio-relievo, and decorated with serpents, lizards, &c. formed in stucco, beside which are statues of men with palms in their hands in the act of beating drums and dancing, resemble in every respect those observable in the buildings at Palenque. Eight leagues distant from the same city to the northward are the ruined walls of several other houses, which increase in number as you advance in an easterly direction. In the vicinity of the river Lagartos, at a town called Mani, which is under the actual jurisdiction of the Franciscan friars, in the middle of the principal square, stands a pillory of a conical shape, built of stones; and to the southward rises a very ancient palace, resembling that at Palenque, which, according to tradition, was inhabited, upon the arrival of the Spanish conquerors, by a petty Indian sovereign called Htulrio, who resigned it to the Franciscans for a residence while their new convent was building, after which it was used for several years as a public hospital. The erection of this palace was long anterior to the time of Htulrio, who replied to the inquiries of the fathers relative to the period of its construction, that he was totally ignorant of its origin, and only knew that it had been inhabited by his ancestors. From hence we may draw some inference respecting the very remote antiquity of the Palencian edifices, buried for so many ages in the impenetrable thickets covering a mountain, and unknown to the historians of the New World, by whom no mention whatsoever is made of their existence. On the road from Merida to Bacalar there are also many other buildings both to the north and south, according to my informant's narrative, a description of which I conceive unnecessary, not only from being desirous of avoiding prolixity, but because the identity of the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan and Palenque is, in my opinion, evidently proved by the

strong analogy of their customs, buildings, and acquaintance with the arts, whereof such vestiges are discernible in those monuments which the current of time has not yet swept away."

M. Dupaix observes, that he sometimes discovered a *plain* cylindrical stone at no great distance from the Mexican temples. This stone he is inclined to think might have been destined for gladiatorial sacrifices: but from the absence of the groove through which the rope ran that was fastened round the waist of the combatant, (which Sahagun makes particular mention of in describing those sacrifices,) we imagine that this stone was a Tehuehuetl, or stone dedicated to acts of penance. And here again the manners of the ancient Jews and the Mexicans seem to approximate; for the latter did penance by ascending upon a *cylindrical* stone, and the former by sitting in a *circle*, as the two following extracts (the one from Boturini's Treatise, the other from A View of the Jewish Religion,) will more fully show.

"Por mas cèlebre refiero la Fabula del Penitente Yàppan. Dicen de èl los Indios, que acercandose el tiempo de las Transformaciones, se apartò, para captarse la benevolencia de los Dioses, de su Muger, y Parientes, y retirandose à hacer vida casta, y solitaria en un lugar desierto, donde se hallaba la Piedra dedicada à los Actos Penitenciales, que llamaban Tehuehuetl, subiò à ella, y diò principiò à su penitencia. Observaronle los Dioses con atencion, y dudosos de la firmeza de su proposito, pusieronle por Guarda à otro hombre enemigo suyo llamado Yàotl, que significa lo mismo que *Enemigo*, para que desde lexos le estuviesse continuamente espiando, y diesse cuenta de sus acciones. Mantuvose Yàppan por mucho tiempo constante, y rechazò con valor a muchas Mugeres, que los mismos Dioses le embiaron para tentarle. Y mientras allà en los Cielos se celebraban las castas victorias del Penitente, Tlazoltèotl, Diosa del Amor deshonesto, como desayrada, y reputada por de pocas fuerzas, empezò à hablar, diciendo: 'No creais Altos, é Immortales Dioses, que Yàppan tenga heroicos esfuerzos para concluir su penitencia, y merecer de vuestra benignidad alguna de las Transmutaciones sublimes. Baxarè Yo, y luego vereis, como es fragil su proposito, y fingida su continencia.' Hizolo assi, y saludandole con agrado, dixo: '*Hermano* Yàppan, Yo la Diosa Tlazoltèotl, assombrada de tu constancia, y apiadada de tus trabajos, vengo à consolarte;' y viendole muy encumbrado, repitiòle: 'Què camino tomarè, ò por qual senda he de subir à hablarte?' No conociò el Simplon la treta, y respondiòla: 'Seas muy bien venida: aguardate, que baxarè por ti,' y despues la fuè subiendo à la Piedra Penitencial, donde encendido de sus impudicos amores, y encubierto de las vestiduras de la Diosa, cometiò torpe sacrilegio con ella, pensando que tendrìa alguna disculpa, por haver sido su yerro con una Diosa, ò porque ella lo callarìa à las demàs Deidades. Indignaronse los Dioses de haver el falso Penitente profanado tan Divino lugar, è Yàotl, que de lexos viò el abominable sucesso, olvidado de avisarlos, y cegado de su interna enemistad, se fuè en derechura à Yàppan, diciendole: 'No te averguenzas, Penitente Hypocrita, de haver faltado à tu proposito, y engañado à los Supremos Dioses?' y de un golpe de Macàna cortòle immediatamente la cabeza, en cuyo instante los Dioses le convirtieron en Alacràn, quedando en la misma figura, que se hallaba, quando con los brazos pretendía hacer resistencia à su Enemigo, quien añadiendo mayores delitos, fuè luego en demanda de la Muger del Penitente, à quien por la misma enemistad del Marido igualmente aborrecia. Llamabase èsta Tlahuìtzin, que quiere decir, 'La Encendida.' Traxola al sitio de la Piedra Penitencial, diciendola: 'Has de saber Tlahuìtzin, que los Dioses me ordenaron estuviesse en estos contornos por espia de la penitencia, que aqui propuso cumplir tu Marido, el qual violando tan respetado lugar, cayò en pecado torpe, por cuya causa le cortè la cabeza, que traigo conmigo: Y por si acaso le diste tu motivo, para que te dexasse, y tomasse por medio su fingido, y mal logrado retiro, he de hacer contigo, lo que hice con tu Marido,' y al punto le cortò tambien la cabeza, y fuè de la misma suerte, por los disgustos, que diò al Marido, transformada en Alacràn encendido, y abalanzandose à lo baxo de la Piedra Penitencial, hallò à Yàppan en su misma figura. Por esto dicen los Indios, que los Alacranes encendidos nacieron de Tlahuìtzin, y los cenicientos, y obscuros de Yàppan, y que ambos se esconden baxo de las piedras por la verguenza, que tuvieron de su pecado, no atreviendose à parecer en publico, y huyendo siempre de la luz. Que es lo mismo, que sucediò à Nyctimène convertida en Lechuza, por haver fraudulentamente contaminado con nefario incesto el Talamo del Rey su padre."

"For conclusion of this chapter, I cannot but relate in what doing the most learned Rabbins think they observe a most religious and holy fast. We read in Medrasch Debharim Rabba to this purpose; 'So soon as Moses saw that the decree of death was signed against him, he enjoyned himself a fast, and having made a cake (or a circle as the exorcists and necromancers use to do, or a round pit for so the glosser expounds it) he put on sackcloth, poured ashes upon his head, and placed himself in the midst of his cake (or circle), fasted and prayed incessantly, resolving

not to move thence till God had altered his decree, which presently was done.' Doubtlesse this pleasant storie had its original from that nursery of Jewish fables their Talmud, where in the treatise of Fasting we read, That a certain holy Jew, whose name was Chone Hammaagal Carter, did the same when he would obtain any thing of consequence, or necessary; as when it had not rained all February and the corn did want rain, he seated himself in the midst of such a cake (or circle) and said, 'Lord of the world, thy sons look upon me as one dear unto thee as a son is to his father. I swear by thy holy name I will not depart hence till thou hast had compassion on thy sons.' He had scarce ended, they affirm, when it began to rain.

"You will wonder more (if any absurdity is to be wondered at in the writings of the Jews) that the prophet Habakuk is said to have done the same: Hab. 2. 1. It is written, 'I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon my tower, and I will watch to see what he will answer me:' that is, Here I stand in my cake (or circle), and expect whilest thou answerest me why the wicked are so long lived, as Rabbi D. Kimchi out of the Rabbins writes on this place." So miserably blinded are the Jews and given over to a reprobate sense, that they are not ashamed to speak thus grosly, brutishly, and stupidly of the word of God, and interpret the Scripture out of their own mad fancies."

We cannot refrain from observing, in reference to the fable of Yàppan, (under which proper name that of Job may perhaps be disguised,) that it has a tincture of Jewish superstition: for although the Jews were left completely in the dark by *Moses* in every thing relating to the doctrines of heaven, hell, the devil, a future state of rewards and punishments, and the immortality of the soul, which furnished the chief grounds of the disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees; they still believed in an evil spirit who accused them before God, when watching their actions he became aware of their having sinned, whom they named Satan, or the *adversary:* and this doctrine they collected from the Book of Job. We may add, in reference to the second quotation, that the Mexicans, like the Jews, were accustomed to do penance by sitting on the ground, in which posture their priests are often represented in the Mexican paintings. The object of this penance frequently was to obtain *rain;* and they might have imitated either Quecalcoatl, who procured rain by fasting, or the prophet Jeremiah, who declares in the third verse of the third chapter of his Prophecies, that the wickedness of the Jews was the cause of showers having been withholden; and in his prayer for the people to God, in the fourteenth chapter of the same Book, he expresses himself in language very analogous to that which we find in the eighth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain was used by the Mexican priests in their prayer to Tlaloc for rain. The Mexicans attached great importance to the sacred vestments worn by their priests, which were carefully preserved in their temples; and in this they resembled the Jews. In the twenty-fourth verse of the eighteenth chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, the following virtues are ascribed to the pontifical costume of Aaron: "For in the long garment was the whole world, and in the four rows of the stones was the glory of the fathers graven, and thy majesty upon the diadem of his head." They were fond of wearing dresses of scarlet and of showy colours, as were also the Jews. The exclamation of the prophet, "Who is this that cometh from Bozrah?" and many other passages of the Old Testament might be cited to show that the Jews entertained a great predilection for scarlet: and a coat of many colours was given as a mark of peculiar kindness by the patriarch Jacob to his favourite son Joseph, as we learn from the following verse of the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis: "Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of many colours." The Mexicans not only excelled in the fabrication of cloth and hangings, but delighted likewise in introducing monstrous and uncouth figures into the labours of their loom; a taste that in former days prevailed amongst the Jews, who being forbidden by their law to imitate things that existed in nature, had no choice left but to imagine monsters. To this Jewish custom, Claudian alludes in the following verses:

——"Jam frugibus aptum
Æquor, et assuetum sylvis delphina videbo;
Jam cocleis homines junctos, et quidquid inane
Nutrit Judaicis quæ pingitur India velis."

It may be proper to remark that some critics, unwilling to allow the Jews the fame which Claudian ascribes to them, have, with a total disregard to prosody, wished to substitute the word *Attalicis* for *Judaicis*. A cross somewhat resembling the Greek letter *tau* occurs not unfrequently in the Mexican paintings. And it deserves to be noticed, that in the kingdom of Naples the Jews in former ages were compelled to wear a badge of that description, as Bayle and other authors assert. The representations of ravenous beasts tearing and eagles devouring are so often found in

the same paintings, that it might almost induce one to suppose that there was an intended allusion to the third verse of the fifteenth chapter of the Prophecies of Jeremiah: "And I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the Lord: the sword to slay, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and destroy."

The last argument which we shall adduce to prove that the Jews in early ages colonized America, is the prophetical denunciations of the Old Testament, that they should be removed into *all* the kingdoms of the earth;—which required for their literal fulfilment (since what dependence can be placed on prophecies that are not to be literally fulfilled?) that the Jews should be removed to Peru and Mexico; and could never have contemplated that an entire hemisphere would remain until the sixteenth century after the Christian era untrodden by the chosen people of God. Nor will it avail those who wish, by giving less latitude to the words of Moses, to contend that his prediction has been fully accomplished,—to insinuate that he was perhaps ignorant of the existence of America, and therefore did not mean to prophesy that the Jews would be scattered over that continent: since this would be arguing absurdly, that human knowledge prescribes limits to Divine inspiration. Since the prophecy relating to the dispersion of the Jews, and its alledged *full* accomplishment, has always been used as a lever to lift and support an enormous weight,—the acknowledgement that we should not have recurred to it here but for the sake of one class of persons, who will prefer this to every other kind of proof, and that we do not now address this argument to any others, may appear somewhat gratuitous. But we hope that by doing so, those that may henceforward find it disagreeable to admit that the Jews had in early ages colonized America, will find it impossible to recede; and that an accumulation of evidence will compel them to confess that the old law has been revived in that continent, and that the sceptre has been restored to Judah. The reasons that induce us not to consider this last argument of a general kind, are the following: First, the Mosaic records are not admitted by all persons to be inspired: and arguments drawn from their inspiration to prove that America was colonized by the Jews, would evidently be thrown away upon those who did not believe in them. Secondly, The Jews themselves may feel in doubt,—understanding in a limited signification, as Christians have done, the words of Moses, "shall be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;" and not considering their dispersion to be a judgment inflicted upon them on account of the crucifixion of Christ, (to which Moses makes not the slightest allusion,) but a punishment on account of their disobedience to his law, which he threatened them would actually happen,—whether the accomplishment of all the prophecies relating to their dispersion might not have occurred at the time of the Babylonian captivity; for the second temple wanting prophecy as well as Urim and Thummim, of course there could have been no prophecies of more dispersions after the return from that captivity: and the predictions uttered during the seventy years might have referred to the *probable* future lot of the Jews dispersed in Egypt and elsewhere. The Jews may therefore ascribe their dispersion after the subjugation of their state by the Romans until the present time, first to political and afterwards to religious causes, and not consider the argument drawn from Prophecy as affording conclusive evidence that they had in remote ages colonized America. Amongst the following denunciations pronounced by Moses against the Jews, will be found that, relative to their future dispersion, which is contained in the twenty-fifth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy: "But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do *all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day;* that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly; because of the wickedness of thy doings, whereby thou hast forsaken me. The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither thou goest to possess it. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust: from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them: *and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.*"

If the prophecy of Moses related to the dispersion of the Jews after the Christian era, how very remarkable must it appear that he should denounce vengeance against them in case they should disobey those laws which Christ himself came into the world to repeal, and that the Apostles should have attempted to make proselytes of the Jews! It may therefore be inferred that neither Moses, nor the other prophets who followed him, contemplated any other dispersion than that caused by the Babylonian captivity. It would even seem, from the following passage of the twenty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, that if the prophecy of Moses was not fully accomplished at the period of the Babylonian captivity, as far as it related to Zedekiah, the princes of the tribe of Judah, the residue of the Jews that were unwilling to quit Babylon, and their brethren who had fled into Egypt to escape from the Chaldean yoke; it was with respect to those who returned to their country and rebuilt Jerusalem. But it was the descendants of the latter who crucified Christ, whose dispersion is imputed to that cause, and appealed to as a standing miracle at the present day. "Again the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel; Like these good figs, so will I acknowledge them that are carried away captive of Judah, whom I have sent out of this place into the land of the Chaldeans for their good. For I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this land: and I will build them, *and not pull them down;* and I will plant them, *and not pluck them up.* And I will give them an heart to know me, that I am the Lord: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God: for they shall return unto me with their whole heart. And as the evil figs, which cannot be eaten, they are so evil; surely thus saith the Lord, So will I give Zedekiah the king of Judah, and his princes, and the residue of Jerusalem, that remain in this land, and them that dwell in the land of Egypt: and I will deliver *them* to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth for their hurt, *to be a reproach and a proverb,* a taunt and a curse, in all places whither I shall drive them."

It may truly be observed, that what is named an appeal to a standing miracle, whether it proceed from the mouth of Christian, Jew, or Mahometan, is generally an argument addressed by the unlearned to the completely ignorant, who judge by their senses of the truth of that respecting which their reason cannot assist them in forming any conclusion; and who have not leisure to reflect, or means to know, whether the effects which surprise them may not have been brought about by a train of physical and moral causes. There was a time when the colour of the skin of the negro was reckoned a standing miracle; the Jews consider the preservation of their Talmud a miracle of that description; and Protestants, and all other seceders from the Church of Rome, declare that the locality of the Holy See upon seven hills is a standing miracle, and the fulfilment of prophecy; even the temple of Jerusalem in ruins, has been maintained by some learned writers to be a standing miracle. The dispersion of the Jews may either be a miracle or may not, since it might have been brought about by the operation of political and religious causes combined. The geographical situation of Judea, placed exactly in an angle between Europe, Asia, and Africa, and in the vicinity of the sea, favoured a political dispersion after their city and territory had been reduced under the Roman yoke. This dispersion, in the first instance compulsory, might afterwards have assumed a voluntary character, when the love of gain, for which the Jews have in all ages been distinguished, had taught them the advantages of spreading themselves through the various cities of the Roman empire, which comprehended in its vast extent all civilised Africa, Asia to the Euphrates, and Europe as far north as Britain, and west as the Ocean. They were then a dispersed people, before they felt the rage of Christian persecution, from political causes only: but other causes soon combined to disperse them still more, and to entail dispersion and reproach upon their posterity. The Church declared that the dispersion of the Jews was a proof of the truth of Christianity, that they were an accursed race, who had crucified the Saviour of mankind; and pointing to the prophetical books of the Old Testament, which denounced such a judgment against them, called upon the laity to cooperate with prophecy to vex and harass the Jews; who from that moment became like the unconscious pieces on a chess-board,—instruments that were moved about by the hands of those who played a deep game; whilst the various Christian states, aiding the ecclesiastical with the secular arm, permitted and encouraged their several corporations to pass laws and regulations, the object of which was to scatter and disperse the Jews, and never to permit them to remain beyond a certain time within the same city or town.

We have here shown by what natural causes the present dispersed state of the Jews may have been effected. But those who prefer miraculous agency to plain and simple probabilities, will, we fear, cut short our reasoning upon the subject, in the usual manner, by putting a question with a conditional promise annexed,—that if we can point out to them another nation on the globe that has remained for ages a dispersed and separate people like the Jews, they will admit that their dispersion is not miraculous. To which we must reply, by promising to do so after they have in-

formed us of some other nation, who, like the Jews, have been accused by a number of powerful states and empires contiguous to their own, of having crucified their God, who—believing that that God had ages before denounced his bitterest vengeance against the entire nation of those whom he foresaw would become his murderers, and had sentenced them to be dispersed,—resolved to cooperate with prophecy and to carry into execution the will of God. External political causes, over which the Jews could exercise no controul, combined in the first instance to make them a dispersed people; but religious causes, to which they themselves lent willing aid, contributed, after they became dispersed, to keep them a separate people, however identified by local habitation with the subjects and citizens of other states. Amongst these may be enumerated the following: The rite of circumcision, and the ridicule attached to it immediately after it ceased by the abolition of the old law to be a religious symbol in the opinion of Christians: The feast of the passover, and the ceremonies attendant upon it, as described in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, which necessarily congregate the Jews together once a year in the cities of the several states in which they may reside, and form a kind of national, as well as religious, bond between them: Their strict observance of their *oral* laws respecting marriages, which at the same time that they serve to remedy the evil which their dispersed state would seem to entail upon them, viz. diminution of population, strictly forbid them to intermarry with persons of a different faith: The entire spirit of the Mosaic law, which was framed for the express purpose of making and keeping the Jews a distinct people; and finally, The crime of which they are accused, of having crucified the Saviour of mankind. If due regard be paid to all these natural causes, which in former ages, when Christendom groaned itself under despotism and was enveloped in ignorance, operated powerfully on the condition of the Jews, and which still continue to affect them in a mitigated degree,—the unreasonableness of the demand of those who are determined not to imitate the incredulity of Saint Thomas, and who require that another nation precisely circumstanced as the Jews should be pointed out to them before they will cease to believe that their dispersion is a miracle, must be apparent to all.

The time has perhaps arrived when authentic monuments, affording matter upon which to found reasonable discussion, will enable men of information to decide upon the certainty or the probability of the Jews having in early ages colonized America. The notion prevailed—the conviction was probably felt in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that this was the case: but those who entertained these sentiments, although furnished with the necessary proofs, might have been compelled to keep the secret locked up in their breasts, lest they should have cast a scandal upon a received religious notion, that the dispersion of the Jews was the fulfilment of Prophecy: since how, if it could have been shown that the riches of Peru, or the throne of Mexico, or political ascendancy in any part of the New World, had become the lot of the dispersed Jews, would the prophecy seem to be accomplished respecting them, where it says that they should borrow and not lend, and that they should be the *tail* and not the head? We cannot refrain from inserting in this place a passage from the 424th page of the fifth volume of the present work, because the expression *outcasts* (desechados), as applied by the Mexicans to themselves, is there so singularly introduced, and savours so strongly of the tone of complaint in which the Jews, wherever residing and however well off in their temporal concerns, have been accustomed to indulge ever since the fall of their empire. "Nota, hijo, esta palabra, que lo que te tengo dicho te sea espina y aire frio que te aflija, paraque te haga humillar y volver en tí. Mira, hijo, que has nacido en tiempo de trabajos y aflicciones, y te ha enviado Dios al mundo en tiempo de gran pobreza; mira, que yo soy tu padre; mira, que vida pasamos yo y tu madre, que no somos tenidos en nada, ni hay memoria de nosotros; *aunque nuestros antepasados fueron grandes y poderosos* dejarronnos aquella potencia y grandeza? No, por cierto; mira á tus parientes y á tus afines, que no tienen ser ninguno en la república sino que viven en pobreza y como *desechados:* y aunque tu seas noble y generoso de claro linage, conviene que tengas delante tus ojos, como has de vivir." "Remember the words which I now address to thee, my son; let them be a thorn in thy heart and a cold blast to afflict thee, that thou mayest humble thyself and betake thee to inward meditations. Consider, my son, that it has been thy lot to be born in a time of trouble and sorrow, and that God hast sent thee into the world at a period of extreme poverty. Behold me, who am thy father; see what a life I and thy mother lead, and how we are accounted as nothing, and the memory of us has passed away. *Although our ancestors were powerful and great,* have they bequeathed to us their power and greatness? No, truly; cast thine eyes upon thy relations and kindred, who fill no public offices, but who live in poverty and as *outcasts.* Wherefore, although thou thyself art noble and illustrious and of famous lineage, it becomes thee to have ever present before thine eyes how thou oughtest to live." The Jews themselves, as it has been elsewhere observed, have entertained a strong

belief that America has been colonized by their race, grounding that belief on what is said in certain chapters of the Old Testament of the People of the Isles, (to which isles a Hebrew appellation, derived from a Hebrew word signifying the *West*, has been given; evidently showing that they could not have been Ceylon, or the islands of the Indian Archipelago,) as also on many analogies in the laws, rites, customs, and ceremonies of the Indians, but more especially in the following passage of the thirteenth chapter of the second apocryphal Book of Esdras: "And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land, in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, *which they never kept in their own land.* And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the Most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go; namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called Arsareth. Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now when they shall begin to come, the Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace." Assuming on the best grounds that the apocryphal Books of Esdras are not inspired,—since except on good grounds learned men would not have pronounced the judgment which they have upon them, the Church would have made greater use of their authority, and time would not have convicted any portion of their narrative of falsehood,—we shall not notice the reveries to which the above passage has given rise amongst the Rabbis; but shall, as a way of promoting the end of science, which is truth, endeavour to invalidate by just objections what ill deserves the name of proof of any kind. It will be at once admitted that if the Apocryphal Books of Esdras are not inspired they are a forgery; and that in that case it would be improper to attach more weight to arguments drawn from any passages contained in them, favouring the conclusion that the Jews had colonized America, than to mere human authority. The following, then, are reasons for believing those books not to be inspired. First, since it is admitted that the truth of the Christian religion, and that Christ was the real Messiah, the Son of God, are mainly proved by the prophecies contained in the Old Testament; and a more famous prediction relating to his advent, with the time clearly defined (*which is seldom the case in Hebrew prophecies*), is contained in the seventh chapter of the Second Book of Esdras, than can be found in *any of the other* prophetical books of the Old Testament, in which he is mentioned by name four hundred years before his birth;—it must be presumed, the Church making such little use of the authority of this book, and none of the Evangelists referring to it, it was not considered genuine. The silence of the Evangelists may be accounted for by supposing that it was not in existence when they wrote; and the Church's rejecting it altogether in the beginning, and afterwards pronouncing it to be merely apocryphal, was probably because the real story of its fabrication was in the beginning well known, and became in after-ages forgotten. The dream of Esdras, as recorded in the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Esdras, which is penned so exactly in the style of the prophet Daniel, bears evident allusion to the Roman empire, the triumvirate, and the twelve Cæsars, as must immediately suggest itself to the mind of even a careless reader, on the perusal of the first verse of that chapter: "Then saw I a dream, and, behold, there came up from the sea an eagle, which had twelve feathered wings, and three heads."

The time when this book was composed may therefore easily be inferred; and the circumstances of the forgery coming to the knowledge of the philosopher Porphyry, might have induced him to form the opinion which he did of the Book of the prophet Daniel. The following is the prophecy of Esdras relating to the advent of the Messiah: "Behold, the time shall come, that these tokens which I have told thee shall come to pass, and the bride shall appear, and she coming forth, shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth. And whosoever is delivered from the aforesaid evils, shall see my wonders. *For my son Jesus shall be revealed* with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice *within four hundred years. After these years shall my son Christ die,* and all men that have life. And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, *like as in the former judgments: so that no man shall remain.*" Secondly, because time has convicted Esdras of falsehood, when speaking of the age of the world and the time which it had still to last, he definitely says in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verses of the fourteenth chapter of his Second Book: "For the world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old. For the world is divided into *twelve* parts, and the *ten* parts of it are gone already, and *half of a tenth* part: and there remaineth that which is *after* the half of the tenth part." But how, according to Scripture chronology,—the age in which Esdras lived being

considered, and the time which has since elapsed,—can the declaration contained in the chapter referred to be considered otherwise than as manifestly false? At the same time we cannot omit to notice here an analogous usage of the Jews and the Mexicans,—that of dividing time into a certain number of ages; nor refrain from observing that the expression of Esdras *like as in the former judgments* affords an indication that he at least, and perhaps many other Jews in his age, believed, like the Mexicans, that the world had been several times destroyed. Thirdly, because if the apocryphal Books of Esdras are to be considered as inspired, the other books of the Apocrypha which possess equal claim to inspiration must be considered inspired likewise: but some of these History convicts of falsehood, and others are replete with absurdities: for example, the united testimony of all profane historians contradicts the account given in the first chapter of the First Book of Maccabees, of Alexander the Great dividing during his life-time his kingdom; and nothing can be more absurd than the eighth chapter of the Book of Tobit. We trust that the reasons which have been adduced for rejecting as inspired the testimony of Esdras, will induce those who may in future discuss so obscure a question in history as the time when, and the passage by which, the Jews migrated to America, not to refer to that author in proof of their marvellous journey by dry land through the midst of the Euphrates; since it is evidently borrowed from the Mosaic history of the division of the waters of the Red Sea, at which it may be observed Esdras elsewhere glances, when he says that God spoke to him *out of a bush*, as ages before he had done to Moses. We have already alluded to several causes which conspired to spread the veil of oblivion over the history of the New World; to which may be added, that the attention of the learned in Europe, at the latter end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, was diverted from dwelling long upon any one event, by the magnitude of others, which had either recently happened or which were continually occurring around them, such as were the magic effects of the art of printing, and the rescuing from oblivion many of the long-lost works of antiquity; the progress of the Reformation, the destruction of the Greek empire, and the gigantic and sudden growth of the Ottoman power in Europe; as also the Portuguese discoveries in the East. Europe in fact knew and cared very little in the sixteenth century about the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition and the clergy in America. Since, however, nothing will now tend so much as free discussion to throw light upon a most mysterious page of history, we shall conclude these remarks by citing,—in anticipation to the objections of those who may choose to contend that Jewish antiquities will be profaned by coming in contact with Mexican,—a passage from Aristotle's Treatise on Rhetoric, that contains an argument which furnishes a complete refutation to all the reasoning of those who in the present day assert (protesting by so doing against the very *principle* of the Reformation) that it is for the interest of Religion, that the truths which she teaches, and the ordinances of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, should be *part and parcel* of the law of England; which is in other words to deny the truth of that approved motto of antiquity, "Magna est veritas et prævalebit;" to maintain that error is in its nature superior to truth, darkness to light, and evil to good; and to attempt to compel the people to acknowledge by means of excessive fines and arbitrary imprisonment, that the Jews were the chosen people of God. The Brahmin who pronounced Pope's Universal Prayer to be deserving of being inscribed in golden letters upon a tablet in the temple of Vishnou, would probably have judged this sentence of the Stagirite worthy to have been uttered by the lips of Brahma, to whom hypocrites were odious, since hypocrisy is here met on its own ground of argument, and left altogether without a reply: "Αἰει τἀληθη και τα βελτιω τῃ φυσει εὐσυλλογιστοτερα και πιθανωτερα, ὡς ἁπλως εἰπειν, (εἰσι των ἐναντιων.)"—"That which is true, and by its own nature *better*, can *always*, simply speaking, be more easily reduced to argumentative form, and is more *persuasive* than that with which it is at issue." It must be confessed that the wisest of philosophers pays here only a just homage to truth; since the doctrine that it should be believed but not contradicted at once destroys its great test, which is the *willing* assent of mankind.

Supplementary Remarks.

Four and eight were very favourite numbers among the Mexicans. They fasted every fourth year eight days, in memory of the destructions of the world, and every eighth year four days in recollection of the fall of man. But besides the invention of fasts and feasts as a method of keeping alive religious reminiscences (in which they strongly resembled the Jews), they devised other means. And if we may believe Boturini, the Tultecas actually built towers

in memory of the tower of Babel,—perhaps he might have said of the temple of Jerusalem. It would also appear from a drawing in the collection of M. Dupaix, representing a curious coin obtained by him in the city of Ciudad Real, that they recorded in medals the temptation of Eve and the loss of Paradise. Boturini, in the 113th page of his Idea of a New General History of North America, says, "The Indians likewise celebrated their said origin in ancient songs, and retained such perfect recollection of the Tower of Babel, that they sought to imitate it in various monstrous edifices of the New World." "Celebraron assimismo los Indios su dicho origen en antiguos cantares, y tuvieron tan viva la memoria de la Torre de Babel, que la quisieron imitar en America con varios monstruosos edificios."

Never was there a nation that attached the importance which the Jews did to types and memorials. In their persons, on their clothes, in their eating and drinking, in what would be considered the most indifferent actions of life, the past and the future were ever present before their eyes. Circumcision reminded them of their covenant with God, which nevertheless they were continually breaking; their fringes and the phylacteries which they wore on their foreheads, of the obligation imposed upon them to keep his laws; their not eating the sinew of the thigh of a sheep or of any other animal, of Jacob's wrestling and prevailing with God, when the sinew of his thigh shrank. Hence it is not too much to suppose, without going so far back as to the æra of the tower of Babel, that the Jews did on their arrival in America, and on their acquiring wealth and power in that continent, determine to commemorate their ancient temple, by building there other temples of great magnificence in imitation of it; such as were the temple of Pachacama, (or of the Creator,) situated at the distance of four miles from the city of Lima; and the greater temple of Mexico. The foundation stones of the former of these temples are said by some Spanish writers to have been soldered together with gold and silver, and the interior was plated with gold; as was also the still more famous temple in Cusco, which was likewise dedicated to Pachacama, who, as the priests pretended, delivered oracular answers to those who came to inquire of him. The Tultecas, who were great artists, and who excelled in working in jewellery, an art, the name of which both in French and English is derived from the proper name Jew, probably recollected that exclamation of David in the Psalms: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning." But David alludes more particularly to the temple: and it is a fact notorious to all, that wherever Jews exist, the recollection of their temple and of its destruction is preserved amongst them; and the coming of the Messiah, their own restoration, the New Jerusalem, and the rebuilding of the temple, continually occupy their thoughts. Do such feelings, we may inquire, proceed from religion or from patriotism? From the latter we should be inclined to imagine, kept up and cherished by the Rabbis; for what Christians believe religiously, the Jews believe patriotically.

The retrospect, however, of the city and the holy hill, which their ancestors seem to have founded in the New World, and called Churula after Jerusalem, and Tlachihualtepetl (or the Hill of Sacrifice) after Mount Sion, will not be so agreeable to the Jews of the present age as the prospect of the 'sceptre returning to Israel.' Many customs of the Mexicans, strongly savouring of Judaism, besides that of circumcision, have already been noticed: such as their wearing fringes fastened to their garments; practising frequent ablutions; attending constantly public places of worship, to which they were summoned by the blowing of horns, as the Jews are to the synagogues; anointing themselves with oils; addressing each other with the appellation of Brother * and Sister; their priests allowing their hair to grow long

* Sahagun, in the first section of the twenty-ninth chapter of the tenth book of his History of New Spain describing the manners of the ancient Tultecas, says that they were accustomed to address each other by the appellation of Brother and Sister: "Estos dichos Tultecas eran buenos hombres y allegados à la virtud, porque no decian mentiras, y su manera de hablar y saludarse unos à otros era, Señor, y Señor; hermano mayor, y Señor hermano menor, y su habla en lugar de juramento era, es verdad, es asi, asi ès, està averiguado, y si por si, y no por no." "The said Tultecas were good men, who studied virtue in their actions, for they never uttered a falsehood; and their style of address and salutation was Sir, or Sir my elder brother, or Sir my younger brother. In speaking they never made use of an oath, but said verily, or so it is, or it is so, or it is true, or yea, yea, nay, nay." There is something evangelical in the style of salutation and affirmation which Sahagun in the above passage ascribes to the Tultecas; and since that author says in the fourteenth section of the same chapter of the ancestors of the Mexicans, that they believed life to be a dream or sleep, from which the dead awoke. If that notion had been borrowed from the Jews or the primitive Christians, how admirably it would illustrate the following passage of the ninth chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew: "And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place: for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn."

like Nazarites, though some were tonsured *; their frequently doing penance, strewing dust on their heads, and blackening themselves with ashes as a sign of mortification, and eating earth † at the festival of Tetzcatlipoca ‡.

But something remains to be said of the external religious marks or signs which both the Jews and the Mexicans wore on their faces and bodies. In the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, the following ordinance occurs: "And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth." As among the Jews the head, as being the *nobler* part of the body and the seat of reason, was adjudged the place most worthy of receiving the memorials of the law,—so among the Mexicans the nose and ears, parts corresponding to the eyes and temples of the Jews, were the places destined to receive their religious badges or memorials. It is impossible, on viewing the singular symbols attached to the noses of many of the figures represented in the Mexican paintings, not to imagine that they were religious memorials, or to refrain from instituting a comparison between them and those worn by the Jews, especially as they seem to contain obvious Hebrew allusions. The reversed temple or teocalli might have been worn by the Mexicans as a memorial of the destruction of the second temple; as the feasts of Purim, and of the dedication of the temple in the days of Judas Maccabæus, were instituted by the Jews in ages long after that of Moses,—one of them at least being a civil rather than a religious enactment, although religiously observed. The serpent which is sometimes substituted in the place of the teocalli, might have alluded to the temptation of Eve; since the fall of man and the loss of Paradise were events which the Spaniards found the Mexicans in the sixteenth century still bewailing. But the amphisbœna or double-headed serpent probably refers to the *two chiefs* designated by the common name of Ometeuli, and frequently represented in the Mexican paintings by the figure of two persons seated back to back, the one holding a serpent and the other a *rod* in his hand. This figure occurs in the forty-second page of the Borgian painting, and

* The priests who were tonsured professed to follow the example of Totec, who was otherwise called Xippe, which name, according to Torquemada, signifies *bald* or *tonsured*. "Este demonio Xippe, que quiere decir, Calvo ó Ateçado, era mui temido de todos, y por esta causa mui honrado, en especial porque tenian por cosa mui cierta y averiguada, de tiempos mui antiguos, que daba muchas enfermedades á los que no le honraban, y sacrificaban; y las mas ordinarias de las que le atribuian, eran viruelas, hinchaçones, apostemas, sarna, y enfermedad de ojos." It is recorded in the eleventh verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Acts, that Saint Paul struck the sorcerer Elymas blind. The proper name Xippe is variously written Xipe, Chipe, and Thipe; and Totec is sometimes added to it.

† The Jews considered eating earth a mark of the greatest humility and reverence, as we learn from the twenty-third verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah; where, speaking of the return of his own countrymen to their native land, and the homage which other nations would then show them, he says, "And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face towards the earth, and *lick up the dust* of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord." Looking on the ground and averting the eye from the face of persons greatly their superiors, as well as strewing branches on their road, were equally signs of reverence amongst the Jews and Mexicans.

‡ The Mexicans appear to have borrowed other customs from the Jews; such as the complimentary ceremony of offering strangers water in which to wash their feet; in reference to which it is to be supposed the festival which was given by the Mexican merchants to their friends and kindred on their return home from trafficking in foreign parts, which is described in the nineteenth chapter of the First Book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, was named *Lavatorio de pies*. Excommunication likewise, or putting out of the synagogue, seems to have been imitated by the Mexicans in a practice which is noticed by Sahagun in the following passage of the twentieth chapter of his Second Book: "Si alguno de los ministros del templo, y otros que llamaban Quaquavilti, y los viejos, se volvian à sus casas y no llegaban à donde habian de matar los niños, tenianlos por infames è indignos de ningun oficio publico, de hay adelante llamanlos Mocauhque que quiere decir *dexados*." "If any of those who officiated in the service of the temple, or others who were designated Quaquavilti, or the old, returned home without going to the place where the children were to be sacrificed, they were accounted infamous and unworthy of holding any public office, and were named thenceforwards Mocauhque, which signifies *put out*." Sahagun observes, in the twenty-first chapter of his Second Book, that some of the Mexican soldiers were instructed in the use of the left hand in battle instead of the right: and a passage occurs in the Old Testament in which soldiers who fought left-handed are mentioned in terms expressive of some admiration. It may appear diverging into another train of argument to remark, that Coatl (the signification of which is *a serpent*, and which was a very common proper name amongst the Mexicans,) corresponds in some measure to the Hebrew name Nehushtan, which, as we learn from the eighth verse of the twenty-third chapter of the Second Book of Kings, was that which was borne by the mother of Jehoiachin king of Judah. Lest we should omit (by reserving for another place) mention of a mysterious fact, we shall here observe, that it is singular that the Spanish Inquisition should have caused Saint Andrew's crosses to be painted upon the dresses of Jews sentenced to be burnt at the solemnization of acts of faith, as Basnage asserts in the twenty-eighth section of the twenty-first chapter of the Seventh Book of his History of the Jews; since that symbol, as well as a cross resembling in shape the Greek letter T, which was in Naples a badge of disgrace which the Jews were compelled to wear to distinguish them from the rest of the community, is not of unusual occurrence in Mexican paintings. And the question is curious, what gave rise to the use of these symbols amongst the Mexicans? and what made Christians select them as ignominious marks by which to stigmatize judaism? since the coincidence seems extraordinary.

in the twenty-first page of the Mexican painting preserved in the Library of the Vatican. Whatever may have been the attributes which the Mexicans assigned to these two chiefs, their countenances are terrific like those of all their other deities. That they exercised some influence over the good or bad fortune of the days of the year, and that divination or medicinal cures were performed by means of the signs allotted to the different parts of their bodies, seems to be clearly expressed in these paintings. It may here be proper to observe, that the Italian interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus is mistaken in attributing the signification of the Trinity, or the place of the Trinity, to the Mexican proper names Ometeuli and Omeyoca; for *ome* in the Mexican language is *two* and not *three*,—*yey* being the term by which to express the latter number: neither does *teuli* mean *a god* but *a chief;* since the Mexican names for God were *teotl*, and *teutl*, to which *tecutli* or *tlato*, words which signify *lord* or *king*, were sometimes added. The Mexicans, as Torquemada observes, called the Spaniards *teulis* long after they had full proof that their actions were by no means divine, and when they had killed many of them. But they never named them *teotl* or gods; and it was the vanity of the Spaniards that induced them to boast that the Indians believed them to be, or called them, gods; Cortes himself excepted, whom they at first supposed to be Quecalcoatl. The three different kinds of symbols which the Mexicans wore on the lower part of their faces having been noticed, and their probable allusions explained, it may be proper to institute a closer comparison between them and the Hebrew memorials: nor will it avail the Jews to say, should they wish to disclaim consanguinity with the Mexicans, that departure from ancient precedent,—either as to the place on the face on which these memorials were to be worn, or in the form itself of the jewel or ornament appended, or in the substitution of an historical for a moral allusion,—furnishes any serious argument against the supposition here advanced; for departure from precedent is more justifiable than the abolition of a divine law. And what has become of their phylacteries, and of the memorial between their eyes? Why have they discontinued the observance of a statute which was ordained to be kept throughout their generations? It would really appear that the Jews, whenever occasion requires or a difficulty occurs, understand the words *always*, *for ever*, and *throughout their generations*, in a contrary sense to that which they usually bear: but they ought to know that if they interpret Scripture thus, it is the same thing as divesting language of the property of truth or falsehood; and that this latitude of interpretation renders the task of convicting any of their doctrines of inconsistency absolutely impossible.

It may very reasonably be doubted whether the Jews of the present day know exactly the nature of the memorial which their ancestors wore between their eyes: Some believe it to have been a jewel which was fastened on the top of the nose between the eyes. If this opinion be correct, the change of place from the upper to the lower part of the nose would be no great deviation from ancient usage or the letter of the law; since the memorial would still be between their eyes, and the greater convenience of fastening it might in the first instance have caused the transition. But if it be objected, that it was customary with the Jews to wear a jewel, but that the Mexican symbols were an ornament of a different kind, it must be recollected that the expression 'jewels of gold and jewels of silver' occurs in Scripture without any reference to precious stones; and that the reversed temple worn by the Mexicans was a plate of gold or of silver, and consequently a jewel of one of those metals. Coatl likewise, the primitive meaning of which in the Mexican language is *a serpent*, and the secondary signification *a twin*, is said by some writers to mean *a gem* also; in the same way as the Latin word *gemma* is derived from *gemellus*, the same analogies suggesting the use of this metaphor in both languages; for we associate with a gem the idea of harmony and exact correspondence with something else of the same kind. If, therefore, *coatl* signified in the Mexican language both *a serpent* and *a gem*, and the Mexicans considered it a religious duty to wear a coatl as a memorial, they might have worn indifferently either a plate of gold or a serpent. Other nations have also worn ornaments on the head as memorials. Unlike as the Greeks were in every respect to the Jews, whose wisdom appeared even foolishness in their eyes, still Thucydides records that the Athenians wore golden grasshoppers in their hair as a memorial of their origin, that they were not descended from foreign tribes, but sprung from the earth which they then inhabited. This, however, was a civil and not a religious institution. If memorials were in use in Greece, they consisted of solemn games, instituted in commemoration of departed heroes, whose souls they imagined were enjoying happiness in the Elysian Fields, or translated to the society of the immortal gods. A greater calumny has never been uttered against the most famous men of antiquity, than that of denying that they believed in the immortality of the soul, or in a future state of rewards and punishments. And since the Jews have been very forward in making this accusation, we may be permitted to ask them, what gave rise to the bitter hatred which existed between their

two most famous sects, of Pharisees and Sadducees; and how, since both appealed to the written word of God and to the law of Moses, could they have interpreted the Scriptures in such a manner as to elicit contrary doctrines from them on such a great question as that of the resurrection? If it be true, (and it is a remarkable truth,) that the Mosaic code of laws, voluminous as it is, and delivered as it was from Mount Sinai, contains no allusions to a future state of rewards and punishments or to an after life, but only promises temporal rewards to virtue; such as long life, riches, abundant seasons and rain, victory over the enemy, freedom from pestilence, famine, and invasion; denouncing corresponding evils against the wicked, as may be seen in the twenty-sixth chapter of Leviticus, and in almost every chapter of the Pentateuch; the Sadducees might perhaps have opposed the silence of Moses and of God in the Pentateuch, to what they considered the inferior authority of the Book of Job, supposing that if such important doctrines as those of a future life and of a state of rewards and punishments after death had been taught from the chair of Moses, to which all bowed, they would have been repeated over and over again distinctly in the Pentateuch, as was the case with other inferior points of the law, and would not have been obscurely alluded to in such vague terms as that of 'showing mercy unto thousands.' Being Jews likewise, and believing that the covenant which they made with God was to be an everlasting covenant, they expected no new dispensation; and the essence of a covenant being the conditions of which it consists, those conditions being changed, the covenant does not remain the same: and hence they might have supposed that the insertion of any new articles in that which God had made with their fathers, would be falsifying the oath which he sware unto Abraham and unto Isaac and unto Jacob, which did not contemplate the abolition of the old law, and was totally silent on the subject of the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments. And since it is said of Moses, in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face," they might have been unwilling to receive from later and inferior prophets, doctrines which had not been revealed to him, and therefore have rejected those vital articles which Moses knew that the *Egyptians* held most sacred. That the ancients fully believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a divine retribution in another world for good or evil actions performed in this, is attested by the surviving works of their greatest philosophers and poets. Aristotle's hymn, beginning with the words "*Αρετη πολυμοχθα γενεϊ βροτειῳ*," would alone be sufficient to vindicate Philosophy from the unfounded charge of atheism; and the odes of Pindar perpetually inculcate the same salutary doctrines. Five hundred years before the Christian æra, the Greeks assembled at the Olympic games listened with rapture to the following verses of the Theban bard, in which he describes the rewards and punishments of a future state. "*Ει δε μιν ἐχει τις, οἰδεν το μελλον, ὁτι θανοντων μεν ἐνθαδ' αὐτικ' ἀπαλαμνοι φρενες ποινας ἐτισαν; τα δ' ἐν ταδε Διος ἀρχᾳ ἀλιτρα κατα γας δικαζει τις, ἐχθρᾳ λογον φρασας ἀναγκᾳ. ἰσονδε νυκτεσσιν αἰει, ἰσα δ' ἐν ἀμεραις ἀλιον ἐχοντες, ἀπονεστερον ἐσθλοι νεμονται βιοτον; οὐ χθονα ταρασσοντες ἀλκᾳ χερων, οὐδε ποντιον ὑδωρ κειναν παρα διαιταν; ἀλλα παρα μεν τιμιοις θεων οἱτινες ἐχαιρον εὐορκιαις, ἀδακρυν νεμονται αἰωνα; τοι δ' ἀπροσορατον ὀκχεοντι πονον; ὁσοι δ' ἐτολμασαν ἐς τρις, ἑκατερωθι μειναντες, ἀπο παμπαν ἀδικων ἐχειν ψυχαν, ἐτειλαν Διος ὁδον παρα Κρονου τυρσιν, ἐνθα μακαρων νασον ὠκεανιδες αὐραι περιπνεουσιν, ἀνθεμα δε χρυσου φλεγει, τα μεν χερσοθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαων δενδρεων, ὑδωρ δ' ἀλλα φερβει, ὁρμοισι των χερας ἀναπλεκοντι και στεφανοις, βουλαις ἐν ὀρθαις Ῥαδαμανθυος, ὁν πατηρ ἐχει Κρονος ἑτοιμον αὐτῳ παρεδρον, ποσις ὁ παντων Ῥεας ὑπερτατον ἐχοισας θρονον; Πηλευς τε και Καδμος ἐν τοισιν ἀλεγονται, Ἀχιλλεα τ' ἐνεικ' ἐπει Ζηνος ἠτορ λιταις ἐπεισε ματηρ.*"

To return to the consideration of the memorials in use among the Jews.—That which was placed between their eyes was not the only one which they wore on their faces. They fastened phylacteries likewise to their temples, which were pieces of paper containing written portions of the law. Memorials of this kind the Mexicans, who were not acquainted with the art of writing, could not have worn; but the *Zemes*, or charms, which Peter Martyr says that the Indians of Haiti, or the island of Saint Domingo, bound on their foreheads when they went to war, seem to have been a remnant of Jewish superstition: nor, when we recollect that the Jews laid the foundation of their cabalistic art in Scripture, and used the letters of the divine name, or the tetragram, in their magical incantations, need we feel at all surprised that the Hebrew phylacteries should have degenerated into Zemes? Some persons may feel inclined to suppose that the Mexicans substituted for those phylacteries pieces of cloth or cotton, which they inserted in their ears; since the former ceasing to contain portions of Scripture, and their use and intention having been probably long forgotten, they could have only been looked upon as religious ornaments, which it might have been found more convenient to wear in the ears than to fasten to the hair above the temples:—boring the ears for the reception of these ornaments was a religious ceremony amongst the Mexicans and the Peruvians, which Acosta and Torquemada both record. The former of these writers, in the twenty-eighth chapter of the Fifth Book of his Natural History of

the Indies, says of the Peruvians: "Hoc mense (Ayamara), qui nobis November est, pro pueris istis quibus postero mense aures pertundendæ erant, necessaria omnia parabantur, et seniores lustrabantur." "In this month (Ayamara), which is November with us, every thing necessary was prepared for those boys whose ears were to be bored in the following month, and the elders purified themselves, and other similar preparations were made." And Torquemada, in the thirtieth chapter of the Tenth Book of the Indian Monarchy, describes the Mexican ceremony which took place on the last festival of their year, which was named that of Xiuhtecutli *: "Este mismo dia luego en riyendo el alva, començaban á agugerar las orejas á los niños, y los beços de la boca, y hechavanles en las cabeças un casco de plumas de papagaio pegado con ocoçotl, que es resina de pino, dando á todos los niños y niñas sus padrinos y madrinas, para que los instruiesen y enseñasen en las ceremonias y servicio de este y de todos los otros dioeses." "On this same day when morning dawned, they began to pierce the ears and the lips of the boys, and to put upon their heads a plume of parrots' feathers glued together with ocoçotl, which is resin of the pine, giving to all the boys and girls their own godfathers and godmothers, in order that they might teach and instruct them in the ceremonies and services of this and of all the other gods."

This accordance in the practice of an arbitrary rite in the case of two nations, so remote from each other and so different as were the Mexicans and the Peruvians, might lead us to expect a correspondence in some of their other rites and ceremonies: and since Boturini informs us that he discovered one of those knotted cords called by the Peruvians Quipus, and by the Mexicans Nepohualtzitzin, in the possession of a principal Indian of the province of Tlaxcallan (although he adds, "Estaba tan carcomido de la antiguedad, que solo me pudo instruir de que los huvo, aunque escasos." ("It was so consumed by age, that it only served to convince me that they had been used, although sparingly"),—it would appear equally probable that paintings resembling those of the Mexicans, had formerly existed in Peru, although consigned to perpetual oblivion by the prudence of those who thought that such documents had better never be brought to light. The same reason may be assigned for Europe after the lapse of three centuries, being, before the publication of the American Monuments of Baron de Humboldt, ignorant whether the soil of the New World possessed any remarkable monuments of antiquity. Garcia citing Laet, and likewise on his own authority, says that paintings were used in Peru, but that the style of their execution was rude; which he seems to have inferred from the inspection of some confessional paintings of the Peruvians. We have had an opportunity of seeing some specimens of a similar nature, painted by the Mexicans after their conversion to Christianity, exceedingly rude, in which hardly a trace of the old style of Mexican painting can be discerned: and the same may have been the case with the later Peruvian paintings, from which it would be wrong to form an estimate of the degree of excellence which the art of painting had attained in the time of the Ingas; since it is probable, that, identified with the fables of a false religion, it was speedily consigned with them to oblivion. It is certainly very extraordinary to find from the "Oronoco Illustrado" of Gumilla, and Coreat's Voyages to the West Indies, that Indian nations so remote from each other as those of the Oronoco and the tribes who lived on the confines of Peru on the banks of the La Plata, as well as the Chalchaques, a people situated between Peru and Tucuman, all used circumcision, and strictly abstained from the flesh of swine. Captain Cook also discovered that circumcision had extended itself to the Islands of the South Sea. How, to use the words of Gumilla, are these moral phænomena to be explained? That the Jews were always eager to make proselytes, and, like Saint Paul before he became a Christian, would not hesitate to employ force as well as persuasion to effect conversion, is a notorious fact; and circumcision being amongst them, what baptism is with Christians, a means of grace, and the rite by which in fact a heathen was admitted to be a Jew†, it is highly probable that their zeal, or

* Xiuhtl in the Mexican language signifies *blue,* and hence was *a name which the Mexicans gave to heaven,* from which Xiuhtecutli is derived; an epithet signifying 'the God of heaven,' which the Mexicans bestowed upon Tezcatlipoca or Tonacatecutli, *who alone was painted with a crown, as Lord of all*; as the interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis affirms in the 107th page of the Translation, to whom they assigned the *first* and the *last* places in their calendar, emphatically styling him the god of fire. Xiuhtl also signifies *a year* (from the sensible dependence of the seasons upon the sky), and *a crop of grass* (because vegetation ushers in the new year); and Xiuhtecutli may bear the other interpretation of *the god of years,* or *the everlasting one*; which connected with the Mexican notion of fire, being the element more peculiarly sacred to him, recalls to our recollection the ninth and tenth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel, descriptive of the vision in which he beheld the Ancient of days, from before whom issued a fiery stream, and whose throne was like the fiery flame.

† The fifteenth chapter of the Acts is very remarkable, as not only showing how early dissensions crept into the church, but how unsettled were its doctrines on some material points. It is singular that none of the Apostles should have silenced the *believing* Pharisees by declaring the sentiments of Christ upon the subject of circumcision.

rather the rage for proselytism which animated them in the early ages, introduced circumcision amongst the Indians. From an examination of some of the Mexican paintings, it would appear that circumcision amongst the Indians was not confined to the human species. But the Bible alone informs us that the Jews sometimes circumcised their slain enemies,—an example of which is recorded in the twenty-seventh verse of the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel.

The Mexicans, besides using this rite, marked the breasts and arms of their children on the festival of Toxcatl with another sign or token, which Torquemada compares, in the following passage of the sixteenth chapter of the tenth book of his Indian Monarchy, with the analogous ceremony of marking the sign of the cross upon the breasts and the foreheads of the faithful amongst Christians with the holy oil or chrism: "It is no slight thing to note, that on this day the priests made a scar on the breasts and stomachs of all the male and female children, and on the wrists and fleshy parts of the arms of others, imprinting them as it were with the iron and mark of the Devil, to whose service they offered them, in order that they might be known as his, in the same way as God commands that those of his fold should be anointed on their breasts with the holy oil, and on their foreheads with the most blessed cross of his passion and death; since this is the sign with which God is accustomed to mark those who are his, as circumcision was formerly amongst his ancient people, which is now the cross and the holy chrism. Hence Saint John bade the persecutors and murderers desist from their work of slaughter until the people of God and his servants were marked on their foreheads, since this is a kind of sign by which he distinguishes those who are his, as the owners of cattle mark their herds with some particular print or sign." Whether the Indians of the Island of Saint Domingo and of Cuba,—whose language is said to have been half Hebrew, and who in many of their customs nearly resembled the Jews,—practised the same rites as those in use amongst the Indians of the continent, it would be difficult to say; but that they possessed traditions in common with them, evidently derived from a Hebrew source, is plain from the following relation of Torquemada, which we cannot refrain from inserting here in the original Spanish: "Verdad es que los de los Indios de la Isla de Cuba dicen que tuvieron conocimiento que havia sido el cielo y las otras cosas criadas; y decian que por tres personas, y que la una vino por tal parte, y las otras dos de otras; y que tuvieron gran noticia del diluvio, y que se havia perdido el mundo por mucha agua; y decian los viejos de mas de setenta y ochenta años, luego al principio que entraron los nuestros en equella isla, que un viejo sabiendo que havia de venir el diluvio, hiço una grande nao, y se metió en ella con su casa y muchos animales, y que embió un cuervo, y no bolvió por comer de los cuerpos muertos, y que despues embió una paloma, la qual bolvió cantando, y trajo una rama con hoja que parecia hobo, pero que no era hobo; el qual salió del navio, y hiço vino de las parras monteses, y se embriagó; y teniendo dos hijos, el uno se rió y dijo al otro, Hechemonos con él; pero que el otro le riño, y cubrió al padre; el qual despues de dormido el vino, y sabida la desverguença de el hijo, le maldijo; y que al otro dió bendiciones, y que de aquel havian procedido los Indios de estas tierras; y que por esto no tenian saios ni capas; pero que los Castellanos procedian del otro, por lo qual andaban vestidos, y tenian cavallos. Lo sobredicho refirió un Indio viejo de mas de setenta años á Gabriel de Cabrera; porque un dia riñendo con el, y llamandole perro, respondió que por qué le reñia, y llamaba perro, pues todos eran hermanos? Vosotros, le dijo, no procedeis de un hijo de aquel que hiço la nao grande para salvarse del agua, y nosotros del otro? Y lo mismo refirió el mismo Indio delante de muchos Castellanos, haviendolo publicado su amo. Esto dijo aquel Indio; y parece atinar con lo que la Sagrada Escritura dice de Noe, y de sus hijos; aunque ierra en decir que no fueron mas de dos; y si por lo dicho quisiere alguno arguirme que estos son descendientes de Can, no se lo concedo; pero tampoco se lo negaria, quando quisiese afirmarlo, por lo que dejamos dicho; aunque caso tan dudoso y obscuro debemos remitirlo a Dios, que es claridad de todas las cosas y las sabe como ellas son, y no cabe duda en su saber infinito." Monarquia Indiana, lib. xiv. cap. xix.

"It is true that the Indians of the Island of Cuba say that they knew that the heaven and other things had been created; and they affirm by *three* persons, one of whom came from such a part, and the other two from other parts; that they were perfectly informed also of the deluge, and that the world had been destroyed by a quantity of water. The old men above seventy and eighty years of age reported, when first our countrymen settled in that island, that an old man knowing that the deluge was about to happen, built a large ship, in which he embarked with his household and many animals, and that he dispatched from thence a crow, which did not return, staying to prey upon the dead carcases; and that he afterwards sent a dove, which came back cooing, bringing a leafy branch which resembled a hop, although not one: on which he quitted the ship, and made wine of mountain grapes and became drunk; and

having two sons, one of them laughed, and said to the other, Turn him into jest; but the other reproved him, and covered his father; who having slept off the effects of the wine, and knowing the impudence of his son, cursed him, and pronounced a blessing on the other: and that from the former of these the Indians of those countries were descended, who on that account were without coats and cloaks: but that the Spaniards proceeded from the other, and were therefore well apparelled and rode horses. The above story was told by an old Indian more than seventy years of age to Gabriel de Cabrera; who quarrelling with him on a certain day, and calling him a dog, he asked him why he quarrelled with him and named him a dog, since they were all brothers? You, (says he to him,) do you not descend from the one son of him who built the large ship to escape from the water, and we from the other? And the same story was told by the same Indian before many Spaniards, his master having spread it abroad. This was the account given by that Indian: and it seems to allude to that which the Holy Scripture says of Noah and his sons; although he errs in saying that the sons were only two: should any one hence endeavour to persuade me that the Indians are the descendants of Cham, I do not admit it, but neither will I deny it, should they choose to affirm it on the grounds of what we have just stated; although we ought to leave a matter, so obscure and doubtful, to God, who is the light of all things, and understands their nature and essence, and to whose infinite wisdom the portion of doubt does not fall." This curious relation Torquemada judges to be so well authenticated, that he not only gives it a place in his History, but allows that it may serve as a basis on which to reason respecting the origin of the Americans; although he at the same time professes that he will not be bound by the conclusions which others might be tempted to draw from it. The tradition of the inhabitants of Cuba certainly deserves to be compared with those of the people of Michuacan and Nicaragua, who also approximated to the Mosaic history in their accounts of the Deluge; although the former of the last-mentioned nations believed that it was the *colibri*, or the humming-bird, and not the dove, that returned with the branch of the tree. The Indians of Chili, according to Rosales, had likewise a tradition of the Deluge: but he observes, that shells and other fossil remains discovered in abundance on their highest ranges of mountains, might have suggested that idea to them. And it cannot be denied that even the sagacity of savages might have arrived at this conclusion, totally unaided by divine inspiration: nor would it have exceeded their moral comprehension to believe that such a convulsion was caused by the sins of mankind provoking God to vengeance. On the contrary, they would have been more inclined to attribute such an event to that, than to any other cause; for savages and ignorant and superstitious nations are frequently disposed, in proportion as calamities are great, which befall numbers of persons or single individuals, to attribute them to a particular and signal divine judgment inflicted upon them for their sins: although such a mode of reasoning is not more to be despised for its absurdity than condemned for its injustice, since it tends to deprive misfortune of all sympathy, and to involve innocence and guilt in a common mass. That the Indians of Chili,—reading in the volume of Nature that their highest mountains had been submerged in the ocean, and the bones of animals mixed with shells testifying to them that that inundation had been accompanied with a destruction of animal life,—should not have supposed that such an accident might have occurred in the order of the universe, is likely enough; as likewise that their piaques, or Priests,—who pretended to be in the secrets of Heaven, and to have rain, thunder, and good and bad seasons at their command,—should have sought, by appealing to this past judgment, to render their own denunciations of the future more probable, and to maintain by these means their ascendancy over the deluded minds of the people. But, as Rosales observes, this argument alone is not sufficient to prove that Saint Thomas, or any other Apostle, had preached the Gospel in Chili. It is a very remarkable fact, that the curse which Noah in the twenty-fifth verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis pronounces against the posterity of his son Ham or Cham, to which the traditions of the Island of Cuba evidently referred,—"Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren;" by which expression, *brethren*, is meant mankind in general, and not the Jews in particular; for the descendants of the three sons of Noah comprise all mankind,—justified slavery in the eyes of the early Christians, and of some of the Fathers of the Church; which was also sanctioned by the Mosaic laws, and is not forbidden in the New Testament, except in the case of Christians, who were not permitted to have *other Christians* for their slaves; although by the feudal laws, the *ascripti glebæ*, or vassals of the soil, were in a much worse situation than the domestic slaves amongst the Greeks. It cannot be denied that that is the most goading system of slavery where the law, not content with vesting in the owner a right to the industry and personal labour of his slave, impowers him likewise to use cruel treatment towards him, and does not protect his honour and civil rights by the same penal enactments and provisions as those of the other members of the community,—as

in the case of the betrothed female slave amongst the Jews, the violation of whose faith was only to be punished with scourging, whilst the other party seems to have escaped with impunity, for the reason alleged in the twentieth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, "because she was not free." A great distinction is made, in the code of laws professedly delivered by God himself from Mount Sinai to Moses, between slaves and those who were free, and between Hebrew slaves and such as were bought by the Jews from other nations. It is ordained in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, that "if a man smite his servant, or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two he shall not be punished, *for he is his money*." It would little avail a West Indian planter of the present day, if his slave died on the third day from a beating which he had inflicted upon him on the first, to urge this obsolete Hebrew law, even in palliation of the crime of murder, much less to excuse it. But we must recollect what God says by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, in the twentieth chapter of his Book of Prophecies, in reference probably to this as well as to many other laws of the Pentateuch: "Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live." The Ten Commandments are but a small portion of the laws which Moses received from God in the various conferences which he from time to time held with him; but the greater part of the others are inapplicable to modern times, as may be proved from their not being found in the statute books of England, France, and the other enlightened states of Europe, or from their having been expunged from them*. It is said in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, that "the princes of Judah, the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, made a covenant before God when they passed between the parts of the calf which they cut in twain." The eunuchs, who it is singular should be mentioned as parties to this covenant, were slaves whom the Jewish princes and nobles, in the true spirit of Oriental jealousy, retained in great numbers in their houses and palaces. And it is to be supposed, as well from their being included in the covenant as from their being kept by the Jews, that the silence of Moses sanctioned a barbarous custom amongst the owners of slaves, which Acosta observes was also prevalent in Peru. The modern opposers of slavery (and we trust that their laudable efforts will be crowned with the fullest success) will hardly believe that its ancient advocates justified it on the authority of the Scriptures, reasoning in the following manner, according to Torquemada: "God created man free, and not only free, but possessing lordship: for as soon as he had created him, he gave him the entire dominion over every thing; and made him lord over the birds which fly in the air, and the fish of the sea, and the beasts of the earth. He created him in his own image and likeness, and did not ordain that one man should be lord over another, which was the reason why the first righteous men were shepherds, and not kings, that in this manner we might understand the order of nature, and the evil which resulted from sin. The name of servant is not found in Holy Scripture, until it is related in Genesis, that righteous Noah having drunk of the wine of the vine which he had planted, fell on the ground drunk, with his body shamefully exposed. Cham, his son, saw him, and called his two other brothers that they might likewise see their father and turn him into jest; but the two good sons, impressed more strongly with feelings of propriety, approached him with their faces turned backwards, and covered him. Noah afterwards recovering from his intoxication, and knowing the turpitude of his bad son, pronounced a malediction against Canaan, the son of Cham, and said, 'Cursed be Canaan; let him be a servant to his brethren.' These words afford grounds for the conclusion, that captivity and servitude were the punishment of sin; since this curse which the holy patriarch uttered, was not to avenge himself of an injury, but a prophecy, and a denunciation of what was to befall his posterity, the descendants of Cham; and St. Chrysostom remarks, as if wondering that a brother born of one womb, and the son of the same mother, became, on account of the sin which he committed against his father, the slave (*esclavo*) of his brother; since before this fault and transgression, servitude and slavery did not exist, for, each possessing enough to satisfy his own wants, no one thought of deriving profit from the service of another. Saint Augustin likewise says, that God, on account of his having created man in his own image, did not grant him dominion over men, but only over irrational animals; the

* The penal laws against witchcraft were repealed some sessions ago by Parliament; and not many years before, that part of the law relating to trials by ordeal, which was named Trial by Combat, was also repealed. It is singular that the Indians of New Grenada should have employed a trial by ordeal nearly resembling the trial of jealousy ordained by Moses among the Jews: this curious fact is stated by Simon, in the inedited portion of his *Noticias Historiales*, which work contains an interesting account of the Muyscas, a civilized people of South America. We cannot refrain from observing, that England has much reason to be indebted to one statesman for many emendations recently introduced into the system of her laws. It is impossible that a code modelled after the caprice of rude ages should be as perfect as national vanity frequently pretends.

former kind of servitude having originated in the sin of Cham the son of Noah, by reason of his transgression; and that accordingly as by the sin of man death came into the world* (as Saint Paul observes), so by the sin of Cham came slavery (*esclavonia*), as the Doctors remark, and the Holy Scripture asserts, saying, 'Cursed be Canaan, let him be the servant of the servants and domestics of his brethren.'" Remote as was this curse, and trifling comparatively as was the cause in which it originated, it is not too much to say, that dire have been its consequences in destroying the peace and the happiness of mankind. It has been the scourge of two vast continents, Africa and America, and of the populous islands of the Western Atlantic sea; it has retarded the progress of civilization: and if a tree is to be judged of by its fruit, the vine planted by Noah should be execrated by every friend of the human race. In the breast of that holy patriarch it is true that it only awoke the hilarity of intemperance, and in that of another the fire of unlawful lust; but it has steeled the hearts and the consciences of succeeding generations of mankind; and, far more cruel than the sword of Agag, it has rendered millions of mothers childless amongst women. The Jews themselves, if they had wished to stigmatize and to brand with ignominy all the enemies of their tribe, could not have invented a fable more proper for the purpose than what we learn from Moses in the Pentateuch to be matter of real history. If for a moment we consider who the near and remote enemies of the Jews were, we shall find that the lineage of all of them may be traced up to one or other of the cursed descendants of Cham, or to Lot and his two daughters. The Moabites and the Ammonites were the bitterest enemies of the Jews; they were the incestuous progeny of Lot. The Canaanites, the dispossessed inhabitants of the land of Canaan, who were to be utterly destroyed, were the immediate descendants of Canaan the fourth son of Cham, who is said to have first told his father of the intoxication and nakedness of Noah. Under this general name were comprehended many different nations, which the Scripture declares to have been equally descended from Canaan, of which the principal were the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgasites, the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Hittites, and the Sidonians, or Phœnicians, whose ancestor was Sidon, the *eldest* son of Canaan; whose posterity, *notwithstanding* the curse pronounced against him by his grandfather, laid the foundation of the future glories of Carthage, the rival in after ages of imperial Rome. The friendship which existed between Hiram king of Tyre and Solomon, may perhaps be alleged as a proof that the Sidonians were not reckoned by the Jews amongst the number of their enemies: but they being *de facto* the possessors of a territory which *de jure* belonged to the seed of Abraham, and addicted to the same idolatries as the other inhabitants of the land of Canaan, were equally included by Moses in the sentence of utter destruction; and could not, except in direct disobedience to the word of God and by the basest duplicity, have been treated by the Jews as friends and allies: since, professing friendship to the Tyrians, the issue of the first-born of Canaan, against whom the curse of Noah was *chiefly* directed, could only have been smiling to deceive those whom they knew that they had irrevocably sworn to destroy. If the judgment pronounced by Moses against the Phœnicians was never executed by the Jews, the only reason was, that they were too formidable a people for them to attack; although it is probable that not without repining they beheld themselves masters of only a comparatively small territory in Palestine, whilst their *original grant* comprehended all the country lying between Egypt and the great river Euphrates, although on that side the name "horrendum latè" of the kings of Babylon was an effectual barrier to their ambition. The remaining enemies of the Jews, although with the exception of the Philistines in a secondary degree so, were the Assyrians or Babylonians, the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Philistines, and the Edomites. All these nations were bitterly hated by them; and, although their nearest neighbours, were the constant theme of the denunciations of their prophets; and the genealogies of all, one excepted, are traced up in Scripture to Cham. The Assyrians were descended in the line of Nimrod from Cush the eldest son of Cham, as were also the Syrians; the Egyptians were the posterity of Mizraim his second son, and likewise the Philistines; but the Edomites, who are coupled in the Psalms with the Moabites, where David speaking in the name of God in the first person, as was usual with the Jewish prophets, says, "Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe," were of the seed of Abraham and of the lineage of Shem; although the Scripture has likewise affixed a stain on their nativity, by declaring them to be of the outcast race of Esau, who sold his birthright to his brother Jacob for a mess of pottage; Edom the eldest son of Esau, and by the mother's side a descendant from Cham, being their progenitor. It is singular that some of the early Spanish writers who were much more inclined to believe that the Indians were descended from the Jews than from the Canaanites, should have imagined that Yucatan was

* This should silence the disputations of geologists about extinct species of animals.

named after Joktan the brother of Peleg, and the son of Heber the ancestor of the Hebrews. It has been already observed that the Egyptians, the ancient task-masters of the children of Israel, were the offspring of Mizraim the son of Cham, whose slaves the Hebrews were for more than three hundred years; the curse pronounced by Noah being for that long period of time reversed, and the enslavers in their turn the enslaved, the *posterity of Shem* becoming in fact the *servants of the servants of Cham.* Later prophecies, however, doomed Egypt to be the basest of kingdoms, which (according to the interpretation which many commentators put on Scripture) arts, science, and naval and military power are never again to adorn: but modern events clearly show that these prophecies are not to be understood in the sense which commentators choose to assign to them. Reasoning by analogy fails us in the case of Egypt; or we should say, that if the sceptre had not departed from Judah when Shiloh came, because Herod the Tetrarch governed in Judea as viceroy of the Cæsars,—neither is it wanting in Egypt now that, under the Sultan, Mahomet-Pacha rules that fertile region, which promises again to be the centre of arts, industry, and civilization, and which (let the part which its fleet took at the battle of Navarin decide) begins to resume a respectable rank amongst nations. If it may appear surprising to some that so remote a cause as the curse pronounced by Noah against his son Cham should have operated by itself so powerfully in Spain and Portugal as to have laid the foundation of the slave-trade; turning our attention nearer home, we shall find that about the same period another dead letter text of the Pentateuch produced a train of consequences, not so important, because neither so lasting nor so productive of human misery as the former, but which, nevertheless, afforded the Spanish king a pretext for sending the Armada against England, threatening to inundate Europe with blood; and which, if queen Elizabeth had had children, would have revived feuds as deadly as those of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and caused Britain to weep as bitterly for a verse in the Old Testament, as she has made Ireland rue others contained in the New. Who for a moment could have supposed that a law that was made only for the Jews,—namely, that brothers should marry brothers' widows,—and which no other nation ever adopted, would have accelerated the progress of the Reformation, altered the succession to the English crown, nearly plunged the country into civil war, and cost a queen of Scotland and of France her head. There is not the least difficulty in tracing all these effects to this main, though remote cause. If Moses had not commanded, and Christ had decidedly condemned such marriages when the Sadducees came to him, tempting him, as was their custom, to induce him to contravene some part of the Mosaic law, and thereby to draw on himself the indignation of the people, Julius the Second would not have granted a dispensation to Henry the Eighth to marry Catharine of Arragon; nor would Ferdinand of Spain have given his consent, or Henry the Seventh have solicited it. But the Pope was persuaded that where morals and not ritual observances were in question, *the doctrines* of the New Testament could not *impugn* those contained in the Old*: for although in the case of divorces, when the Pharisees tempted Christ with the Mosaic law, which permitted a man to divorce his wife for the most trivial causes and to marry again, his reply was, that because of the hardness of their hearts they were permitted to do so, although it was not so in the beginning: still the case of marriages of brothers- and sisters-in-law was very different; since the Mosaic law not only permitted but positively commanded such marriages; and to refrain from them was to transgress the express will of God, as declared by the mouth of Moses his prophet. When the Sadducees, therefore, who denied the doctrine of the resurrection, appealed to the laws of Moses to disprove it; they argued on the assumption that if souls were immortal, the laws of Moses could not be just, and therefore could not be from God; for that it would have been unjust in Moses to have deprived the first husband at the resurrection of his wife, by compelling her to invalidate her former by a later contract. The reply of Christ to the Sadducees is remarkable, not so much on account of the assurance which he gives them that marriages do not take place in a future state, as because he omits the opportunity which presented itself of expressing any opinion on these Hebrew marriages; although on another occasion he censured the frequent divorces of the Jews, which the law of Moses authorized. And therefore it is the more astonishing that those divines, who on account of their denying the supremacy of the Pope have been named the champions of the Reformation, should have shared Henry's antipathy to one part of the Mosaic law which had not been condemned by Christ, and yet have retained a strong predilection for another which he had formally disapproved: for although they protested against the king's marriage, they did not

* This point being conceded, the question reduced itself simply to the consideration of whether the Pope had a right to dispense with the obligations of the Canon Law, which England, by becoming party to a treaty that was to guarantee the throne of Portugal to the legitimate issue of the house of Braganza, was lately disposed tacitly to admit.

protest against his numerous divorces; nor did a conscientious scruple arise in their minds, as to whether the unfortunate women whom he beheaded during the life-time of Catharine of Arragon could be really guilty of the crime of adultery; or in other words, whether they were in point of law his wives. Assuredly if such marriages as are here alluded to had been instituted amongst any other nation than the Jews, or by any other legislator than Moses, they would have incurred lasting infamy; and later ages would not have hesitated to have imputed them to the sordid avarice of the people amongst whom they were encouraged, who recurred to such means to secure to families the dowry which the marriage of the widow into another family would have deprived them of. Even amongst the Jews, (if we may be permitted to attempt to penetrate the designs of Moses,) the securing the dowry and inheritance of the widow to the family of her deceased husband,—which could only be done by a compulsory law, obliging her to marry his next brother,—was as much the object of the Hebrew legislator, as the other plea of raising up seed to the elder brother in Israel: for the Jewish laws, which aimed by every possible means at increase of population,—unlike those of most other nations, which had a greater regard for female delicacy,—not only sanctioned but commanded, under the penalty of legal disgrace, reiterated marriages to widows. And hence we have an example in the New Testament of a woman who married seven brothers in succession and survived them all, who if a Roman matron had expostulated with her on her conduct, would probably have scornfully demanded of her, "Id cinerem, aut manes, credis curare sepultos?"—so different are the manners and ways of thinking of different countries, and so repugnant were the morals of the Jews to those of the Romans and the Greeks! It is easy to see the distinction which Moses makes between the *sanction* which he gave to divorces, and the *obligation* which he imposed on brothers to marry brothers' widows: but if further proof be wanting to show that the latter law was not only permissive but imperative, it is afforded in the example of divine punishment which Scripture holds out to the disobedient, in the history of Judah and his three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. This history is contained in the thirty-eighth chapter of Genesis; and two things are very remarkable in it: The first is, that although special inspiration had not informed the more ancient patriarchs that they ought not to marry their own sisters, it had revealed to them the law of circumcision, and of raising up seed to an elder brother, which four hundred years later were again to be ratified amidst thunder and lightning from Mount Sinai; since, except on this supposition, Judah's command to Onan in the eighth verse of the same chapter, and his apology for Tamar in the twenty-sixth verse, "She hath been more righteous than I," (after having previously ordered her to be brought forth and burnt,) would be quite inexplicable, or would involve that patriarch by his own confession in a crime somewhat analogous to that which drew down his father's curse on his eldest brother Reuben. The other is, that Saint Matthew in the first chapter of his Gospel traces up the genealogy of the Messiah, (who, according to ancient prophecy, was to be of the tribe of Judah,) to Judah and Tamar through Phares, which doubtless involves a mystery which has not been suffered to pass unheeded by the ancient commentators on Scripture; as here it was not the younger brother, but the father himself, who raised up seed to his eldest son, and preserved his own name in Israel. Since the reflux of religious opinions is generally as violent as their resistless tide, and it has become the fashion of modern times to condemn slavery chiefly on Christian grounds, we fear that, reprobating in the highest degree such an odious traffic with our fellow-creatures, we shall offend a class of persons whose zeal much exceeds their knowledge, by candidly avowing that the Old Testament history, the Mosaic law, the customs of the Jews, and the curse pronounced by Noah against Cham, appear to give a strong sanction to it; neither would it be very difficult to show, if the occasion required, by appealing to the experience of past ages, and opposing the opinions of many centuries to those of the present day, that our ancestors interpreted Scripture, on this and many other important points, in a manner very different from ourselves, and deduced from it doctrines in every sense most opposed to ours. It was certainly not the publication of a book like Doctor Sepulveda's in justification of slavery, but a decree of the Emperor Charles the Fifth,—who had taken the advice of all the learned in the land, and consulted the Spanish universities, whose fame in theology was in that age great,—that doomed the inhabitants of the islands and continent of America to slavery. This decree was sanctioned by the Council of the Indies; and a more solemn act could not have emanated from higher constituted authorities. If it was reversed not many years afterwards, this was in consequence of the evils which followed, but was no condemnation of a conceded point in divinity and law. Those who may wish to learn more of the opinions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the subject of slavery, can consult the writings of Las Casas and of Doctor Sepulveda, who although the supporters of contrary systems, at least as far as American slavery was concerned, pretended equally to ground their conflicting reasonings on Scripture. Doctor Sepulveda's work has been termed by later authors a bloody book; but Las Casas's short and pathetic nar-

rative, entitled 'The Destruction of the Indies,' by which he endeavoured to excite the compassion of his sovereign towards his Indian subjects, deserves still more that appellation; since every page describes some new scene of blood and slaughter. Whole provinces and islands are there represented as depopulated for the sake of working the mines; the sea causes thousands of Indians to perish in the pearl fisheries; and the sugar plantations and other laborious works of agriculture swept away the scanty remains of the Indian population. It ought not then to be imputed to Las Casas as a crime, that pitying the Indians, a long residence amongst whom had taught him to consider them as his children, when he beheld them sinking under burthens which the robust negro was so much better calculated to bear, he should have recommended the importation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies and the continent of America. That illustrious prelate *, who at a most advanced age frequently crossed the stormy Atlantic from motives of the purest philanthropy, would scarcely, in advocating the rights of one large portion of mankind, have wantonly trampled on those of another, if his mind had not been subject to errors from which human nature is not exempt. The peculiar error of Las Casas was the impression which he was under, that slavery was authorized by Scripture; that it was the punishment of sin, and the unavoidable accomplishment of prophecy; and that the colour and the features of the negroes were the sign which clearly indicated that they were of the cursed race of Cham, who were to be the servants of the servants of the posterity of Shem. The prejudices entertained some centuries ago in favour of African slavery from the colour of the skin of the negroes, which for many ages was considered a standing miracle, that, like the dispersion of the Jews, corroborated the truth of Scripture, will be best understood from the perusal of the following chapter of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy, wherein it is apparent that that learned and excellent man partook of the errors of the age in which he lived. This chapter is intitled, "Donde se prosigue la materia del pasado, y se prueba ser el color negro nacido de la maldicion que Noé hechó á su nieto Canaan." "A continuation of the subject of the preceding chapter, wherein it is proved that a black skin was caused by the curse which Noah pronounced against his grandson Canaan." "Siguiendo la materia de el capitulo pasado, y el parecer de hombres sabios, y doctos, que lo afirman, decimos, que de aquel descomedimiento, que Can tuvo con su Padre Noé, quando hiço alarde, y manifestacion de las partes verendas del viejo à sus Hermanos Sem, y Jafet, resultò la Maldicion, que el Santo patriarca hechò à su Nieto Canaan; y en pena de aquel descomedido, y desvergonçado pecado, les mudò Dios el color, y no solo à los descendientes de Canaan, pero tambien à sus primos, hijos de esotros Hermanos, es

* Las Casas has sometimes been called a fanatic; but were it even the case, how much more desirable would it be if modern religious fanaticism flowed in a similar channel. His fanaticism was merely an ardent desire to oppose the dignity of his sacerdotal character, his acknowledged talents and learning, and the mildness of old age, to brutal oppression and injustice. How different was zeal like his from that of Mr. Irving's, or some other popular preachers of the present day, to whom a crowded audience flocks, scarcely knowing why, except that they expect to hear new truths delivered in a new manner. We fear, however, that the speech of Festus to Paul would not have been addressed with much propriety to them. But nothing appears more intolerable than their wilful ignorance of modern history, or at least open defiance to the principles laid down at the Reformation; since, although belonging themselves to no ostensible church, and denying many of the Articles of the Church of England, they still would make the soil of Britain that of persecution. Neither do they pay the slightest regard to the Christian precept of—not speaking evil of dignities; but, as it were in mockery of Saint Jude, pour forth unceasing railing accusations against him whose majestic station is quite forgotten by them, because they know that his power is remote, and that they are protected by the laws of another state. The principle, that any church has a right to force the conscience, or to impose silence on the tongues or pens of the lowest members of the community, should be rejected; but this right, when assumed by new and schismatic churches, becomes odious in the extreme, and differs as much from the exercise of the former, as the usurping ruffian from the crowned king. It is impossible that any one can read and meditate on the history of the Protestant Reformation without having his mind assailed by such a conviction. But if we are inclined to recoil with horror from flames lit up by Orthodox persecution, with what unqualified disgust must we turn from the page of history that records the death of the unfortunate Servetus,—whilst imagination pictures to us the gloomy founder of Calvinism seated in the shape of an ill-omened vulture upon a neighbouring rock, and contemplating with steady eye the expiring fires of a pile that might well have drawn down the deadliest bolt of Almighty wrath. Servetus may be considered, in reference to Calvin and the pernicious tenets of his sect, to have "vindicated the ways of God to man;" for how short-sighted must those of that school be, who do not perceive that if their doctrines of absolute predestination are inconsistent with the notion of man's being an agent possessed of free will, all moral evil must be referred to God! who would afterwards (far be from us the thought) have to be viewed in the light of an unjust and inexorable judge, who would condemn those to eternal punishment who were not able to avoid the commission of sin, because their will was under the control of a necessity caused by himself. That poet, whom Lord Byron pronounces to be the greatest in our language, in the beautiful line

"Who binding nature fast in fate left free the human will,"

destroys, by making a just distinction between man and inanimate nature, the entire of Calvin's clumsy and sophistical web.

à saber, Mizrain, Fut, y Cus ; porque los Hijos de Mizrain, segundo Hijo de Can, y Hermano de Canaan, nacieron negros, y feos, como los Egipcios, y Getulos, Gente barbara, que viven, en una Region, en lo interior de Libia, que confina con el Reino de Tombutum *, que son Negros, como carbon, y tienen la boca podrida ; y dice Postelo, en su Compendio Cosmografico, que porque no se les corrompa, y les dè cancer en ella procuran traer siempre Sal, en la boca. Fut, tercero Hijo de Can, fue Padre de los Alarabes Berberiscos de Mauritania, que por la maior parte son Negros, romos, y hocicudos, y notablemente disformes. Los que proceden de Cus, son mui negros, y no se puede atribuir este color tan negro, à la propriedad, y Naturaleça de la tierra, como muchos han querido, y lo dejamos dicho, que se causa por el mucho, y excesivo calor, y gran sequedad de ella ; porque si esto fuese asi, los Negros, que vienen à vivir en partes templadas, à cabo de dos, ò tres generaciones serian blancos (como dejamos probado) y los blancos, que vàn à vivir, à estas mismas Tierras de Negros, por la misma raçon se harian ellos, ò sus Hijos, ò Nietos, Negros, y veese por experiencia lo contrario : luego bien se sigue, que ni el sol, ni la calidad de la Tierra causan el color negro, sino que procede del origen, y principio, que estos Negros traen de Can, à quien por justo juicio de Dios, por el descomedimiento, que tuvo con su padre, se trocò el color rojo, que tenia, en negro como carbon, y por Divino castigo, comprehende à quantos de èl proceden ; y el rigor del castigo se executò en Canaan, quarto Hijo de Can, porque fue Autor, ò origen del escandalo, y descubrio las partes secretas del Abuelo, y las mostrò à su padre, el qual, no solamente no le reprehendiò, sino que haciendo burla, como mal Hijo, llamò à sus Hermanos, para reirse de su padre, mostrandoles aquel feo espectaculo. Y debese notar, que no maldijo el Patriarca Noè à Can su Hijo, porque Dios le havia hechado su Bendicion, y tambien, porque no comprehendiese el castigo, à los otros tres Hijos, conviene à saber, à Cus, Mizrain, y Fut, que no havian tenido culpa, y asi hechò su maldicion à Canaan, como à Autor de toda aquella Tragedia ; y puesto, que los sucesores de los otros tres Hijos, quedaron tiznados, por la culpa de su mal Padre Can, fueron al fin mui mejor librados què los Cananeos, descendientes de Canaan, porque casi todos fueron muertos, y destruidos por los Israelitas los quales estaban estendidos, y divididos en once provincias ; mas los descendientes de Cus, que son los Etiopes ; y los de Mizrain, que son los Egipcios ; y los de Fut, que son los de Mauritania, aunque quedaron señalados, por culpa de Can, no fueron privados de gracias, y favores para el cuerpo, y para el Alma ; pues los Etiopes de Tiempo mui antiguo poseen un poderosisimo, y floreciente Reino, y conocen à Dios desde el Tiempo de la Reina Saba, y del Rei Salomòn, y oi dia dura, y se vè su gran Potencia. Los Egipcios en la promulgacion del Evangelio recibieron la Doctrina de Christo, y fueron algun tiempo Catholicos, y tambien los Africanos. Verdad es, que à todos les alcançò el grave iugo de sujecion ; porque las Gentes de Arabia, que decienden de Cus, en parte fueron vencidos, y hechos esclavos, de Ismaèl, Madian, Esau, y otros Hijos de Abrahan y de Cetura, y de Moab, y Amon, Hijos de Lot ; y las Gentes Africanas casi siempre han sido esclavas de los de Asia y Europa, y nunca han tenido Reies naturales, porque han sido Vasallas de Judios, Griegos, Romanos, y Moros, y oi lo son del Turco. El Preste Juan de Etiopia † toda su Nobleça atribuie à Abrahan, y se gloria de descender de

* In this name we recognise that of Timbuctoo, a state which it is probable the Portuguese were better acquainted with three hundred years ago than we are now. Sufficient praise is not generally bestowed on that enterprising nation for its splendid achievements in navigation, and the pains which it took to explore Africa, and to discover the sources of the vast rivers which flow from the interior of that continent to the ocean. The geography of the interior of Africa was much better known to the ancients than to us, for reasons which must be obvious to any one who meditates on the page of History.

† The kingdom of Prester John, which so many later writers have been inclined to consider as fabulous, was an ecclesiastical state similar to Thibet, of which a priest was at the head. Christianity could have been scarcely more scandalized if it had discovered the Christian religion existing under a deformed mask in Peru, than it was by finding into what its rites had degenerated in Ethiopia, which, though one of the most ancient churches, having been long separated from the rest and forgotten by them, had fallen into every kind of heresy, and adopted the most absurd fables as ancient Christian tradition. It cannot, however, be doubted that it possessed many books which it cost the missionaries much trouble to destroy. Pinelo in his "Bibliotheca" speaks of the many manuscripts contained in the monastic residence of the kings of Ethiopia, which other writers, not so well qualified to judge, have treated as a mere visionary story. Doctor Lawrence, the present Archbishop of Cashel, has translated out of the Abyssinian or Coptic language the Book of Enoch, and other books, which appear (if we may judge from their style and contents) to be nearly as deserving to be considered canonical as several books of the Old Testament. When we contrast the immensely voluminous writings of the Fathers who lived after the third century of the Christian æra, whose works have been preserved to the present day, with the extreme paucity of those of the apostolic age, and remember the saying of one of the Apostles, that if all the actions which Christ performed when on earth were written down, he supposed the world would not contain the number of the books,—how must we feel surprised at the apathy and negligence of the primitive Christians, who allowed so many books to perish, and did not even preserve the Gospel of Saint Matthew in the original Hebrew! and how little dependence can we place on the early history of the Christian church.

Salomòn. Esto dicho nota el Licenciado Diego de Yepes, capellan del Cardenal Don Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoça, en sus Discursos de varia Historia. Pero aqui se me ofrece dudar, si es verdad, que no maldijo Noè à Can, porque no comprehendiese la maldicion à los Hijos, què no tenian culpa, como les comprehendiò, sacando el color negro, y tiznado, como los Hijos de Canaan, que fue el verdadero culpado à quien justamente comprehendia la maldicion, y por ella le era licitamente comprehendido el castigo, ò hemos de decir (segun esta sentencia) que solos los Hijos de Canaan nacieron negros; y segun esto ià no es verdad, que los otros Primos lo son, ò si decimos, que lo son, ià no es solamente por la maldicion de Canaan, sino por la culpa del Padre Can, y asi en ella fueron malditos, y comprehendidos? A esto digo (salvo mejor juicio) que aunque es verdad, que estos Hijos no pecaron, pecò (al fin) el padre, y este pecado alcançò à los Hijos en general, queriendo Dios mostrar, que aunque fue causa instrumental Canaan, para aquel desacato, la fue su Padre Can total, para la execucion de èl, porque llamò à sus Hermanos, y que ia que no era èl maldito, por ser bendito de Dios, alcançase aquella maldicion, en parte à sus Hijos, como à mala sangre, engendrada de aquel emponçoñado cuerpo, y que en todos ellos se hechase de vèr la culpa grave, que el Padre havia cometido, en no guardar el decoro debido à su padre; y fuese aquel color, como *Sambenito* perpetuo, demonstrativo en su culpa, y pecado; porque muchas veces vemos, que castiga Dios (como en otra parte hemos dicho) las culpas del padre, en los Hijos; y esto se debe entender de penas corporales, y no espirituales, de las quales habla el profeta Eçechiel en sus profecias, quando dice. El Hijo no llevarà à cuestas la maldad del padre, ni el padre la del Hijo; y esto se entiende en lo espiritual, y no corporal; porque vemos (como digo) que muchos Hijos han pagado culpas paternas, con penas corporales, como en el lugar dicho dejamos largamente probado; y de esto tenemos *abundantisimos* exemplos, en las *Sagradas Escrituras;* y dice Noè à Canaan (maldiciendo à Can) Maldito sea Canaan, sea siervo de sus Hermanos, y asi lo fueron. De estas palabras se colige, *que la cautividad, y servidumbre* de estos descendientes de Can, fue pena del pecado cometido por su Padre Can, porque esta maldicion, que el santo Patriarca hechò, no fue por vengarse de la injuria que recibiò, sino Profecia, y declaracion de lo que havia de suceder en el linage de Can, y descendencia de sus Hijos; y por ser Noè justo, y no haver en el Mundo quien castigase aquel pecado, èl como superior le castigò. De aqui se podia tomar ocasion de decir, que su color negro no procede de causas naturales, sino de las dichas en el parrafo pasado, que estos Indios, y todos los que en otras Regiones son de color baço, seràn Descendientes de aquellos Hijos de Can, ù de alguno de sus Descendientes; y siendo esto asi, como no siguen estas Gentes à sus antepasados en las costumbres, en las fuercas, y facciones, y color?"

Note II.

AMERICAN TRADITIONS WHICH APPEAR TO BE DERIVED FROM A HEBREW SOURCE.

The present note (which is referred to in the preceding,) contains some American traditions, evidently derived from the Old Testament, and tending to prove that the Indians were at least acquainted with that portion of it designated the Pentateuch. It is impossible on reading what Mexican Mythology records of the war in heaven, and of the fall of Zontemoque and the other rebellious spirits; of the creation of light by the word of Tonacatecutli, and of the division of the waters; of the sin of Yztlacoliuhqui, and his blindness and nakedness; of the temptation of Suchiquecal, and her disobedience in gathering roses from a tree, and the consequent misery and disgrace of herself and all her posterity,—not to recognise Scriptural analogies. But the Mexican tradition of the Deluge is that which bears the most unequivocal marks of having been derived from a Hebrew source. This tradition records that a few persons escaped in the Ahuehuete, or ark of fir, when the earth was swallowed up by a Deluge, the chief of whom was named Patecatle or Cipaquetona; that he invented the art of making wine; that Xelua, one of his descendants, or at least one of those who had escaped with him in the ark, was present at the building of a high tower, which the succeeding generation constructed with a view of escaping from the deluge should it again occur; that Tonacatecutli, incensed at their presumption, destroyed the tower with lightning, confounded their language, and dispersed them; and that Xelua led a colony to the New World. This age, which was the first of the Mexican ages, and named by

them Atonatiuh, or the age of water, closely bordered upon that of the Tzocuillicxeque, or age of giants; and it will be recollected that the age of the Flood in Scripture was that of giants also. The fact of the Mexicans recording, both in their paintings and songs, the deluge, the building of the Tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of tribes, being generally admitted by the early Spanish writers on America, it is almost unnecessary to refer to the authority of any particular writer to prove what no one will deny. Since Gomara, however, in his History of the Indies, describing the conference of Nicaragua with Gil Gonçalez and the ecclesiastics, introduces that chief as putting a variety of questions to the Spaniards; the first of which was, whether they were acquainted with the deluge, and others no less curious, showing that the Indians were not unaccustomed to abstruse speculations, and that besides their knowledge of many traditions contained in the Old Testament, they possessed some information respecting the predictions of the New. It may be interesting to insert the entire passage of Gomara giving an account of this conference.

"Nicaragua, who was acute and skilled in the knowledge of the rites and antiquities of his own country, had a long conference and dispute with Gil Gonçalez and the ecclesiastics. He inquired if the Christians were acquainted with the great deluge, which had swallowed up the earth, men, and animals; and whether another was to happen? whether the earth was to be revolutionized (trastornar), or heaven to fall? when and how the sun, moon, and stars, should be deprived of their motion and light? since they were of such vast magnitude, who moved and kept them in their orbits? He inquired the cause of the darkness of night, and of cold, blaming Nature for not having made light and heat perpetual, since they were best? What were the honour and reverence due to the triune God of Christians, who had created the heaven, and the sun whom they adored as god in those countries, the sea, the earth, and man, who rules over the birds which fly and the fish which swim? where souls would go after death; and what would be their occupations after having left the body, since being immortal they lived for so short a time? He inquired likewise if the Holy Father at Rome, the Vicar of Christ, who was the god of Christians, died? and how Jesus being a God is a man, and his mother being a virgin brought forth? and whether the Emperor and King of Spain, whose prowess, virtue, and power they had so vaunted, was mortal? and why such a handfull of men were anxious to obtain so much gold?"—La Istoria de las Indias, fo. cviii.

From this account it will be perceived, that as not only in New Spain and in Peru, but likewise in Nicaragua, the tradition of the Deluge was generally received among the Indians; that of the temptation of Eve, of the fall of man, and of the loss of Paradise, was no less general in the New World. Torquemada, in the thirty-first chapter of the sixth book of his Indian Monarchy, gives this description of the goddess Cihuacohuatl, who is named by many writers the Aztec or Mexican Eve. "One of the goddesses greatly esteemed by the natives of New Spain was Cihuacohuatl, which name signifies 'the woman serpent;' and they say that she always has twins or brings forth two children at a birth. This woman or goddess, whom they named Cihuacohuatl, was according to the etymology of the name, as Father Bernard de Sahagun says, the first woman who existed in the world, the mother of the whole of the human race, who it is true was tempted by the serpent who appeared to her in the terrestrial Paradise, and discoursed with her to persuade her to transgress the command of God. And it is likewise true, that after having committed sin, she conceived and bore a son and a daughter, both at the same birth, and that the son was named Cain and the daughter Calmana: and that afterwards she brought forth, at a second birth, Abel and his sister Delborah; so that she bore them by twin births, and continued from that time onwards to give birth to twins, as has been observed; the Indians therefore designated her from these two properties, Cihuacohuatl, which signifies 'the woman of the serpent,' that is to say, whom the serpent tempted; and which also signifies, 'the woman who brought forth two infants at a birth, a girl and a boy;' for they call twins and infants born at the same birth Cocohua, which name signifies 'serpents,' as if they called them serpents born from the woman serpent. This appears to be a confused knowledge, which they had received by tradition, of the ancient truth of the origin of the human race, and of the temptation of the serpent." The above account of Torquemada (or rather of Sahagun, whose authority he cites,) is very curious, and is further confirmed by the representation (in the forty-eighth page of the lesser Vatican MS.,) of the goddess Cihuacohuatl or Suchiquecal, with two infants and a serpent near her. Another painting, (contained in the seventy-fourth page of the same MS.,) is more remarkable, since it seems clearly to allude to the threat pronounced in the third chapter of Genesis against the serpent, "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel:" as in fact the seed of the woman appears to be there in the act of bruising the head of the serpent with a staff, whilst the latter has bitten off, and is holding in his jaws, the foot of his

adversary. Mexican traditions seem also to refer to the creation of the one sex from the bone of the other, as is recorded in the second chapter of Genesis: "And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman; because she was taken from man:"—since the Mexicans believed that both sexes had been created from a bone which Xolotle had obtained from Mictlantecutli, who is said to have stumbled and fallen down in running away from the God of the dead, who was anxious to take back his gift; and that the bone, which had been at first of a single piece, having been broken by the fall into many small fragments of unequal sizes, the stature of mankind became in consequence unequal. The Peruvian tradition of men having been created by Viracocha, after the likeness of images made by himself, seems also to allude to what is said in the twenty-sixth verse of the first chapter of Genesis: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness:" and in the next verse, "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him."

This tradition is mentioned by Garcia in the seventh chapter of the fifth book of the Origin of the Indians, where, treating of the origin of the Peruvians, he says: "We have still to state what the Indians of Peru relate of their origin, which I shall narrate as Juan de Betanços wrote it, who was one of the first who entered that kingdom, (of whom we have already made mention in other places,) who was well acquainted with the general language of the Indians, called the Quichua or language of the Inga*; and being thus qualified, served as interpreter or linguist in that kingdom, and was on that account ordered by Don Antonio de Mendoça, who was at that time viceroy of Peru, to compose a history of the origin and succession of the Ingas, kings of Peru, and of their conquests, deeds, and exploits, to the period when the Spaniards entered their country, procuring the necessary information from the oldest Indians. Juan de Betanços obeyed the order of the viceroy, and compiled with great diligence and care a history, which on account of the death of Don Antonio de Mendoça, to whom he had dedicated it, was not at that time brought to light and published; neither was it afterwards printed, by reason of the death of Betanços, who, proceeding to give an account of the origin of the Ingas, relates what the Indians told him of the origin of all the first inhabitants of that kingdom, which is as follows: 'Formerly, in ancient times, the kingdom and provinces of Peru were enveloped in an obscurity in which neither light nor sun existed, and were consequently without day. A certain race of people inhabited them at that period, who were ruled and governed by a lord, whose name as well as that of his subjects they forget. The Indians further say, that at this time, in which all was night, and when neither light nor day existed, a lord named Contice Viracocha came out of a lake which is in the province of Collasuyo, and brought along with him a certain number of persons; and having come from thence, proceeded to a place adjoining to the lake, where at present is the city called Tiaguanaco, where as soon as he had arrived with his people, he created in an instant the sun and day, commanding the former to encircle and revolve with rapid motion round the whole world. He next created the moon, the planets, and the stars, which are in the eighth heaven and firmament. But since it may be inquired, when did this Viracocha create the earth, and the people who had lived in that obscurity, and those who came with him out of the lake? the Indians say that Contice Viracocha had on a former occasion come out of the lake, and that he then created the heaven and the earth, leaving it without sun or light to illuminate it; and made those who came out of the lake with him, and the people who existed at that period, who were guilty of some offence against Viracocha, on which account he became incensed at last against them, and as a punishment and chastisement for their sins changed them and their lord into stones. He then created the sun, the day, and the stars, as has already been said; and having so done, he formed out of stone, (on the same spot and site of Tiaguanaco,) figures and images of men and women, some in a state of pregnancy, and others to represent mothers with their children in cradles, according to their usages and customs, which were to serve as a *model* and *sample* of the people whom he was about to create. Having completed the formation of these figures, he removed them and put them into some particular province, and afterwards created another province of people of the same kind, dividing it from the former; and lastly, he formed out of stone the entire population of Peru, in the same manner as he had formed the others. Having finished his work, he said to the people who had come out of the lake with him, Mark very attentively the images and busts of stone which I have made, and observe that some of them shall be named

* The Ingas of Peru had likewise a language peculiar to themselves, which none but those of the royal race were permitted to learn.—We leave it to the Jews to decide whether it might not have been the "pure language" expressly alluded to by the prophet Zephaniah in the ninth verse of the third chapter of his Book.

N, and shall come out of such a cave or fountain, in such a province, where they shall settle and multiply; others shall come out of such a cave, and shall be called *N*, and shall settle in such a place;—all of whom shall come out of fountains, rivers, caves, and hills, in the provinces which I have pointed out and named to you, when you call to them. It is therefore proper that you should all go except two, who shall remain with me, and journeying on towards the rising sun, that each of you should proceed in such a direction, and should take such a line or road. The names of the fountains, caves, hills, rivers, nations, and provinces, are not mentioned here, for the Indians do not specify them; but the names which Viracocha gave to them, or which they before had, are understood by the letter *N*, or the expression 'such.' Contice Viracocha having finished his above-mentioned discourse and address to his ministers and Viracochas, they set out immediately for the places and provinces which had been marked out for each of them; and placing themselves near the situation and place where the images of stone were, and where Contice Viracocha had told and commanded them to go, they called out in a loud tone,—*N*, come forth, and people this land which is deserted and solitary, for Contice Viracocha so commands it. And immediately men and women, agreeing in stature, physiognomy and form with the model and proportions in which the *images* of stone had been sculptured, came forth from the caves, rivers, fountains, and high mountains; and having all come out, they proceeded to people those provinces and the adjoining countries which were situated towards the rising sun."

This account of Viracocha forming man after the likeness of images fashioned by himself, seems to refer to the above-mentioned verse in Genesis: but the following tradition bears a less equivocal mark of having been derived from a Scriptural origin. It is taken from an inedited History of Chile by Diego de Rosales: "De proposito y no por olvido he dexado para la postre, por darse le bueno a este capitulo, las lagunas de Taguatagua, que no es digno de olvido, sino de perpetua memoria, el caso tan raro y singular que sucedio en ellas. Caen estas lagunas veinte leguas al sur de la Ciudad de Santiago cerca del pueblo de Malloa, tienen seis leguas de circunferencia, muchas truchas, varios generos de pezes, y muchedumbre de paxarcria de varios colores que sobre las aguas forman un hermoso jardin de flores vivientes. Tiene en medio una pequeña isla, que muchas vezes se ve nadar por encima de la laguna y moverse con el impulso de los vientos. No es esto lo singular y raro, que Dausqueyo, y Pomponio Mela traducido o illustrado por Joseph Antonio Gonzales de Salas, dicen lo mismo de otras islas que fluctuan en las lagunas y se mueven en ellas, y entre otras es muy nombrada la isla de Chemnis, que esta en un lago de Egipto poblada de muchas selvas y ennoblecida con el famoso templo dedicado al dios Apolo. Lo singular y de grande enseñanza es, que se conserva una tradicion de tiempo immemorial entre los Indios, que en aquel sitio antiguamente, antes de la venida de los Españoles, avia un hermoso valle muy ameno y poblado de infinita gente, y que no avia laguna ni señal de ella, sino mucha amenidad, y sementeras en abundancia para las delicias de los naturales. Pero que con la abundancia y el regalo eran sus costumbres tan estragadas y tan enormes sus vicios, que no contentandose con la muchedumbre de mugeres proprias, y agenas, se desenfrenaban como bestias en los torpisimos vicios de la sodomia y bestialidad. Entraron un dia en aquel valle dos hermosos mancebos en el trage y rostros nunca vistos, y en la hermosura y gravedad admirables, que en la realidad eran Angeles, y les dixeron a todos los habitadores de aquella tierra que venian embiados del Señor del cielo y la tierra, del mar y de los vientos, del sol, luna, y estrellas, y que venian a requerirles de su parte como los requerian, que se enmendasen de tan enormes vicios, y obsenidades con que gravissimamente offendian al autor de la naturaleza, y a su Dios y Señor a quien devian todo amor y obediencia, y que si no se enmendaban, serian del gravissimamente castigados en esta vida, y mas rigurosamente en la otra con eternas penas y tormentos, y dicho esto desaparecieron, y no los vieron mas. Causoles alguna novedad al principio, pero no enmienda, porque perseveraron en sus torpezas. O gran paciencia de Dios y grande su misericordia que no se contento con este aviso! sino que passados algunos años, volvieron los dos Angeles en figura humana y en el trage y hermosura, dando muestras de que no eran hombres terrenos, sino espiritus celestiales. Volvieronles a requerir a los Indios, afearonles sus vicios, y dixeron les que estaba ya cercano el castigo de Dios, sino se enmendaban de sus pecados. Desaparecieronse, y los Indios endurecidos en sus malas costumbres, y ciegos a tanta luz, perseveraron en sus delitos, incredulos del castigo como los de Sodoma, mas despues de pocos dias vino el castigo de Dios sobre ellos, porque temblo la tierra y se estremecio con tanta furia, que abriendose en differentes grutas, y por diversas bocas, pronuncio la sentencia y executo el castigo, vomitando tanta cantidad de agua, que inundo todo aquel valle, y anego a quantos en el avia, sus casas, haziendas, y sementeras, sin dexar memoria de aquella tan nefanda gente, y quedando para eterna memoria y escarmiento de los demas aquella laguna, que oy se ve, y a permanecido despues de tantos años que ha que sucedio este tan maravilloso caso,

digno de eterna memoria, pues en el resplandece la piedad divina en uno y otro aviso, el amor con que en todos tiempos requiere a los hombres para que huigan de su ira y justo castigo, y su justicia en castigar a los que rebeldes en sus vicios perseveran en ellos*." Historia General del Reyno de Chile y Nueva Estremadura, por el Pere Diego de Rosales, Jesuita, Viceprovincial de la Provincia en el Chile. Lib. 2. cap. xi. n. 20. The following account, from Gomara's Conquest of Mexico, of a certain Chichimeca prevailing over Quecalcoatl, and binding him, and detaining him amongst men, bears some analogy to what is said of Jacob's wrestling and prevailing with God, in the thirty-second chapter of Genesis: "The kings of Mexico, who are the most powerful, and the greatest, and in fact the kings of the kings of that country, pride themselves in being and in calling themselves of Culhua, declaring that they descend from a certain Chichimeca, who was a very strong chief, who bound a leather thong round the arm of Quecalcoatl, close to the shoulder, when he was going, and detained† him among men, which they con-

* We cannot refrain from observing, that the story in Genesis, from which this fable is derived, has led many canonists and civilians of former days to maintain, that although stoning to death, as a judicial sentence prescribed by the law of Moses, was repealed with the old law, still burning to death, in the case of heresy, was not repugnant to the Christian dispensation, for that God had manifested on one occasion his approbation of that mode of punishment, and that human justice could not do better than imitate divine. Wretched as is the reasoning displayed by these writers, still the consequences of that reasoning were *practical*, and numerous have been the victims which it has hurried to the flames. It is singular that both the Mexicans and the Jews manifested a kind of predilection for the sign of calling down fire from heaven; and the Piaques or priests of Chili threatened the people with a miracle of that kind,—having heard something, perhaps, of the prophet Elijah destroying with fire from heaven the two bands of men belonging to Ahaziah the king of Samaria, as recorded in the first chapter of the Second Book of Kings: "Then Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab. And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this disease. But the angel of the Lord said to Elijah the Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers of the king of Samaria, and say unto them, Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? Now therefore thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. And Elijah departed. And when the messengers turned back unto him, he said unto them, Why are ye now turned back? And they said unto him, There came a man up to meet us, and said unto us, Go, turn again unto the king that sent you, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that thou sendest to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? therefore thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. And he said unto them, What manner of man was he which came up to meet you, and told you these words? And they answered him, He was an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said, It is Elijah the Tishbite. Then the king sent unto him a captain of fifty with his fifty. And he went up to him: and, behold, he sat on the top of an hill. And he spake unto him, Thou man of God, the king hath said, Come down. And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty, If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty. Again also he sent unto him another captain of fifty with his fifty. And he answered and said unto him, O man of God, thus hath the king said, Come down quickly. And Elijah answered and said unto them, If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And the fire of God came down from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty."

† A mistake in reading the Spanish word *conversava* as *conservava* has induced us to notice an analogy which the change of expression renders very faint. It appears extremely probable, however, that the Jews applied the prophetical language of Isaiah to their Messiah Quecalcoatl, and that hence they invented the history of his having been bound. Since moreover the Mexicans believed that Quecalcoatl was the son of their supreme deity Tonacatecutli, it is not unlikely that the other name Topiltzin, by which he was designated, was originally Teopiltzin, signifying '*the son of God*,' indicative of that belief; and that the early Spanish missionaries changed it into Topiltzin, which means simply '*our son*,' wishing to avoid the association of ideas that names and *many* other circumstances were likely to create. That the Jews however had carried to the New World the tradition of their ancestor Jacob having wrestled and prevailed with God, which, like all their other traditions, degenerated there into some monstrous fable or abominable rite, may be inferred from a comparison of the following account, taken from the thirty-second chapter of Genesis, with what Sahagun in the twelfth chapter of his fifth book says of the Mexicans pretending sometimes to wrestle and prevail with Tezcatlipoca: "And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him. And he said, *Let me go, for the day breaketh.* And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou *bless* me. And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed. And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I have seen *God* face to face, and my life is preserved. And as he passed over Penuel the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh. Therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day; because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew that shrank." —"When headless phantoms without feet, which skim along the surface of the ground, sighing like persons suffering from illness, appear in the night to any one, which they know are illusions of Tezcatlipoca,—those who see them nevertheless draw a bad omen from them, and declare and consider it certain that they will soon die in war or of disease, or that some misfortune will speedily befall them:

sidered a great feat, and said that the man who had bound a god could bind all other mortals, and accordingly ever afterwards they called him Aculhuatli, since, as I have already explained, Aculli means the bone between the elbow and the shoulder, and the shoulder itself. This Aculhuatli became afterwards very powerful and a person of great consideration, and laid such a foundation of future greatness *in his sons,* that his descendants became in course of time kings of Mexico, enjoying the same authority as Motecuçuma possessed when Ferdinand Cortes made him prisoner." La Conquista de Mexico, fo. cxx.—The genealogical descent of the nations of New Spain from Iztacmixcoatlh and his *two* wives, serves also to bring to our recollection Jacob, his two wives, and his sons; and it deserves to be remarked, that the proper name Iztacmixcoatlh * seems peculiarly applicable to Jacob, since we know from Genesis that Jacob was smooth in person, and fair as compared with Esau, who was red, and that he was subtle in disposition; and this name is compounded of two words, Iztac, which signifies in the Mexican language *smooth* or *fair,* and Mixcoatle, *a serpent,* which is called in more than one place in Scripture a subtle animal, and is characterized by Christ as wise, in the injunction which he gave to the Apostles—to be wise as serpents; and therefore might be no inapt symbol of the subtle and sagacious character of Jacob, to which his name in Hebrew would appear to bear some allusion, since the answer of Esau to his father Isaac implies as much; and the thirty-sixth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Genesis would be otherwise unintelligible, where Esau, replying to Isaac, who had told him that his brother came with subtlety, and had taken away his blessing, says, "Is not he rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing†."

and when such phantoms present themselves to the low and timorous rabble, they immediately begin to fly, and their spirits are so overcome with dismay that they soon afterwards die, or are overtaken by some calamity: but when they appear to men of courage and of resolution, such as veteran soldiers, they are ready and prepared for them; for when walking by night they are always on the alert, thinking it likely that they may meet with an apparition, and they even go in search of them through the highways and along the private paths, desirous of seeing them, in order to obtain from them some piece of good fortune, or a *present of thorns of the aloe,* which were the sign of it; and if by chance a phantom of this kind presented itself to him who went in search of it, he immediately began to grapple with it, and seizing tightly hold of it said, *Who are you?* speak to me; there is no use in your being silent, since I now hold you tight, *and will not let you go.* These words he frequently repeated whilst the struggle continued between them; and when the conflict had lasted for a length of time, *on the approach of morning* the phantom spoke, and said, Let me go, for you weary me; tell me what you wish, and it shall be granted to you. On which the soldier replied, What will you give me? when the phantom said, Here is a thorn. To which the soldier answered by saying, I will not have it; why does your present consist of only a single thorn? it is useless. And although two or three, or even four thorns were afterwards offered, the phantom was not released from his grasp until it had given him as many as he wished, which on bestowing, it thus addressed him,—*I grant you riches of all kinds, bidding you to be prosperous in the world.* Upon which the soldier let the phantom go, since he had now obtained what he sought and desired." It deserves to be remarked, that God's touching the hollow of Jacob's thigh is said in the twenty-fifth verse of the thirty-second chapter of Genesis to have put it out of joint; and in the thirty-second verse of the same chapter, to have caused the sinew of the thigh to shrink; and hence a question (of little importance it must be confessed) arises, viz. Whether Jacob suffered one or two accidents in his conflict with God? It is evident on the latter supposition that his thigh which had been put out of joint must immediately afterwards have been restored to its proper place, or he never would have been able to have walked again. Considering the importance which the Jews attached to this mysterious incident in the life of the most revered of their patriarchs, it is surprising that Moses did not record in a more circumstantial manner an event in Hebrew history which redounded so much to the glory of Jacob, the founder of the house of Israel; although his reserve makes it only the more probable that the Rabbis corrupted with their traditions the simple narrative of the Pentateuch. They undoubtedly considered the shrinking of the sinew of Jacob's thigh a sign of the *blessings,*—amongst which *riches* must be numbered,—which were in store for him and his descendants; and it may be a question, whether, in their usual style of absurd reasoning upon every unexplained point in Scripture, they might not have argued, that since a mere touch could not have caused the sinew of his thigh to shrink, it might have been punctured; and that, as God had appeared to Moses in a *bush,* so he might on this other occasion have pierced the patriarch's thigh with a *thorn.* It is vain, from the nature of the subject which affords grounds for these discussions, to attempt to refute any thing that may be said by the Rabbis, by demanding of them whether a viler fable or one more derogatory to the majesty of the Deity, can be found in the whole range of heathen mythology than that which their perverse genius may suggest as a solution of these doubts. At the same time, since the Mexicans considered the thorns of the aloe, which the soldier received from the phantom of Tezcatlipoca, to be the sign of his having *prevailed* and of his future good fortune, it is probable that Jewish traditions laid the foundation for this gross superstition amongst them."

* Mixcoatl was reputed by the Mexicans to be the god of those who hunted the mazatl or stag; and Jacob and Esau being twins, the name of Mixcoatl, the signification of which is 'the serpent or twin of the clouds,' might have been common to both of them, or have belonged only to Esau; and Iztacmixcoatlh, or 'the fair-complexioned twin,' might have been Jacob's peculiar appellation.

† It is not impossible that Jacob was worshiped by the Mexicans under the name of Yacatecutli, (the fair-spoken and deceitful god of merchants,) whose assistance they invoked, in order that when making a bargain they might be able to overreach the opposite party.

The following passage, containing the tradition of the Mexicans respecting their own genealogy and that of the other nations of New Spain, is taken from the 120th page of Gomara's Conquest of Mexico, where, treating of their antiquities, he says, "According to their own books, and the common opinion of their learned men, and such as are acquainted with their ancient history, the Mexicans came from a country called Chicomuztotlh, and descended all from one father, whose name was Iztacmixcoatlh, who had two wives. By Ilancueitl, (which was the name of one of them,) he had six sons, the eldest of whom was named Xelhua, the second Tenuch, the third Ulmecatlh, the fourth Xicalancatlh, the fifth Mixtecatlh, the sixth Otomitlh. By Chimalmatlh, (which was the name of the other,) he had Queçalcoatlh." Gomara next proceeds to state in what part of New Spain each of these sons settled, and the names of the cities which they founded. Of Queçalcoatlh he says, "he built, or, according to other accounts, rebuilt Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, Cholollа, and many other cities. The same Queçalcoatlh was an upright, temperate, religious, and holy man, and, as they believe, a god. He never was married or acquainted with women. He lived a life of the greatest chastity, performing rigid acts of penance, accompanied with fasting and other austerities. He preached, according to report, the law of nature, and inculcated it with diligence, setting an example of morals. He instituted fasting, which had not been before practised; and was the first who in that country offered sacrifices of blood, but not, in the manner which is now customary with these Indians, with the death of infinite numbers of men, but by drawing blood from the ears and tongue, as an act of penance, and as a punishment and remedy against the sin of lying and of listening to lies, which are no small vices amongst these people. They believe that he did not die, but that he disappeared in the province of Coaçacoalco, close to the sea. They paint Queçalcoatlh such as I have described; and either because they do not know, or because they *conceal* his death, they believe him to be the god of the air, and worship him in all that country, but principally in Tlaxcallan and Cholollа, and in the other cities which he founded, and accordingly they celebrate strange rites and sacrifices in them to him."

It would be an omission in this place, speaking of American traditions which seem to connect the Mosaic history with the mythology of the New World, not to mention Votan, who was a celebrated saint amongst the Chiapanese and the Çapotecas; and it is much to be regretted that Nuñez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapa and Soconusco, should have destroyed or consigned to oblivion the historical work which he wrote, (or which at least was written by some other person,) concerning him; as it would probably have thrown much light on the ancient history of America and the communications which undoubtedly subsisted in early ages between the Old and New Continent. Boturini, in the 115th page of his Idea of a New General History of North America, gives an account of the discovery, by Nuñez de la Vega, whilst engaged on a visitation of his diocese in the year 1691, of this historical work, together with some ancient calendars, which he caused to be publicly burnt in the square of Huehuetan; an act of mistaken zeal that Boturini thus laments: "These burnings have been frequent and very fatal in New Spain. The Indians deplore them, and so do learned Spaniards; and I lament them, because I am convinced that these ancient paintings contained not only particular notices of great literary treasures, but likewise of immense riches stored up in the times of paganism, and hid on the occasion of the conquest; and I do not despair of being able to perform, some day or other, a notable service to Your Majesty."

The following account of Votan is taken from a recent publication, but of no great authority. It contains, however, a statement of some curious facts relative to him, which bear the appearance of probability; and as that part of it which relates to the discovery of the abovementioned history by Nuñez de la Vega is extracted from the Diocesan Constitutions, (a work written by that bishop, and published at Rome in 1702,) it is so far entitled to full credit. It is necessary however to observe, that the English translation, "he wrote an historical tract in the Indian idiom," is incorrect, as the Spanish passage should have been translated, "and in an historical tract which was written in the Indian idiom, mention is made;" since it is not expressly stated who the author of the book was, whether Votan himself or some other person. The account itself is from the pen of Doctor Cabrera, who says: "Among the many small historical works that fell into the hands of this illustrious prelate (Nuñez de la Vega),—who was not more zealous for the glory of God than he was mistaken in the interpretations he applies to many of them, and particularly when he attributes the whole of them to superstition,—he instances one that was written by Votan, of whom he speaks as follows, in No. 34, section 30, of the Preface to his Constitutions: 'Votan is the third Gentile placed in the calendar: he wrote an historical tract in the Indian idiom, wherein he mentions by name the people with whom, and the places where, he had been. Up to the present time there has existed a family of the Votans in Teopizca. He says also that he is lord of the Tapanahuasec ('the wooden drum'); that he saw the great house

(meaning the Tower of Babel), which was built, by the order of his grandfather Noah, from the earth to the sky; that he was the first man whom God sent hither to divide and portion out these Indian lands; and that at the place where he saw the great house a different language was given to each nation.'

" This illustrious prelate could have communicated a much greater portion of information relative to Votan, and to many other of the primitive inhabitants, whose historical works he assures us were in his own possession; but feeling some scruples on account of the mischievous use the Indians made of their histories in the superstition of the Nagualism, he thought proper to withhold it, for the reasons assigned in No. 36, section 32, of his preface. ' Although,' says he, ' in these tracts and papers there are many other things touching primitive paganism, they are not mentioned in this epitome, lest, by being brought into notice, they should be the means of confirming more strongly an idolatrous superstition. I have made this digression, that it may be observed in the notices of the Indians, and the substance of the primitive errors in which they were instructed by their ancestors.' It is to be regretted that the place is unknown where these precious documents of history were deposited; but still more is it to be lamented that the great treasure should have been destroyed. This treasure, according to the Indian tradition, was placed by Votan himself, as a proof of his origin and a memorial for future ages, in the casa lobrega (house of darkness) that he had built in a breath, that is in the space of a few breathings,—a metaphorical expression, intended to imply the very short space of time employed in its construction. He committed this deposit to a distinguished female and a certain number of plebeian Indians appointed annually for the purpose of its safe custody. His mandate was scrupulously observed for many ages by the people of Tacoaloya, in the province of Soconusco, where it was guarded with extraordinary care; until being discovered by the prelate before mentioned, he obtained and destroyed it. Let me give his own words, from No. 34, section 30, of his preface. 'This treasure consisted of some large earthen vases of one piece, and closed with covers of the same material, on which were represented in stone the figures of the ancient Indian pagans whose names are in the calendar, with some Chalchihuites, which are solid hard stones of a green colour, and other superstitious figures. These were taken from a cave by the Indian lady herself and the Tapianes or guardians of them, and given up, when they were publicly burnt in the square at Hueguetan, on our visit to that province in 1691.'

" It is possible that Votan's historical tract alluded to by Nuñez de la Vega, or another similar to it, may be the one which is now in the possession of Don Ramon de Ordoñez y Aguiar, a native of Ciudad Real. He is a man of extraordinary genius, and engaged at this time in composing a work, the title of which I have seen, being as follows, ' Historia del Cielo y de la Tierra,'—that will not only embrace the original population of America, but trace its progress from Chaldea immediately after the confusion of tongues, its mystical and moral theology, its mythology, and most important events. His literary acquirements, his application and study of the subject for more than thirty years, his skill in the Tzendal language, (in which idiom the tract just spoken of is written,) and the many excellent authors he has collected, lead us to anticipate," &c. &c. The writer proceeds to say, "To the important information of Nuñez de la Vega, I will add the no less valuable notices communicated to me by Don Ramon Ordoñez y Aguiar. The memoir in his possession consists of five or six folios of common quarto paper, written in ordinary characters in the Tzendal language,—an evident proof of its having been copied from the original in hieroglyphics shortly after the conquest. At the top of the first leaf the two continents are painted in different colours in two small squares placed parallel to each other in the angles: the one representing Europe, Asia, and Africa, is marked with two large SS upon the upper arms of two bars drawn from the opposite angles of each square, forming the point of union in the centre: that which indicates America has two S S placed horizontally on the bars; but I am not certain whether upon the upper or lower bars; I believe, however, upon the latter. When speaking of the places he had visited on the Old Continent, he marks them on the margin of each chapter with an upright S, and those of America with a horizontal S. Between these squares stands the title of his history, ' Proof that I am Culebra,' (a serpent), which title he proves in the body of his work by saying that he is Culebra because he is Chivim. He states that he conducted seven families from Valum Votan to this continent, and assigned lands to them; that he is the third of the Votans; that, having determined to travel until he arrived at the root of heaven, in order to discover his relations the Culebras and make himself known to them, he made four voyages to Chivim, which is expressed by repeating four times, from Valum Votan to Valum Chivim, from Valum Chivim to Valum Votan; that he arrived in Spain, and that he went to Rome; that he saw the great house of God building; that he went by the road which his brethren the Culebras had bored; that he marked it, and that he passed by the houses of the thirteen

Culebras. He relates that in returning from one of his voyages, he found seven other families of the Tzequil nation, who had joined the first inhabitants, and recognised in them the same origin as his own, that is, that of the Culebras. He speaks of the place where they built their first town, which from its founders received the name of Tzequil. He affirms the having taught them refinement of manners in the use of the table, table-cloth, dishes, basins, cups, and napkins: that in return for these, they taught him the knowledge of God and of his worship, his first ideas of a king, and of obedience to him; and that he was chosen captain of all these united families."

So far Doctor Cabrera; from whose treatise, entitled "Teatro Critico Americano," this long paragraph has been extracted. It is unnecessary to attempt in this place to trace out any further Scriptural analogies in the traditions and mythology of the New World, since the coincidences which have been already mentioned are sufficiently strong to warrant the conclusion that the Indians, at a period long antecedent to the arrival of the Spaniards in America, were acquainted with a portion at least of the Old Testament, although time, superstition, and, above all, such an imperfect mode of transmitting to posterity the memory of past events as that of paintings, had greatly corrupted their ancient traditions. We shall close these observations with the following curious extract from Torquemada, from which it might appear that even the New Testament had been known to the Indians: "Another ecclesiastic, named Brother Diego de Mercado, a grave father, who has been definitor of this province of the Holy Gospel, and one of the most exemplary men and greatest doers of penance of his time, relates, and authenticates this relation with his signature, that some years ago conversing with an aged Indian of the Otomies, above seventy years old, respecting matters concerning our faith, the Indian told him that they in ancient times had been in possession of a book which was handed down successively from father to son, in the person of the eldest, who was dedicated to the safe custody of it and to instruct others in its doctrines. These doctrines were written in two columns, and between column and column Christ was painted crucified, with a countenance as of anger. They accordingly said that God was offended; and out of reverence did not turn over the leaves with their hands, but with a small bar which they had made for that purpose, which they kept along with the book. On this ecclesiastic's questioning the Indian as to the contents of that book and its doctrines, he was unable to give him further information, but simply replied that if the book had not been lost, he would have seen that the doctrine which he taught and preached to them, and those which the book contained, were the same; that the book had rotted in the earth, where the persons who kept it had buried it on the arrival of the Spaniards. He likewise informed him that they knew the world had been destroyed by the deluge, and that only seven persons had escaped in the ark, and that all the rest had perished, together with the animals and birds, excepting those which had been saved therein. They were also acquainted with the embassy of the angel to Our Lady, under a figure, relating that something very white, like the feather of a bird, fell from heaven, and that a virgin stooped down and took it up, and put it in her bosom and became pregnant; but what she brought forth they could not tell. What they say of the Deluge is attested likewise in Guatemala by the Indians named Achies, who assert that they possessed paintings recording that event, with other matters of antiquity, all of which the Brothers, with the spirit and zeal with which they were animated for the destruction of idolatry, took from them and burnt, holding them to be suspicious."

Note III.

REASONS FOR SUPPOSING THAT CHRISTIANS IN EARLY AGES COLONIZED AMERICA.

It is so singular a fact that the Indians of Mexico and Peru should have believed with Christians in many doctrines which are held to be peculiarly and exclusively Christian, and to constitute a line of demarcation between Christianity and all other religions, that it appears a convincing proof that Christianity must in early ages have been established in America, and that ancient communications subsisted between the old and new continent at a period long antecedent to the age of Columbus. In pointing out some of the leading doctrines of Christianity, the knowledge of which was likewise found amongst the Indians, it may be proper to observe, that

although it might be easily shown that the Indians believed in the existence of the Deity, in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments; still, as these are intuitive truths which all religions teach, which all ages have believed, no inferences will be attempted to be drawn from them; since the Romans or the Greeks, the Mahometans or the Hindoos, might by the same arguments be proved to have carried on intercourse in former ages with the Indians. The doctrines more peculiarly Christian, a belief in which the Indians likewise professed, however mixed up with other superstitions, and from which inferences may be fairly drawn, are the following: That of a Trinity, of original sin, of repentance and penance, of a vicarial atonement, of a future redeemer, and of the resurrection of the body. But, besides exhibiting a certain degree of conformity on these doctrinal points, they likewise seem to have been formerly acquainted with the sacraments, although superstition had lamentably perverted these ancient mysteries of the Christian Church, since traces of them may be found in various rites and ceremonies common alike to the Mexicans and Peruvians. Having briefly mentioned what the particular doctrines of Christianity were, which the gravest writers assert were known to the Indians before the arrival of the Spaniards in the New World, we shall proceed separately to adduce proofs to show that the above-mentioned doctrines did in reality constitute a portion of the Indian faith; and although many testimonies from different authors might be cited in confirmation of each article, it will be sufficient in this place to quote the single authorities of men like Acosta, Peter Martyr, Garcia, and Torquemada, whose writings are highly appreciated in Spain, and are also known to the rest of Europe.—And first with respect to the doctrine of a Trinity *. Acosta says that the belief of the Peru-

* The doctrine of a Trinity was known not only in Peru and Yucatan, but likewise amongst the more savage Indian tribes of Paraguay, as we learn from the following passage of the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères;" a work published by authority, and replete with information.

"Pour ce qui est de la religion de ces peuples et des cérémonies qu'ils y observent, il n'y a point, dans toutes les Indes Occidentales, de nation plus superstitieuse. Cependant, au travers des fables grossières et ridicules, et des dogmes monstrueux qui les asservissent au démon, on ne laisse pas de découvrir quelques traces de la vraie foi, qui, selon la commune opinion, leur fut prêchée par Saint Thomas ou par ses disciples: il paraît même qu'ils ont quelque idée confuse de l'avénement de Jésus-Christ incarné pour la rédemption des hommes. C'est une tradition parmi eux, que, dans les siècles passés, une Dame d'une grande beauté conçut un fort bel enfant, sans l'opération d'aucun homme; que cet enfant étant parvenu à un certain âge, opéra les plus grands prodiges qui remplirent toute la terre d'admiration; qu'il guérit les malades, ressuscita les morts, fit marcher les boiteux, rendit la vue aux aveugles, et fit une infinité d'autres merveilles qui étaient fort au-dessus des forces humaines; qu'un jour ayant rassemblé un grand peuple, *il s'éleva dans les airs, et se transforma dans ce soleil que nous voyons.* Son corps est tout lumineux, disent les Mapono ou prêtres des idoles; et s'il n'y avait pas une si grande distance de lui à nous, nous pourrions distinguer les traits de son visage. Il paraît très-naturel qu'un si grand personnage fût l'objet de leur culte: cependant ils n'adorent que des démons et ils disent qu'ils leur apparaissent quelquefois sous des formes horribles. Ils reconnaissent une Trinité de Dieux principaux, qu'ils distinguent des autres Dieux qui ont beaucoup moins d'autorité; savoir, le Père, le Fils et l'Esprit. Ils nomment le Père Omequeturiqui, ou bien Urago-Zoriso; le nom du Fils est Urusana, et l'Esprit se nomme Urupo. Cette Vierge qu'ils appellent Quipoci, est la Mère de Dieu Urusana, et la femme d'Urago-Zoriso. Le Père parle d'une voix haute et distincte; le Fils parle du nez, et la voix de l'Esprit est semblable au tonnerre. Le Père est le Dieu de la justice et châtie les méchans; *le Fils et l'Esprit, de même que la Déesse, font la fonction de médiateurs, et intercèdent pour les coupables.* C'est une vaste salle de la maison du cacique, qui sert de temple aux Dieux. Une partie de la salle se ferme d'un grand rideau, et c'est là le sanctuaire où ces trois divinités, qu'ils appellent d'un nom commun à toutes trois Tinimaacas, viennent recevoir les hommages des peuples et publier leurs oracles. Ce sanctuaire n'est accessible qu'au principal Mapono; car il y en a deux ou trois autres subalternes en chaque village, mais il leur est défendu d'en approcher, sous peine de mort. C'est d'ordinaire dans le temps des assemblées publiques, que ces Dieux se rendent dans leur sanctuaire. Un grand bruit, dont toute la maison retentit, annonce leur arrivée. Ces peuples, qui passent le temps à boire et à danser, interrompent leurs plaisirs, et poussent de grands cris de joie pour honorer la présence de leurs Dieux. 'Tata equice,' disent ils, c'est-à-dire, 'Père, êtes-vous déjà venu?' Ils entendent une voix, qui leur répond: 'Panitoques,' qui veut dire: 'Enfans, courage, continuez à bien boire, à bien manger, et à vous bien divertir; vous ne sauriez me faire plus de plaisir: j'ai grand soin de vous tous: c'est moi qui vous procure les avantages que vous retirez de la chasse et de la pêche, c'est de moi, que vous tenez tous les biens que vous possédez.' Après cette réponse, que ces peuples écoutent en grand silence et avec respect, ils retournent à leur danse et à la Chicha, qui est leur boisson; et bientôt leurs têtes étant échauffées par l'excès qu'ils font de cette liqueur, la fête se termine par des querelles, par des blessures, et par la mort de plusieurs d'entr'eux. Les Dieux ont soif à leur tour, et demandent à boire: aussitôt on prépare des vases ornés de fleurs, et on choisit l'Indien et l'Indienne qui sont le plus en vénération dans le village, pour présenter la boisson. Le Mapono entr'ouvre un coin du rideau, et la reçoit pour la porter aux Dieux, car il n'y a que lui qui soit leur confident, et qui ait le droit de les entretenir. Les offrandes de ce qu'on a pris à la chasse et à la pêche ne sont pas oubliées. Quand ces peuples sont au fort de leur ivresse et de leurs querelles, le Mapono sort du sanctuaire, et leur imposant silence, il leur annonce qu'il a exposé aux Dieux leurs besoins, qu'il en a reçu des réponses les plus favorables, qu'ils leur promettent toute sorte de prospérités, de la pluie selon les besoins, une bonne récolte, une chasse, et une pêche abondante, et tout ce qu'ils peuvent desirer. Un jour qu'un de ces Indiens, moins dupe que ses compatriotes, s'avisa de dire, en riant, que les Dieux avaient bien bu, et que la Chicha les avait rendus de bonne humeur, le Mapono, qui entendit ce trait de raillerie, changea aussitôt ses magni-

vians was as follows;—his words, as far as the Latin translation by De Bry may be supposed to be correct, are these: "That which is here most worthy of remark, is the fact that Satan, in order to incease the majesty of his own worship, has wished by cunningly introducing the doctrine of the Holy Trinity among the Indians, to abuse it; for they had given these names to the three above-mentioned images of the sun, Apointi, Churiunti, and Intiquaoqui; the significations of which are, The Father and Lord of the sun, the Son the sun* itself, and the Brother of the

fiques promesses en autant d'imprécations, et les menaça de tempêtes, de tonnerres, de la famine et de la mort. Il arrive souvent que ce Mapono rapporte, de la part des Dieux, des réponses bien cruelles: il ordonne à tout le village de prendre les armes, d'aller fondre sur quelqu'un des villages voisins, de piller tout ce qui s'y trouvera, et d'y mettre tout à feu et à sang. Il est toujours obéi. C'est ce qui entretient parmi ces peuples des inimitiés et des guerres continuelles, et ce qui les porte à s'entredétruire les uns les autres. C'est aussi la récompense des hommages qu'ils rendent à l'esprit infernal, qui ne se plaît que dans le trouble et la division, et qui n'a d'autre but que la perte éternelle de ses adorateurs. Outre ces Dieux principaux, ils en adorent d'autres d'un ordre inférieur, qu'ils nomment Isituus; ce qui signifie, Seigneurs de l'eau. L'emploi de ces Dieux est de parcourir les rivières et les lacs, et de les remplir de poissons en faveur de leurs dévots. Ceux-ci les invoquent dans le temps de leur pêche, et les encensent avec de la fumée de tabac. Si la chasse, ou la pêche a été abondante, ils vont au temple leur en ofrir une partie en signe de reconnaissance. Ces idolâtres croient que les ames sont immortelles, ils les nomment Oquipau, et qu'au sortir de leurs corps, elles sont portées *par leurs prêtres* dans le ciel, où elles doivent se réjouir éternellement. Quand quelqu'un vient à mourir, on célèbre ses obsèques avec plus ou moins de solennité, selon le rang qu'il tenait dans le village. Le Mapono, auquel ils croient que cette ame est confiée, reçoit les offrandes que la mère, et la femme du défunt lui apportent; il répand de l'eau pour purifier l'ame de ses souillures; il console cette mère et cette femme affligées, et leur fait espérer que bientôt il aura d'agréables nouvelles à leur dire sur l'heureux sort de l'ame du défunt, et qu'il va la conduire au ciel. Après quelque temps, le Mapono, de retour de son voyage, fait venir la mère et la femme; et, prenant un air gai, il ordonne à celle-ci d'essuyer ses larmes, et de quitter ses habits de deuil, parce que son mari est heureusement dans le ciel, où il l'attend, pour partager son bonheur avec elle. Ce voyage du Mapono avec l'ame est pénible; il lui faut traverser d'épaisses forêts, des montagnes escarpées, descendre dans des vallées remplies de rivières, de lacs, et de marais bourbeux, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin après bien des fatigues, il arrive à une grande rivière, sur laquelle est un pont de bois, gardé nuit et jour par un Dieu nommé Tatusiso, qui préside au passage des ames, et qui met le Mapono dans le chemin du ciel. Ce Dieu a le visage pâle, la tête chauve, une physionomie qui fait horreur, le corps plein d'ulcères et couvert de misérables haillons. Il ne va point au temple pour y recevoir les hommages de ses dévots, son emploi ne lui en donne pas le loisir, parce qu'il est continuellement occupé à passer les ames. Il arrive quelquefois que ce Dieu arrête l'ame au passage, sur-tout si c'est celle d'un jeune homme, afin de la purifier. Si cette ame est peu docile, et résiste à ses volontés, il s'irrite, il prend l'ame, et la précipite dans la rivière, afin qu'elle se noie. C'est là, disent-ils, la source de tant de funestes évènemens qui arrivent dans le monde. Des pluies abondantes, et continuelles avaient ruiné les moissons dans la terre des Indiens Jurucares. Le peuple, qui était inconsolable, s'adressa au Mapono, pour demander aux Dieux quelle était la cause d'un si grand malheur. Le Mapono, après avoir pris le temps de consulter les Dieux, rapporta leur réponse, qui était, qu'en portant au ciel l'ame d'un jeune homme, dont le père vivait encore dans le village, cette ame manqua de respect au Tatusiso, et ne voulut point se laisser purifier, ce qui avait obligé ce Dieu cruellement irrité, de la jeter dans la rivière. A ce récit le père du jeune homme qui aimait tendrement son fils, et qui le croyait déjà au ciel, ne pouvait se consoler; mais le Mapono ne manqua pas de ressource dans ce malheur extrême. Il dit au père affligé que, s'il voulait lui préparer un canot bien propre, il irait chercher l'ame de son fils au fond de la rivière. Le canot fut bientôt prêt, et le Mapono le chargea sur ses épaules. Peu après les pluies étant cessées, et le ciel devenu serein, il revint avec d'agréables nouvelles, mais le canot ne reparut jamais. Du reste, c'est un pauvre Paradis que le leur, et les plaisirs qu'on y goûte ne sont guère capables de contenter un esprit tant soit peu raisonnable. Ils disent qu'il y a de fort gros arbres qui distillent une sorte de gomme, dont ces ames subsistent; que l'on y trouve des singes, que l'on prendrait pour des Ethiopiens; qu'il y a du miel et un peu de poisson; qu'on y voit voler de toutes parts un grand aigle, sur lequel ils débitent beaucoup de fables ridicules, et si dignes de compassion, qu'on ne peut s'empêcher de déplorer l'aveuglement de ces pauvres peuples."

* The following observations are taken from the English edition of "Volney's Ruins," and they refer to a strange heresy that sprung up in the earliest ages of Christianity, which identified Christ in a sort of ὁμουσια with the sun. That celebrated writer commenting on the word *chris*, which he says signifies *to preserve*, and was a name belonging to Vishnou, writes as follows: "The Greeks used to express by *x* or the Spanish iota, the aspirated *hâ* of the Orientals, who said *hâris:* in Hebrew, *héres* (חרס) signifies the *sun;* but in Arabic, the radical word means *to guard, to preserve*, and *haris, guardian, preserver*. It is the proper epithet of Vichenou, which demonstrates at once the identity of the Indian and Christian trinities, and their common origin. It is manifestly but one system, which divided into two branches, one in the East, and the other in the West, assumed two different forms: its principal trunk is the Pythagorean system of the *soul* of the *world*, or *Ioupiter*. The epithet *pater* or *father* having been applied to the *Demi-ourgos* of the Platonicians, gave rise to an ambiguity which caused an inquiry to be made after the *son*. In the opinion of the philosophers it was the *understanding*, νους and λογος, from which the Latins made their *verbum;* and thus we clearly perceive the origin of the *eternal father* and of the *verb* his son, *proceeding* from him (*mens ex Deo nata*, says Macrobius); the *anima* or *spiritus mundi* was the *Holy Ghost;* and it is for this reason that Manes, Basilides, Valentinius, and other pretended heretics of the first ages, who traced things to their source, said that God the Father was the supreme inaccessible light of heaven (the first circle, or the ἀπλανες); the Son the secondary light *resident in the sun*, and the Holy Ghost the atmosphere of the earth.—See Beausob. vol. ii. p. 586. Hence, among the Syrians, his emblem of a *dove*, the bird of *Venus Urania*, that is of the air. 'The Syrians (says Nigidius in Germanico) assert that a *dove* sat several days in the Euphrates on

sun. They bestowed the same appellations also on Chuquulla, that is, the god whose habitation they supposed was in that tract or region of the air whence proceed thunder, rain and snow, as they had done on the three images. In Chuquisaca an idol was once shown to me to which the Indians were accustomed to pray; they called it Tangatanga, and believed it to be a god who was one in three, and three in one."—Acosta, lib. v. cap. xxviii. Several historians of the New World mention Suchiquecal, and the sin which she committed in eating of the fruit of a tree; although they do not expressly state that that fruit was an apple: whilst others assert, that with the Mexicans each succeeding year was merely a new anniversary of the fall of man, and that every day in their calendar was dedicated to the performance of some cruel austerity intended to blot out the remembrance of that sin; it will therefore be unnecessary to appeal to the testimony of any particular author to prove that the doctrine of original sin was believed by the Indians. With respect to penitence and penance, these were doctrines introduced by Quecalcoatl, and strictly inculcated by the religion of the Mexicans. Gomara (speaking of Quecalcoatl) says, "He was the god of the air, that he founded the city of Chollula, and was by tradition chaste, and a great doer of penance, the institutor of fasts, and of drawing blood from the tongue and the ears; and that he permitted no sacrifices except those of quails, *doves*, and such animals as were taken in the chace; that he wore a long narrow vest of white cotton, and over it a mantle covered with red crosses."—Gomara, La Conquista de Mexico, fo. xxxviii. The doctrine of a vicarial atonement, or of a sacrifice for sin, whereby the guilt of the one party is expiated and atoned for by the *innocent* blood of the other, was also well known to the Indians; and the question is curious, how traces of this doctrine should have been discovered in America, and how, on the supposition of these traces affording indications of Christianity having in earlier ages existed in that continent, the doctrines of a purer faith could have thus degenerated, and in time have become mingled with such barbarous superstitions. The following extract is from the History of Chili by Rosales; since the work of Rosales is inedited, the passage in the original Spanish is here inserted, to which the translation is subjoined. " En Culacoya prosiguiendo con su conquista en tierras del gran Señor Quinchatipai, cinco leguas de la ciudad de la Concepcion, tubieron otra fortaleza, y alli ay siete piedras a manera de piramides labradas, que fueron puestas por los Indios del Peru para hacer la ceremonia llamada Calpainga, que se hacia para la salud del rey Inga cada un año. Era este rito a semejanza del que hacian los Cartaginenses, que como refiere el Padre Juan de Mariana, grave historiador, para obligar a sus dioses les sacrificaban todos los años algunos dioses escogidos, y assi escogian los Ingas dos niños de edad de seis años cada uno, varon y mujer, y los vestian en traje de Inga, y assi ligados y vivos los enterraban, diciendo que al pecado que su Rey y Señor ubiesse echo, lo pagaban aquellos inocentes en aquel sacrificio."—Historia del Chile, lib. iii. cap. 2. " Prosecuting their conquest in Culacoya as far as the country of the powerful lord Quinchatipai, five leagues distant from the city of Conception, they (the Spaniards) found another fortress where were seven stones resembling sculptured pyramids, which had been placed there by the Indians of Peru for the purpose of performing the ceremony called Calpainga, which was celebrated annually to ensure the prosperity of the sovereign Inga. This rite resembled one in use amongst the Carthaginians, who, in order to gain the favour of their gods, as Father Juan de Mariana, a grave historian, relates, sacrificed every year some selected gods; and the Ingas accordingly selected annually two children, each of six years of age, a boy and a girl, and clothed them in the dress of the Inga; and in this manner, having bound them, they buried them alive, saying that those innocent victims would by that sacrifice ransom the sins which their king and lord had committed." If our surprise is excited by the discovery that the Peruvians were not altogether ignorant of the nature of a vicarial sacrifice or atonement, it will be produced in no less degree when we discover that the inhabitants of New Spain generally believed in the coming of a future Redeemer or Saviour, whose advent as well as the last destruction of the world they seem to have expected at the close of certain stated periods corresponding with the artificial cycles of time which they employed in their calendars: that future redeemer was Quecalcoatl. The letters of Cortes to Charles the Fifth fully prove that about the time when the Spaniards first arrived in America, the expectation was very general in New Spain of the appearance of Quecalcoatl, and for many years afterwards that expectation continued: so difficult is it to root out ancient prejudices; since we are informed that the mere report of their god having come to

the egg of a fish, whence Venus was born.' Sextus Empiricus also observes, (Inst. Pyrrh. lib. iii. c. 23,) that the Syrians abstain from eating doves; this intimates to us a *period* commencing in the sign of Pisces (in the winter solstice). We may further observe, that if *Chris* comes from *Harisch* by a *chin*, it will signify *artificer*, an epithet belonging to the sun. These variations, which must have embarrassed the ancients, prove it to be the real type of Jesus, as had been already remarked in the time of Tertullian. '*Many*,' says this writer, '*suppose with greater probability that the sun is our God, and they refer us to the religion of the Persians.*'" Apologet. c. 16.

redeem them induced the Çapotecas to revolt in the year 1550. Gomara, speaking of this expectation, says, " The Indians viewed with attention the dress, deportment, and beards of the Spaniards; they were astonished at seeing the horses feed and gallop; they were terrified at the glittering of their swords, and fell to the ground at the report and noise caused by the artillery, thinking that heaven was bursting with thunder and lightning; and they said of the ships, that it was Quecalcoatl who was coming, bringing his temples with him, (con sus templos a cuestas,) since he was the god of the air, who had left them, and whose return they expected."—La Conquista de Mexico, fo. xvii. A most striking proof of the firmness of the faith of the Mexicans in Quecalcoatl, is afforded by the relations which Cortes in his third letter to Charles the Fifth, and Gomara in his Conquest of Mexico, give of the events which occurred during the last days of the siege of that city. Gomara, describing the state of extremity to which the Mexicans had been reduced, and their obstinacy in resisting the Spaniards to the last, says, " Cortes, being desirous of seeing how much of the city remained yet to be gained, ascended a high tower, looked around him and perceived that there was an eighth part. On the following day he returned to the attack of this remaining portion: he commanded his troops to kill none but those who defended themselves. The Mexicans lamented their unhappy fate, intreating the Spaniards to conclude the work of slaughter; and certain chiefs called to Cortes in a very pressing manner, who hastened to the spot, imagining that it was to treat of terms of surrender. Having placed himself by the side of a bridge, they addressed him, 'Since you are the son of the sun, why do you not finish with his course: O sun! that canst encircle the earth in so short a space of time as a single day and one night, kill us at once, and relieve us from such great and protracted sufferings; since we desire death, in order to go and rest with Quecalcoatl, who is expecting us."—La Conquista de Mexico, fo. lxxxiiii. The Mexicans and Çapotecas were not the only nations in New Spain who expected the coming of a future redeemer. The Totonacas, a numerous people who inhabited a mountainous tract of country to the east of Mexico, not far distant from Vera Cruz, believed likewise (if we may credit Mendieta, one of the earliest Spanish missionaries who preached the Gospel to the Indians) in this future Redeemer. Torquemada, citing the authority of Mendieta, says: "It was likewise found that in some provinces of New Spain, as in Totonaca, they expected the coming of the son of the great god, who was the sun, into the world; and they said that he was to come to renew all things; although they did not believe or interpret this in a spiritual, but in a temporal and earthly sense. They thought, for example, that on his coming, the grain would be of a purer and more substantial quality; that their fruit would be better flavoured, and more excellent in its kind; that the lives of men would be considerably prolonged, and that every thing else would become better in a corresponding degree. And in order to hasten the coming of the son of the great god, they sacrificed at a certain season of the year eighteen persons, both male and female; encouraging them, and exhorting them to consider themselves fortunate in being the messengers of the republic, which dispatched them to the great god to intreat and to supplicate him that he would vouchsafe to send them his son to free them from their many miseries and hardships, and the obligation and affliction laid upon them of performing human sacrifices, which, as has already been observed, they considered a terrible and cruel burthen; and it was an intolerable torment and grief to them, since they performed them in obedience to the commands of their false gods, on account of the great fear in which they held them." It was the cupidity of the Spaniards that first instructed them in another essential doctrine of the Indians,—that of the resurrection of the body. And here we must observe that this doctrine is peculiarly Christian: it is on *this point*, and not on *the immortality of the soul*, that Christianity differs from the religions of antiquity; and it is very singular that it should have been discovered in the New World. Gomara, after stating that the Peruvians deposited gold and silver vases in the tombs of the Ingas, says: " When the Spaniards opened these sepulchres and scattered the bones, the Indians intreated them not to do so, assuring them that they would be united in the resurrection; for they fully believe in the resurrection of the body, and in the immortality of the soul."—La Istoria de las Indias, fo. lxix. Herrera likewise, in several passages of his History of the Indies, asserts that the Indians maintained this belief. He says, in his fourth decade, page 187, " In the provinces of Guazacualco and Yluta they believed that the dead would come to life; and when the bones of such as died among them had dried up, they collected them in a basket and hung them to the branch of a tree, that they might be at no loss to find them when the period of the resurrection arrived." He says also, " In the province of Quimbaya they well knew that there was an immortal principle in man, although they thought that it was not his soul, but a (bodily) transfiguration, believing that the body would be restored to life. They explained further, that its future habitation would be some delightful and pleasant place, and they therefore used interment like the other Indians."—Herrera, Historia de las Indias Occidentales, Dec. vi. lib. viii. pag. 177.

Having thus traced the resemblance which on many doctrinal points the religion of the New World presented to Christianity, we shall now say something of the sacraments: and it is truly surprising to discover that nearly all the sacraments of the primitive church were recognized by the first Spanish missionaries, as clearly shadowed out in many of the Indian superstitious rites and ceremonies. To begin with Baptism: Peter Martyr, in the eighth chapter of his fourth decade, addressing Leo the Tenth, describing the manners of the inhabitants of New Spain, says: "They report also another thing worth the noting, which will bee very pleasing to your Holinesse. The priestes seeme to baptise children, both males and females, of a yeere old, with holy ceremonyes in their temples, pouring water crosse-wise out of a cruet upon their heads; and although they understood not their words, yet they observed their murmurs and actions: neyther do they, as the Mahumetanes or Jewes, thinke their temples profaned, if any other sect be present at their sacrifices or ceremonyes." Torquemada likewise, in his description of the Mexican baptismal ceremony, says that "the midwife on bathing the infant addressed it in these words: 'Receive this water; for the goddess Chalchiuitlicue Chalchiuhtlatonac is thy mother. And may this bath wash away and remove the stain and defilement which thou derivest from thy parents, and purify thy heart, and make thee of a good and holy life!'"—Monarquia Indiana, lib. 13. cap. xvi. It may here be observed that the words "manchas y suciedades que tienes de parte de tus padres" can only refer to original sin. This address to the infant about to be baptized, was translated from the Mexican language into Spanish by Bernard de Sahagun, one of the first preachers of the Gospel in New Spain. Herrera also asserts that in Yucatan baptismal ceremonies were performed: "Baptism has been discovered in Yucatan alone of all the provinces of New Spain; and its name in their language signifies 'regeneration' (nacer otra vez). They hold it so much a matter of religion, and entertain such reverence for it, that nobody omits receiving it; they imagine that they receive a pure disposition in it to become good, and to escape harm from devils, and to obtain *the glory which they hoped for;* it is administered to them from the age of three years to twelve, and no one marries without having received it. They fix upon a day for the celebration of it which they deem fortunate. The fathers fast on the three preceding days, and separate themselves from their wives: in the mean time the priests are occupied in the purification of the mother, exorcising the devil by means of certain ceremonies; which being completed, the children proceeded one by one, and the priest threw some ground maize and incense with his hand upon them. And they sent wine in a vase and censer out of the city, with orders to an Indian not to drink it or to look behind him; and by the performance of this ceremony they imagined that they exorcised the devil. The priest then came forth habited in long and grave vestments, with a branch in his hand, and placed some white cloth on the heads of the children, questioning the elder as to whether they had committed any sin, which on their confessing, he took them aside and in certain words blessed them, holding the branch in a threatening attitude towards them, and with some water which was kept in a bone, moistened their foreheads, cheeks, fingers, and toes: when some presents having been given, the baptismal ceremony was held to be complete, and the festival terminated in banquets. In addition to the three days before mentioned, the father and the mother remained apart nine more."—Historia de las Indias Occidentales, Dec. iv. lib. x. cap. iv.

Proceeding from baptism to the most solemn sacrament of the Church, that of the Lord's Supper, we shall find a mysterious resemblance to the communion of Christians in an idolatrous rite of the Mexicans called Teoqualo, which literally signifies 'to eat god.' This ceremony consisted in eating the body and blood of Huitzilopuchtli or Quecalcoatl under the similitude of bread, which they named Toyoliaytlaquatl, which signifies 'the food of our life.' Torquemada, in the thirty-eighth chapter of the sixth book of his Indian Monarchy, thus describes it: "Besides the image and statue which they had placed in the greater temple of Mexico to their false and abominable god Huitzilopuchtli, which we have already mentioned, they made each year another, compounded and mixed up with different kinds of grain and esculent seeds, which was formed in this manner: They collected in one of the principal and handsomest halls of the temple, adjoining to the altar and Cu, a quantity of grain and seed of bledos and pulse, which they pounded with great care and devotion, and kneaded and formed into the said statue, of the size and height of a man. The fluid with which they moistened and worked the flour into dough was the blood of children whom they had sacrificed for this purpose; the intention of which was to typify, in the simplicity and innocence of the child, that of the god whom the statue represented. After it was made, the priests and satraps took it in their hands, and placed it with great reverence and veneration upon the Cu or altar which they had prepared and adorned for its reception; all the ministers of their religion assisting at this act, and blowing trumpets and other instruments, which created a loud and tumultuous sound, whilst others went before, singing and dancing. This took place by night.

But as soon as it was morning the ministers and high priest proceeded to consecrate and to bless it, (if such an act can be called a consecration and benediction, although the Indians apply that very term to it in their own language,) at which benediction and consecration all the citizens were present, together with crowds of strangers who had assembled to witness the said ceremony. The consecration being over, all who could, drew near it, to touch it with their hands, eyes, and mouths, as if it were to touch a relic, or the body of a saint, although that was the lurking-place of the Devil; and they at the same time strewed the whole of its body with jewels of gold and precious stones, of value proportioned to the devotion and means of each individual, which could easily be pressed into the figure of the idol, since the dough which composed it was fresh and soft. They made this liberal offering, thinking that they were rendering their god a considerable service, and that on account of it he would pardon their sins; which is what we are taught by the sound and Catholic doctrine of the Holy Scriptures,—that charity diminisheth sin. And if when done to our neighbour it possesses so much force, it will possess much greater when the offering is made unto God, who accordingly has chosen to declare, that it avails those who give and bestow, for their purification and the cleansing away of their sins; although in this place it possesses no meritorious quality, inasmuch as it was done to the Devil, or, to speak plainer, was done at his instigation. The day of the consecration of that infernal bread and dough being past, nobody was allowed to touch it, or to enter into the chapel where it was, but the high priest only. On the morning in which they had placed the idol on the altar, they proceeded to make a solemn offering and sacrifice to it. They afterwards brought forth the statue and idol of the god Paynalton, the god of war, the vicar or lieutenant of the said Huitzilopuchtli, which was made of wood, and was carried in the arms of a priest, who represented the god Quetzalcohuatl, and was dressed very richly in curious ornaments and apparel, being preceded by another, holding in his hands a large and thick serpent twisted in many folds, which was carried before, and was lifted up on high, in the manner of the cross in our processions. They made a very long procession, accompanied by all the citizens; and at certain distances, and on different Cues or altars, the priests who were attached to them performed sacrifices as well of prisoners as of quails. The first halting-place was in the division of Teotlacho, where they killed two captives and many other slaves; and approaching this part of the city where I am now writing, called Tlatelulco, they went forth to meet it with much solemnity, and sacrificed a great number of quails. Hence the procession passed on to Popotlan, where, after having offered incense to it with many ceremonies, they performed the same sacrifice; whence they went to Chapultepec, which is about a league from the city, where they made a similar offering and sacrifice. It afterwards returned to the quarter called Tepetoca, the inhabitants of which received it with the same festive ceremonies and sacrifices; and next came to another quarter, named Acachinanco, accompanied with the same honours and rejoicings; from whence it proceeded to the temple from which it had set out. They then lifted up the statue of Paynalton, and placed it on the altar by that of Huitzilopuchtli, and there left it, together with the banner named Ezpaniztli, which was carried in front; the serpent alone was taken away, and deposited in a place allotted to it. This procession being ended, which lasted the greater part of the day, all necessary preparations were now ready for the sacrifice; as a commencement of which, the king or supreme lord took a censer, and throwing incense into it with certain ceremonies, offered incense to the image of his god, officiating himself as high priest. This ceremony being concluded, they took down the image of Paynalton, before which all those who were destined to be sacrificed were marched in files, with whatsoever else was required for the sacrifice. They then took three or four turns round the temple, as if in procession; and immediately afterwards made the wretched victims ascend the platform above, where they sacrificed them, beginning with the prisoners of war, and terminating that horrid act with the sacrifice of the fatted slaves who had been purchased for the occasion, tearing out their hearts, and throwing them at the feet of the idol. The entire of this day was dedicated to the greatest festivities and rejoicings, in which the priests carefully guarded the said statue, watching it during the night with much vigilance, that neither negligence nor omission might occur in any thing appertaining to its veneration or service. On the following day in the morning they took down the said statue, which being placed on its feet in a hall, the priest Quetzalcohuatl, who on the preceding day had marched in procession with the statue of Paynalton in his arms, entered at the same time with it; and the king likewise, accompanied by a minister in inner attendance on the god Huitzilopuchtli, who was called Tehua, with four other priests of rank, and four principal young men of the number of those whose duty it was to watch over the other youths of the temple, who were named Telpochtlatoque, in whose presence, and in that of no others, Quetzalcohuatl took a spear, headed with a flint, and threw it at the breast of the idol, with which he pierced it, and the idol fell; which ceremony they performed, saying that it was to kill their god Huitzilopuchtli, in order to eat his

body. The priests afterwards drew near; and one of them took out the heart and presented it to the king, and the others divided the body into two parts, and gave the one half to the inhabitants of this quarter of the city named Tlatelulco, who distributed it in crumbs to all the people resident in these suburbs, especially to the young soldiers, without giving any part of the dough of the idol to the women. The remaining part, which belonged to the inhabitants of that part of Mexico called Tenuchtitlan, was divided amongst the inhabitants of the four quarters named Teopan, Atzaqualco, Quepopan, and Moyotlan. They gave it to the male portion of the community, both great and small, and also to children in the cradle.—This was their manner of communion, as we have said elsewhere; and this repast was called Teoqualo, which signifies 'god is eaten.' And so the composition of this image and likeness of the Devil, which had been continued during so many years, ceased on one of the months dedicated to him."

Acosta thus describes the same ceremony: "Luridus Dei ac hominum hostis Sathanas, princeps omnis fastus, apud Mexicanos etiam festum Corporis Christi hoc modo imitatus est. Festum Mexicani omnium maxime solenne mense Maio in honorem Vitzliputzli celebrabant. Biduo ante, virgines illæ, quas monialium ritu in monasteriis ali solitas superius diximus, conveniebant, et magnum numerum bledos, seminis genus est, cum tosto maiz permixto molebant. Farinam hanc cum melle subigebant, ex quâ deinde massâ magnum idolum, ligneo simile effingebant: cujus oculos corallio cyaneo et candido, dentes vero granis maiz insertis exprimebant, et ipsum insuper idolum linteis et velis pulchris exornabant. Hoc facto et absoluto, primates confertim accedentes, vestem pretiosam et pulcherrimam, forma conveniente concinnatam, idolo injiciebant. Hoc idem postea in sellam cyaneo colore inductam, ac lecticæ impositam, ut bajulari posset, collocabant. Porro ipso festi die, prius quam aurora promicaret, dictæ virgines candidis vestibus et aliis mundis amicitæ, conveniebant. Quo die, sorores dei Vitzliputzli illæ vocari incipiebant. Eædem serta ex tosto aut macerato maiz capitibus, ac ex eadem materia crassas corollas collis gerebant, ad lævum usque bracchium propendentes. Malæ et vultus earum pigmentis fucati, bracchia vero a cubito usque ad manum pulcherrimis ex psittacis plumis ornata erant. Hoc habitu stantes, lecticam idoli suis humeris imponebant, quam ad locum, quo juvenes ac adolescentes reticularibus vestibus induti, et similibus cum puellis sertis coronati congregatique morabantur, proferebant. Adolescentes, viso idolo, venerabundi accurrebant cominus, et suis humeris lecticam suscipientes, idolum ad gradus templi infimos usque deportabant, quo loco universus populus expectabat, ad conspectum idoli flexo poplite sese demittens, et pulvere ex pavimento lecto capita sua conspergens. Hoc facto, plebs omnis in unam processionem se conferebat, quâ maximâ fieri posset festinatione in montem quendam Chapultepec, a civitate Mexico unius leucæ spatio distantem procurrens. Ibi conciunculâ habitâ, sacrificia fiebant. Hinc iterum sese magnâ celeritate efferentes, in vicinum alium locum Atlacuiauaya vocatum festinabant, ubi secundam concionem agebant. Sed nec hic diutius persistentes, contentim ad oppidum quoddam, milliaris unius intervallo inde distans, Cuyoacan vocatum, accelerabant: unde in Mexico, nullâ quiete mediâ utentes, tandem revertebantur. Hoc iter, quod ad minimum milliarium quatuor erat, tribus aut ad summum quatuor horis confectum dabant, quam processionem Ypana Vitzliputzli, id est, acceleratum iter Vitzliputzli vocare solebant. In templi ergo gradus infimos reversi, sellam deponentes, fortibus funibus eam circumligabant, et nonnullis attrahentibus, cæteris vero protrudentibus et impellentibus, in templi editiora ipsam provehebant; quo propter graduum angustiam humeris imposita bajulari non poterat. Interim dum hæc peragerentur, populus omnis, cum singulari submissione metuque spectator astabat. Sella hæc in superiora promota, porro in sacellum quoddam huic rei extructum, et rosis exornatissimum, condebatur. A quo deinde juvenes confertim irruentes, fragrantissimis floribus loca templi universa quoquo versum conspergebant. Hos deinde excipiebant virgines, prædicto habitu insignes, ex cubilibus suis spiras de tosto maiz et herbâ bledos factas efferentes. Has ossium grandiorum formâ pistas, adolescentibus tradebant, qui eas tantâ strue ante idolum congerebant, ut locus capiendis non suppeteret. Eas spiras, ossa ac carnes Vitzliputzli nuncupabant. His ossibus ita stratis, seniores, sacerdotesque ac levitæ, et cæteri ministri continua serie, pro cujusque ætate et conditione accedebant, quorum quilibet flammeum diversis iisque pulcherrimis coloribus intertextum, prout cujusque officium poscebat, gestabat. Quin et horum capita sertis, et colla corollis ex floribus concinnatis conspicua erant. Hos pone dii deæque, quos variâ formâ ac habitu venerabantur, insequebantur. Hi, cum ante dictas spiras et idolum ex ordine reverenter consedissent, multis ceremoniis peractis, eas cantu et sonis harmonicis quasi consecrabant, ut non minus quam ipsum idolum, veneratione dignâ colerentur. His peractis, ii qui immolandis hominibus destinati erant, progrediebantur, et suum munus, ut ante percensuimus, exequebantur. Semper vero hisce diebus festis, plures, quam alio tempore, homines mactabantur. Sacrificio finito, omnes tum adolescentes tum virgines e templo procedebant, binis uno ordine semper junctis. Continuâ vero serie se ita locabant, ut virginibus adolescentes semper

ex adverso starent, qui saltando et tripudiando motus corporis ad tympanorum sonitum decoros in honorem idoli moderabantur. Modulamini illi omnes primores senioresque populi certatim respondebant, choreas et ipsi in orbem agitantes, ita, ut in medio interius cum virginibus adolescentes assiduo relinquerentur. Ad hunc ludum spectandi animo omnis civitas gregatim confluebat. Festum vero hoc idoli Vitzliputzli magnâ devotione per omnem provinciam concelebrandum erat; quo die nemo aliud quicquam præter massam illam, ex quâ idolum effictum fuerat, gustare audebat. Quin et is cibus *sub auroræ saltem exortum* ingerendus erat, nec ante meridiem potus quicquam gustare licebat. Secus qui faceret, sacrilegus censebatur, et ominosa nescio quæ, ex eo facto prænunciabantur. Ceremoniis exactis, jam cuique quod erat, esse licebat. Interea vero temporis, quo hæc agitabantur, filios omnes domi ab aquæ potu arcebant, ne ea gustata numinis iram incurrerent, et ejus manu fors occiderentur. Tandem vero tum sacrificiis tum saltationibus universis finitis, ornatum suum non sacerdotes solum deponebant, sed archipresbyteri etiam idolum habitu sueto exutum confringebant, et cum spiris consecratis in frusta plurima redigebant, quæ postea distribuentes, primum primoribus, ab his deinde universo populo, majoribus, minoribus, viris simul ac fœminis offerebant, non secus ac apud nos in Cœnæ Dominicæ administratione distributio fieri solet. Frustilla hæc oblata communicantes cum tantâ devotione ac trepidatione accipiebant, ut etiam quasi intime pœnitentes nonnunquam lachrymas profunderent. Nec quicquam persuasum habebant aliud, quam quod *veram carnem* et ipsissima sui idoli ossa manducarent; quibus ut vescerentur, se nimis quam indignos profitebantur. Ægris per alios ordinarios partes mittebantur, quas sacerdotes singulari religione impertiebant. Synaxi hac finitâ, quidam e senioribus surgens, ad populum concionabatur, et clarâ elatâque voce de legibus et ceremoniis suetis verba faciebat."

Herrera gives a somewhat similar account: "The Mexicans celebrated the principal festival of their god Vitzilipuztli in the month of May; and two days before the festival, the virgins who were shut up in the temple kneaded flour of bledos and roasted maize with honey, and formed a large idol of the dough, with eyes of green, blue, or white beads, and teeth of grains of maize. All the lords attended dressed in the same manner as the idol, who being seated in a blue chair was placed upon a bier in order to be carried on men's shoulders. On the day of the festival, rather before the dawn of morning, the virgins came forth in new and white apparel, crowned with ears of roasted maize, and wearing chains of the same hanging down below their left arms, with their arms ornamented from the elbow to the wrist with red parrots' feathers, and with their faces painted; and during this day they bore the name of Sisters of the god Vitziliputzli, and took the bier with the idol upon it and carried it to the court, where the young men who were educated in the temple, very splendidly dressed and crowned in the same manner, received it with great reverence, and carried it to the foot of the steps of the temple, when all the people humbled themselves, and taking dust from the ground strewed it on their heads, since this was a ceremony which was usual in their principal festivals. Afterwards the people went in quick procession to the mountain named Chapultepec, a league distant from Mexico; and there made a halt and sacrifice and then proceeded with the same haste to a place called Atlacuiabaia, which was the second resting-place; and passed on a league further to Cuioacan, from whence without stopping they returned to Mexico. This journey of four leagues was performed in four hours, and they named the procession Ipaina Vitzilipuztli, which signifies 'the quick procession of Vitzilipuztli.' They brought back the bier to the foot of the stairs, and drew it up with great reverence with ropes to the upper area of the temple, amidst the loud sound of drums, trumpets, horns, and pipes; for the steps were so high and narrow that they could not carry it up on their shoulders. The people likewise assisted with great reverence in this act. Having been drawn up and placed in a chamber adorned with flowers, the young men of the temple strewed many more around; and the virgins brought a quantity of pieces of the dough of the idol kneaded into the shape of bones, and placed them at its feet, calling them the flesh of Vitzilipuztli. The dignitaries of the temple then came forth in exact order according to seniority one after the other, attired in dresses corresponding to their offices, with garlands and chains of flowers. After them came the gods and goddesses, whom they worshiped under different figures, habited in the same dresses. They placed themselves around the pieces or bones of dough, and performed over them a certain ceremony, which consisted in singing or dancing, by which they became consecrated into the flesh of that god. The benediction being concluded, those who officiated in the sacrifices went forth, and the butchery of human victims commenced; more of whom died on that day than on any other, because the festival was of such a principal kind. Afterwards the young men and young women who were educated in the temple came forth, and placing themselves opposite to each other, danced and sang to the sound of a drum in praise of the festival and of the idol; and all the lords and principal persons replied to the song, dancing round

them in a circle, whilst the young men and women holding each others' hands, occupied the centre. The whole city flocked to this spectacle; and the festival being concluded, the priests took the idol and the pieces of dough, and distributed it like holy bread in the manner of a communion, and gave it to the people, great and small, men as well as women, who received it with great reverence, fear, and shedding of tears, declaring that they ate the flesh of God. They sent it likewise to the sick, and considered it a great crime to eat or drink water or any thing else till after noon; and they hid water from the children, and advised all to beware of incurring the anger of God. This communion being over, an old man of much authority ascended some elevated place, and preached on their law and ceremonies."—Herrera, Dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. xvii. Having already mentioned penance and penitence as doctrines introduced amongst the Indians by Quecalcoatl, it is sufficient in this place to remark, that confession and penance, considered as external rites and ceremonies, (and therefore recalling to our minds another sacrament of the Church,) were in general practice amongst the Indians. Acosta says, that throughout most of the vast provinces under the sceptre of the Ingas, confessors were appointed for the express purpose of hearing confession, distinguished from each other by various degrees of rank, who were under a sacred obligation not to reveal any thing communicated to them in the discharge of their religious duties. Women also in some places (as the same writer asserts) were accustomed to hear confession. Herrera likewise notices this custom as prevalent in Yucatan; and it probably existed in other provinces of New Spain.—Having traced at considerable length these analogies, we shall now say something of the adoration of the cross, the sign of which occurs frequently in Mexican paintings, and which it cannot be doubted was a religious symbol among the Indians. The adoration of the cross in America, if the fact were well authenticated, would in itself be a strong argument of the Christian faith having been planted in the New World: and the testimony of the most respectable historians may be adduced to show that crosses were discovered, and the adoration of them witnessed by the first Spanish settlers in America. Gomara, in concluding his description of a temple in the island of Acuçamil, says: "At the foot of the tower there was a wall of stone and mortar, well polished, and ornamented with turrets, and within this inclosure there was a cross formed of plaster about ten palms high, which they esteemed and adored as the god of rain; so that when no rain fell and they were in want of water, they went in procession to it with much devotion, and offered it sacrificed quails to appease the anger and indignation which it felt or seemed to feel against them, with the blood of that simple bird. They likewise burned a certain kind of gum as incense, and sprinkled it with water, after which they felt sure that it would soon rain."—La Conquista de Mexico, fo. x.

Boturini likewise mentions the discovery of some ancient crosses in America, one of which had been found by himself.—Since the whole of the passage containing the account of these crosses is curious, it is here given at full length. Speaking of his collection of MSS. and paintings, he says, "I likewise possess some historical notices concerning the preaching of the Gospel in America by the glorious apostle Saint Thomas. They are contained in thirty-four sheets of Chinese paper, and I suppose assisted Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora in the composition of his work on the same subject, which he entitled 'The Phœnix of the West,' which I have not been able yet to procure, as it never was printed. Since there is some connection between the subjects,—digressing for a short time from my account of this class of books,—I say in reference to the above-mentioned preaching of the holy apostle, that I am in possession of a painting on linen of the most holy cross of the mountain Tianguiztepetl, which I have before spoken of in Sec. 20. No. 20, of this Catalogue, which is painted in the form of a *Tau*, about a cubit in size, and of a beautiful azure blue, intermixed with figures resembling white stars, having on its right side a shield likewise of a blue colour, with five white balls in the middle, undoubtedly emblematical of the five most precious wounds of the Redeemer, which monuments have been preserved from the time of paganism to our days, without the rain or the other inclemencies of the atmosphere to which they had been exposed, having been able during so many ages to fade the colours. I also possess a painting on linen of another most holy cross of wood, which was drawn by means of a machine (that was made on purpose), out of an inaccessible cave of Mizteca Baxa, and which is at present venerated in the conventual church of Tonala, belonging to the fathers of Saint Dominic, which had also been deposited in the said cave since the Pagan times, and was discovered by the music of angels being heard in the said cave on every vigil of the glorious apostle. The above-mentioned preaching is so clearly indicated in the Histories of the Indians, that it is even recorded in the paintings of the Chontales, amongst whom a most miraculous cross was discovered, besides the other crosses which the Spaniards found in the island of Potonchan and in the city of Texcalan, to which the Indians offered adoration, presenting them flowers and incense, and

invoking them under the name of the god Tlaloc, the god of rain. Many traces moreover of the holy feet of the said apostle have remained in different places of New Spain; and besides this, the above-mentioned Histories all declare that a white man preached among them a holy law, and the fast of forty days, which the Emperor Netzahualcoyotl, in the greatest vicissitudes of his reign, frequently practised; and they add, that at his departure from them he left a prophecy, that in the year of their calendar, Ce Acatl, One Cane, his sons would come from the East to preach again to them; which was the reason why the Indians were so disturbed at the intelligence of the arrival of the Spaniards exactly in the year and character Ce Acatl. And I, following the track of the Indian calendars, have discovered that the prophecy of the saint was verified to the letter. The Indians, availing themselves of the lofty metaphors of their language, have bestowed the name of Quetzalcohuatl upon the glorious apostle, which signifies 'the serpent-bird,' intimating by the bird, the swiftness with which he had passed from a distant country to theirs; and by the serpent, the wise circumspection of the law which he came to preach, the value of which was further denoted by the feathers of the bird, which they called Quetzalli, and infinitely esteemed; since they wore them not only as an ornament in war, but likewise at their public dances and solemn festivals."—Catalogo del Museo Indiano, pag. 51. With reference to the tradition which Boturini mentions as prevalent in New Spain, of Saint Thomas having preached the Gospel in that part of America, and of the impression of his feet being visible in many places, it may be remarked that that tradition seems to have been general over all America. Rosales, in his inedited History of Chile, declares that the inhabitants of that extremely southern portion of America, situated at the distance of so many thousand miles from New Spain, and who did not employ paintings to record events, accounted for their knowledge of some of the doctrines of Christianity by saying, "that in former times, as they had heard their fathers say, a wonderful man had come to that country, wearing a long beard, with shoes, and a mantle such as the Indians carry on their shoulders, who performed many miracles, cured the sick with water, caused it to rain, and their crops and grain to grow, kindled fire at a breath, and wrought other marvels, healing at once the sick, and giving sight to the blind; and that he spoke with as much propriety and elegance in the language of their country as if he had always resided in it, addressing them in words very sweet and new to them, telling them that the Creator of the universe resided in the highest place of heaven, and that many men and women who were resplendent as the sun dwelt with him. They say that he shortly afterwards went to Peru, and that many, in imitation of the habit and shoes which that man used, introduced among themselves the fashion of wearing shoes, and the loose mantle over the shoulders, either fastened with a clasp at the breast, or knotted at the corners; whence it may be inferred that this man was some apostle whose name they do not know." This is the account given by Rosales of that wonderful man; and it deserves to be remarked, as quite in accordance with the gloomy and misanthropical character with which the Indians loved to invest religion, that they converted an object of reverence into one of horror, by assigning to him the attribute of breathing fire from his nostrils. The Mexicans in the same way, by representing their deities surrounded with the symbols of skulls, serpents, knives and lances, and under the most terrific forms, endeavoured to excite fear in the minds of those who approached them, as the feeling which would be most grateful to stern and cruel gods. Kircher* says that none of these symbols were without their secret meaning. The mirror in the hands of Tezcatlipoca denoted his providence, which beheld every thing as in a mirror: and the skull and heart, according to Torquemada, signified that he possessed equal power over life and death. We shall conclude these observations by adducing the testimony of Clavigero in proof of many crosses

* Kircher notices the subject of Mexican paintings only as it were intentionally to lend the sanction of his great authority and learning to the popular notion, that those paintings were entirely devoid of interest, and merely a rude effort of men scarcely beyond the savage state at the invention of hieroglyphical writing. That celebrated Jesuit had made hieroglyphics his peculiar study, and therefore could not have been really ignorant of the true nature of the Mexican paintings; and that, far from being symbols meaning little or nothing, they contained many and great mysteries. His reserve therefore and pretended ignorance must be attributed to the same causes as those which so powerfully operated in effecting the almost total destruction of those paintings; and his silence is in fact eloquent. Paintings amongst the Mexicans were a mode of religious as well as of historical instruction. It is singular that Christians should have used them for the former purpose in the early and middle ages; since the Nicene Council declared (proving the custom by naming it), that "paintings were books for simpletons who could not read." The Jews likewise made use of paintings; and heraldry was an art which sprung up in the unlettered ages of feudal grandeur. From religious paintings cut on blocks of wood, which it became the fashion before the art of printing was invented to form into collections and to bind up in volumes, and which in libraries assume the appellation of books of images, block-books, or xylographic works,—learned men have been inclined to suppose that that invaluable art took its origin. The *Biblia Pauperum* is a book of this description, the largest of its kind, which doubtless in its day was 'fons superstitionum.'

having been at different times discovered in America: "The crosses the most celebrated are those of Yucatan, of Mizteca, Queretaro, Tepique, and Tianquiztepec. Those of Yucatan are mentioned by Father Cogolludo, a Franciscan, in his History, book ii. cap. 12. The cross of Mizteca is taken notice of by Boturini in his work, and in the Chronicle of Father Burgoa, a Dominican. There is an account of the cross of Queretaro, written by a Franciscan of the college of Propaganda in that city; and of that of Tepique, by the learned Jesuit Sigismund Tarabal, whose manuscripts are preserved in the Jesuit college of Guadalajora. That of Tianquiztepec was discovered by Boturini, and is mentioned in his work. The crosses of Yucatan were worshiped by the Yucatanese in obedience, as they said, to the instructions of their great prophet Chilam-Cambal; who desired that when a certain race of men with beards should arrive in that country from the east, and should be seen to adore that sign, they should embrace the doctrine of those strangers. We shall have an opportunity of speaking more particularly concerning these monuments in the Ecclesiastical History of Mexico, if Heaven vouchsafe to favour our design."—History of Mexico, page 250. Besides the crosses enumerated by Clavigero, Gomara mentions brass crosses as having been discovered in Yucatan by the first Spaniards who visited that province, which induced some learned men of his day to suppose, that Christians, flying from Spain at the period of the Saracen invasion, during the reign of Roderic, and hastily embarking in ships to escape to other countries, might by the force of tempests have been driven on the shores of America, and have carried with them those peculiar symbols of their faith. It would also appear that silver vessels resembling sacramental chalices have been discovered in that continent; since Cabrera thus writes: "Don Ramon Ordonez and the presbyter Don Gabriel Chacon y Godoy related to me, that a few years back the presbyter Don Patricio Chinchilla, a native Indian, gave an account to the vicar of Saint Bartholomew de los Llanos, in the bishopric of Chiapa, that he had discovered in a cavern many sacred vessels and utensils of silver, and repeatedly entreated him to go and take possession of them; but perceiving the vicar had not sufficient confidence in him to credit his report, he brought as a proof of his veracity a silver chalice: it was very broad at the foot, and the cup shaped like an inverted pyramid; and on being compared with others of a similar make, preserved in the church, it is presumable it may be attributed to the times of the Apostles. The Indian died soon after this circumstance, and the remainder of this treasure has not since been discovered. The chalice in question, as I am informed, was destined by the curate for an oratory on an estate of his own, called Rosario. This discovery is of great importance, since it confirms the Mexican tradition before alluded to, of the Gospels having been made known in these countries by the apostle Saint Thomas, who was worshiped under the form of the idol Quetzalcoatl.

THE MONUMENTS OF NEW SPAIN, BY M. DUPAIX.

THE FIRST EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF ANTIQUITIES, UNDERTAKEN IN THE YEAR 1805.

I, William Dupaix, late an officer in the Mexican dragoons, left this capital (Mexico) on the fifth of January 1805, having been commanded by His Majesty to proceed to the investigation of whatever monuments of antiquity might be still in existence in this kingdom, of a date anterior to that of the conquest. I was accompanied by an artist, an amanuensis, and a corporal belonging to the auxiliary dragoons; and directing my course to the east of this city, through the towns of Ystapalucan, Rio-frio, Tesmelucan, and Puebla, I could not discover in my progress over this line of country any thing connected with the royal commission with which I was charged. From the latter city I continued my journey to Tepeyaca, the signification of which proper name in the Mexican language is The Nose of the Mountain; which was given to it from its physical situation, being built upon the summit of a projecting angle formed by the mountain in that particular place. Notwithstanding the antiquity of its foundation I could not find on the entire site more than four ancient monuments.

No. I. The first number represents a stone slab, of a reddish colour and extremely hard, upon the surface of which is sculptured in basso-relievo a symbol one foot and a half in length, one foot in breadth, and the third of an inch in thickness, which possibly may allude to the ancient arms of this city. It is divided as it were into two quarterings: in the first or upper of which the head of an eagle is engraved in profile, with a hieroglyphic in front, round which there is a circle with mouldings; and in the second quartering, which seems to serve as a basis to the first, three pendant ornaments or hieroglyphics are discerned upon a striated pedestal, on which the tail of the said bird appears, with various rows of feathers. This stone was discovered in the foundations of an old building of the said city, and at present serves as an ornament to the fountain in the principal square.—It is well sculptured and in good preservation.

No. II. There is in the said square a sentry-box called El Rollo (The Gallows), which was built by the first Spanish settlers, on one side of the wall of which is imbedded another slab of the same quality, having a border of plain ovals, within which is a second border; three hieroglyphics or historical emblems occupy its centre, one of which is very singular, since it bears a partial resemblance to the claw of a crab, and is accompanied with thirteen plain and solid ovals: another resembles a butterfly, with four ovals similar to the preceding; and the third consists of branches like the trunk of a palm-tree.—This piece of sculpture is also in good preservation.

No. III. presents to our view a semi-human head of gigantic dimensions, being one foot and a half in length and one foot in breadth. It is formed out of a hard and very heavy piece of stone, of a dusky purple colour; it is perfect, and was found in the foundation of an edifice in the higher part of this

city: the forehead is ornamented with hair, the eyes and nose are in just proportion and symmetry, the ears cannot be seen, the mouth is destitute of proportion and monstrous, and only a single row of teeth is visible below the under lip.—The discovery of the other parts of this colossus, that is to say, of the trunk and the various limbs, would be highly interesting.

No. IV. In a quarter of the same city called St. Michael Tlaixtegui, (which name signifies in the Mexican language The Cavity of the Mountain,) at the entrance of the house of Don Sebastian de la Cruz Xicotencatl, we found a serpent artificially wrought out of a piece of red porphyry of large dimensions, in an attitude of repose, and coiled upon itself in spiral circles, so as to leave a hollow space or transverse axis in the middle. The head, which has a fierce expression, is armed with two long and sharp fangs; the tongue is double, being divided longitudinally; whilst it is shaped at the extremity like an anchor. It is to be regretted that a portion of the head is mutilated. The entire surface of its body is ornamented or covered with broad and long feathers, and the tail terminates in four rattles: its length from the head to the extremity of the tail is about twenty feet, and it gradually diminishes in thickness.—It was discovered a short time before our arrival, in a deep ravine at the foot of a mountain behind the above-mentioned house. This reptile, the monarch or giant of its species, was in pagan times a deity greatly esteemed under the name of Quetzalcoatle, or The Feathered Serpent. It is extremely well sculptured, and there are still marks of its having been once painted with vermilion.

No. V. I next directed my course eastwards to the town of Tlacotepec, situated at the distance of a day's journey; and having discovered nothing remarkable there, I proceeded on the following day to an Indian village four leagues to the south of it, named San Christobal Teopantepec, (which name signifies in the Mexican language The House or Temple of God built upon the Hill); where, upon an eminence or isolated mountain close to others of greater elevation to the west of the said town, there is a pyramid with a quadrangular base: it consists of four bodies or stories, which gradually diminish in size. Of the highest, the area of which was destined for the altars of their false gods, nothing now remains. This oratory or pyramid, the style of which is Egyptian, is built of lime and stone, and is a solid structure. Its exterior surface was coated with square stones when I had the opportunity of observing it some years ago, which at present is quite in ruins. Its four sides, which are rather out of the perpendicular, are turned towards the four cardinal points of the compass. The staircase which faces the west deserves to be noticed on account of the peculiarity of its diagonal ascent from one story to another. Several pavements or floors of shining cement interspersed with ruins are still visible at the foot of the pyramid, which convinces me that in former times the habitations of the priests who were attached to the service of the idols were situated there. The road from the plain on which the village is built to the summit of the hill, is by a sort of causeway cut in the rocky brow of the said hill. It is to be regretted, when we consider the present state of these ancient monuments, that that which neither the lapse of time nor of revolving ages, nor the trunks and roots of large trees growing amongst them and insinuating themselves between the interstices of the stones, and in this manner separating them, could effect,—indiscreet religious zeal on the one hand, and on the other the greediness of the occupiers of the soil as well as of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages eager to gain possession of the materials, should have been able to accomplish, which seem to have conspired to dismantle and destroy works certainly worthy of lasting preservation, and calculated

to throw light on the state of the arts amongst the ancient Mexicans ;—and all for the object of plundering them of the cut stones which entered into their structure. Other ancient fabrics are greatly indebted to their physical situation for their preservation, since they are generally built on rugged and inaccessible mountains, and surrounded with precipices ; and likewise to their being far removed from towns and adjoining habitations,—their relentless foes,—which occasion much trouble and danger to those who undertake the task of investigating them.

From this last town we proceeded to the city of Tehuacan de las Granadas, the capital of the district, where I was unable to discover any thing remarkable. Neither did Old Tehuacan, a place so named, about six miles to the east of the latter city, present to our view any remains of antiquity, except some spacious ruins of houses and temples built of stone and mortar, and situated upon the side of a mountainous declivity.

No. VI. We found in the last-mentioned town two ancient pieces of sculpture of light green jasper, similar in shape and quality : they are alto-relievos, and carved carefully and with symmetry, each forming a separate piece. Their figure is somewhat oval; and, joining at their extremities, they form a sort of prolonged oval.—It is very difficult to ascertain the precise use of many works of Mexican art, or even to explain their exact shape and parts, the style of their execution being so very original ;—it will be necessary therefore to refer to the drawings, the view of which will be found more satisfactory than the most minute description.

Quitting Orizava, we continued our journey along the rugged steeps of Zongolican or Tzongolliucan, which are within the jurisdiction of that city, being itself the capital of all the hilly country. The city of Zongolican is situated at the distance of twelve leagues to the south of the former city, and the road to it lying through Teguillan, a village of native Indians, crosses over various undulating mountains, and winds with a difficult ascent until it reaches that city, which occupies nearly the centre of the hilly country, being built in a deep plain of a somewhat circular shape, and crowned with high rocks. Rivulets descend into the plain by cascades and waterfalls, and soon disappear in several subterraneous channels. It is a large city : the inhabitants employ themselves in planting tobacco, and it possesses an agreeable climate. I discovered a sort of sage in its vicinity, growing in bushy shrubs very low and broad, the taste of which is very pleasant : it is here distinguished by the appellation of the Sweet Herb. Here are also different sorts of earth or clay, of a very unctuous quality, which properly prepared might be applied to several useful purposes : some of them are red, others of a blue, yellow, or purple colour. This celebrated range of hilly country comprehends every description of climate,—cold, hot, and temperate, with all their various modifications : the southern portion is very fertile, and abounds in useful vegetables ; the cedar and rosewood are very common ; there are a great variety of curious plants, amongst which may be reckoned those which naturally twine themselves round the trunks and arms of trees, and which bear flowers of the most exquisite beauty and delightful scent.

We left this city after eleven days' stay in it, our delay having been caused by the badness of the weather; and reposed for the night at the residence of the proprietor of a tobacco plantation named Rocha, which is situated at the distance of a day's journey from it. But before our arrival at the Indian village Saint Sebastian, where we intended to dine, an accident which might have proved of a disastrous nature befel us. In a narrow and difficult passage cut horizontally in the side of a

steep mountain on the brink of a precipice terminating in a deep abyss, the corporal and his horse, who were at a little distance behind me, suddenly fell and disappeared: the former, by quickly snatching at the branches of some trees, made a successful effort to extricate himself, and escaped without sustaining any bodily injury; but the horse rolling downwards caused a sound like the falling of a heavy torrent of water, tearing up by the roots and breaking whatsoever opposed itself to the rapidity and violence of his descent, experiencing in a brief moment the powerful effects of the laws of gravity, until his further progress was arrested by accidentally coming into collision with some trees of larger growth, which served as a barrier and check to his fall. Finally, after excessive exertions, I was enabled, with the assistance of the Indians who accompanied me, and the united force of arms, bill-hooks and axes, to draw him up by means of ropes, without having received any other injury than a few slight cuts, which did not prevent his proceeding forwards.

On the evening of the same day, towards nightfall, the horse of the artist, in the attempt to avoid some bad places in the road, approached too near its dangerous edge, which bordered on a deep precipice completely concealed from view by the surrounding foliage, when making a false step he fell: the rider had the presence of mind to throw himself from the saddle into a piece of boggy ground on one side; but the horse did not stop until it reached the bottom. The former was obliged to proceed on foot three miles to the before-mentioned plantation of Rocha, charging the magistrate of a village in the vicinity where we had partaken of some refreshments, with the task of recovering his horse if it was still alive: the Indians accordingly brought it to him in the course of the night, very little hurt, our companion being happy to find himself safe and sound notwithstanding his fright. From this plantation we proceeded to Cordova, passing through the shady town of Naranjal, which is situated on the right bank of a considerable river named the Blanco, where we made every exertion to obtain information respecting the antiquities which might exist there and in the neighbouring district. We accordingly commenced our researches at the town of Amatlan de los Reyes, anxious to view a certain ancient edifice, which on inspecting we found to contain merely the ruins of an oratory; but learning that a cave formerly dedicated to idolatrous worship was situated at a short distance from it, we proceeded thither, accompanied by the curate, the vicar, and a number of Indians, notwithstanding the inconvenience to which we were exposed by a heavy fall of rain. The cave itself is curious, and is exceedingly picturesque: it may easily be perceived that Art has aided Nature; it is situated on the declivity of a hill overgrown with wood, and we discovered in it various fragments of idols in stone and of baked clay.

No. VII. From Cordova we directed our course towards Orizaba, through the Indian village of Chapulco; when passing through some beautiful forests of evergreen oak, adorned with many parasitical plants seemingly engrafted upon them, we arrived at another Indian village, named Alcucingo, and from thence came to Orizaba. We discovered there a colossal figure (No. 7.) sculptured in basso-relievo, on the plain and horizontal surface of an isolated piece of rock which forms part of the floor of an Indian cabin, which is situated on the skirts of a plain named Escamela: it lies exactly east and west, with its arms and legs open and apart, in the attitude as it would appear of pointing with them to the north and south. At its sides are two hieroglyphical figures: that on the right is a large fish in a vertical position, with a round unit on one side of it; the other, on the left, is a rabbit in a sitting posture with a hieroglyphic between its legs, with ten round units which serve as a

border to it: the principal figure, which wears a plume of feathers and a girdle, is twenty-seven feet in length; the others on its sides are less. The rock itself is of a somewhat triangular shape, being a solid block of stone of a dark colour: its edge or base is six feet above the surface of the ground, and some mysterious characters are sculptured upon it.

No. VIII. shows the profile of a head of the natural size. It has neither hair nor beard, and was found in the cave above mentioned, as well as the trunk described in the following number.

No. IX. is a stone representing the trunk of a human body, of the natural size, and well proportioned except the feet. These two antique pieces are executed in the same kind of stone as that of which the cave is composed,—a sort of brown limestone. This last figure is placed upon its legs, such being the position in which the idols of the country were usually represented. From hence we went to the bridge of the river Blanco, about forty-eight miles south-east of Orizaba, in search of a large stone called Teololinga.

No. X. This stone is spherical in its form, very hard (though it will not emit fire when struck by the steel), and of a dark blue colour. It has evidently been wrought into its present shape, and placed in the middle of a spacious plain, by the ancient inhabitants of the country. It is so artfully balanced upon its axis as to revolve at the slightest touch of the finger, but if a greater force be used it will stand without the least apparent motion. Its surface contains some holes capable of holding a small quantity of water. It appears to have anciently served as a land-mark. There is another of these stones to the east, about six miles distant.

No. XI. From the bridge of Rio Blanco we went to the native Indian village now called Santiago Guatusco, and formerly Huatòscle, within the jurisdiction of Cordova. This village is about thirty-six miles east of Cordova, and is situated on the bank of a rapid river called Xamapa, the temperature of which is remarkably warm. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in catching the boby, a large and savoury fish which abounds in this river. The ancient town of Guatusco was situated about two miles off, upon the same bank of the river, and many of its remains are yet visible on the slope of a high mountain called the Old Town. On its summit stands an ancient building, called by the neighbouring inhabitants "The Castle," which we determined to inspect on the following day. For this purpose we arose very early, having engaged a number of Indians, furnished with hatchets and other tools, to clear our path. After a laborious and circuitous ascent of more than six miles, alternately walking, creeping, and leaping from stone to stone, always in danger of being bitten by the many venomous reptiles which abound there, we arrived at the base of that ancient monument. This work, intended either for a palace or a great oratory, consists of two stories. The basement story is very massy, and of a pyramidical form, divided into three narrow platforms intended merely for ornament. A broad and lofty flight of stairs leads to the porch of the second story, which forms the place of residence. This is divided into three apartments: the first is a spacious oblong saloon, the roof of which is upheld by three pilasters; the other apartments are of unequal dimensions, and into these there do not appear to have been any other means of admitting light than through the large door which opened into the saloon. Several of the timbers which supported the roof are yet remaining. The building terminates in a kind of terrace, the walls of which are a yard in thickness. The whole is covered with polished cement, in which are imbedded rows of square stones placed in parallel lines. The frieze of each side of the building is enriched with compartments formed by round stones,

similarly imbedded, in the form of a parallelogram. The sides of the saloon are rather inclining, those of the other rooms perpendicular. The walls are, throughout, about three yards in thickness, and the height of the building from the foot of the battlemented staircase to its summit is twenty-four yards. The basement story is about eighty yards square. The dimensions may be more accurately traced by the graduated scale on the annexed drawing.

Among the causes which have assisted in the destruction of this very ancient edifice, perhaps the chief is the number of trees and plants which have taken root within its neglected walls, and compelled their massy joints to separate where they impeded the progress of vegetation. The front of the building is to the west; the other sides face the different points of the compass. With two or three exceptions, all the Mexican temples are thus placed: it is presumed, in conformity to an established law of their religion. We were unable to discover here more than three sculptured fragments.

No. XII. This represents a goddess. Her head is richly adorned, and her neck also graced with a necklace of two rows. The figure is supported by two columns. It is well executed and in good preservation, bearing some resemblance to the ancient statues of the Egyptians. The same symmetry is observable in Mexican sculpture as in Mexican architecture; and to this figure its due and proper proportions must have been given by instruments corresponding to our rule, level, and compass.

No. XIII. The second figure is a snake curiously entwined. It is carved from a ponderous and fine-grained stone of a blackish colour (similar to that of the former figure): the head and body are fanciful. The snake was a prominent object in the ancient Mexican mythology; and we find it frequently carved in different shapes and sizes, coiled, extended, spiral, or entwined with great art and beauty; sometimes clothed with feathers or with scales, at other times divested of any covering. These different representations probably denoted its different attributes.

No. XIV. The third figure is a somewhat fanciful resemblance of a skull. It exhibits only the holes for the eyes, and is furnished, instead of teeth, with what appear rather like claws. It is executed in the same kind of stone as Figures 8 and 9 found in the cave of Amatlán.

No. XV. In the annexed drawing under this Number is shown a sort of block, or die of baked clay, which we found in the same place. We may see from this that they were acquainted with the use of this tool; and I have in my possession two fragments of ancient blocks very finely designed, which were employed to stamp their calicoes and the paper which they made of the aloe-tree. I have also some small figures of terracotta which prove that the ancient Mexicans were not ignorant of the art of modelling.

No. XVI. Unfortunately our draftsman fell sick in this town; and being deprived of his assistance, I was unable to continue the route proposed to the Government, through the provinces of Oaxaca and Chiapa. Obliged to return, I determined to pass through the district of Cuernavaca. At the country-house called San Antonio, formerly San Andres Chachicomula, I saw an ancient edifice; and two miles further to the north of the country-house an oratory four stories high, in a pyramidal form, resting upon an oblong base. The highest story, which I conjecture was a small covered oratory, is now destroyed. Twelve years ago when I visited this spot it was in existence. The stairs, which were facing the west, are also demolished, as well as the other sides, which corresponded to the cardinal points.

The basement story was coated with volcanic stones regularly squared, and the upper stories were plastered and bright. The exact dimensions of these ancient edifices cannot always be ascertained, some local circumstances occasionally rendering the operation impracticable; but every care has been taken in giving the admeasurements in such cases with the nearest possible approximation to accuracy. The human form lives its appointed time and disappears for ever, leaving behind it its likeness: but the monuments of Mexican grandeur sink into decay without the chance of restoration or reproduction, and the time is fast approaching when their entire destruction will be effected. From the country-house of San Antonio we passed through the village of San Andres Chachicomula and Acatzingo, to Cholula. In this famous city we stopped a few days for the purpose of prosecuting our researches.

No. XVII. The first thing we found was a human head of stone singularly formed into the capital of a column, after the manner of a caryatid. A crown adorned with plumes encircles its brow, and its ears are fanciful. The material is a blackish volcanic stone.

No. XVIII. On the threshold of a dwelling-house on the high road we discovered another stone or slab, of an ash colour, on the surface of which are various hieroglyphics. They are inclosed within a circle of about a foot in diameter, and deeply engraven in the stone. On the lower part of the circle are inscribed thirteen radii, which diverge from the same point, and terminate in ovals; on the upper division are two indeterminate rays, also meeting in the same centre. It is impossible to state with certainty the use of this symbol; but the probable conjecture is, that it was connected with some of the astronomical observations practised in Cholóllan, or Cholula as it is now called.

No. XIX. In this city I saw also a mask made of dark green jasper. It rather exceeds the natural size, is extremely well carved and polished, and when struck is sonorous. The features, which are regular and well proportioned, are truly characteristic of the Mexican nation. The mouth and nose are pierced, and two holes are also made in the temples. This ancient relic was found, as I was informed, in the progress of an excavation which was made on the side of the great pyramid.

No. XX. This stupendous work, the result of so much labour, in form resembles the celebrated structures of Egypt. It consists of successive stories which gradually diminish as they rise, but its present appearance has been somewhat changed by the all-consuming hand of Time, the four corners having been worn away until its outline has almost assumed a conical form. It is built of sun-dried bricks, and its angles, like those of similar monuments, front the cardinal points. The ascent was on the side facing the west, and the stairs evidently traversed diagonally from story to story. It is not easy to ascertain its original height above the city (on the level of which it stands), so extensive are the ravages which time has made; and it is by means of excavations in its sides that the materials employed in its structure have been ascertained. The Mexican oratories were usually of a pyramidical form, not exceeding seven stories in height, and resting on a circular or oblong base;—as I have more fully delineated and described in reference to the celebrated and truly stupendous pyramid of Papantla.

No. XXI. We left Cholóllan, taking the road to the town of Atlixco, where we stopped but a short time, and proceeded to the ancient city of Quauhquechúla. Here we found various pieces of sculpture. The first was inscribed on an isolated rock which stands on a plot of ground within the city: it is the figure of a creeping snake, executed in alto-relievo on the surface of the rock. The skin

appears to be smooth, and at the end of the tail are four or five rattles: the tongue is long, and terminates in an anchor, accompanied with a circle. The rock is formed of a hard and dark-coloured stone.

No. XXII. There is another rock in the same field, somewhat similar though not so large. On one of its sides is carved, in basso-relievo, a shield vertically placed, and divided into four compartments perpendicular to the horizon, on which are carved several small circles regularly placed. They are surrounded by a circular moulding which partly conceals three arrows or darts, which with their quiver form a cross. The stone is similar in quality to that of which the last-mentioned rock is composed. These devices or trophies clearly evince the warlike character of the Mexicans; and by means of such emblems of war, engraven on hard and durable stone, they probably intended to perpetuate some glorious and memorable event.

No. XXIII. In another field I discovered, sculptured in relievo upon the four sides of a detached rock of a conical form, another ancient military trophy. On the front is represented a fanciful and monstrous head, which serves as a base to the whole. On the back there are four arrows undulated in imitation of lightning, crossed by a quiver; over which is a circular shield studded with figures somewhat resembling turbans, regularly disposed. The two lateral sides are adorned with an eagle, breast-plates, and other warlike symbols. This block is movable, and is composed of very hard stone of various colours, purple, blue, and grey. When removed, we discovered a snake and a centipede of great size lurking below. The height is one yard and a half, and the circumference three yards and three quarters.

No. XXIV. represents a rock which is situated about a gun-shot eastward from the city. On the side which faces the city is carved a man's head in relievo, rather larger than the size of nature. Its brow is adorned with a diadem; its ears are monstrous, but in its other features there is design and proportion.

No. XXV. From this city we travelled to the country-house called Santa Catalina, where I saw two pieces of sculpture. One represents a snake so entwined, that the space within the folds of its body forms a font sufficiently large to contain a considerable quantity of water. The stone is volcanic, blackish, and somewhat porous. The body of the reptile is spirally entwined, and the head probably served as a handle to move it. It is decorated with circles, and the tail is that of a rattlesnake.

No. XXVI. is the statue of a man, executed in the same kind of stone. Its attitude is expressive, and the mask which veils its countenance has a ludicrous expression. All the ancient statues ought not to be regarded as idols; some of them were the appendages of luxury, and some were designed for ornament or decoration. Our residence at this country-house of Santa Catalina, which is situated on the eastern brow of the volcano of Puebla, called by the Indians Popotepec, (or The Smoking Mountain,) would have afforded me an opportunity of ascending to the summit, in order to inspect its crater, which I had for a long while desired; but the continuance of bad weather compelled me to postpone this undertaking till another visit.

No. XXVII. We therefore directed our course to the town of Ayacapistla, and thence to the sugar-mill of Casasano, where we saw two ancient fragments. One is a box with a lid very well fitted, and made of a firm grey stone: it was found near the mill by the labourers on opening a ditch, and contained some trinkets made of flint.

No. XXVIII. The other is a circular design carved upon the upper surface of a stone. The division made in the plane of the circle is very curious, being accurately traced according to the rules of geometry. This sufficiently proves the existence of mathematical knowledge among the ancient inhabitants of the country, by some erroneously called barbarians. I conjecture this cylinder to have been the base of an idol, or a sacrificial altar: and in treating of works of such remote antiquity, the history or uses of which no written documents explain, conjecture must be admitted.

No. XXIX. Having nothing more to examine here, we proceeded to Cuernavaca through the town of Yauhtepec. The magistrate of this place complied with the requisition of the Royal order by affording me all the assistance and information in his power. I began at that part of the town called San Antonio, where I found a rock of considerable size, on which the figure of a lizard was sculptured in alto relievo, accompanied by four convex circles placed at its left in a horizontal line.

No. XXX. In the place called Chimale (or "The spot of the shield," as it signifies in the Mexican language), behind some houses associated by tradition with the name of Cortez, there is an isolated rock, on the northern side of which is represented, in relievo, a small turreted castle, with stairs, a gate, and an ornamental frieze; on the right of which are three circles or units ranged vertically. It is neatly worked, and its parallels are perfectly true. On the other side of the castle is a shield, the form of which resembles a cross, with some mouldings, and five mysterious circles placed in a perpendicular line to the right.

No. XXXI. There is another rock about three miles south-east from this town, which apparently served as a landmark between this district and that of Quauhnahuac or Quahutetl, which name in the Mexican language signifies "The eagle of stone." On the side of the rock facing the west is sculptured an eagle with a beak, wings, tail and open claws. The head is ornamented with several radiated circles concentric to the eye. This bird is represented too gross in the drawing; the relievo projects about an inch and a half, and is worked on a variegated stone of fine grain.

No. XXXII. On the opposite side of the rock there is a circular shield, which is divided vertically. In the left partition are four concentric semicircles; the right is divided into two quarters. In the upper appears the plan of a city situated on the bank of a lake (possibly that of Chalco). The lower quarter contains various ovals in close rows, while underneath the shield are five ornamented arrows horizontally placed. To the right appears an unfurled standard, which, it is extraordinary, should display on its surface a cross of the order of Malta; and at the top a helmet, on which is figured the head of an eagle, with a hieroglyphic appended. The whole of the shield is carved with great regularity and symmetry. The inhabitants of Cuernavaca, or Quauhnahuac, which signifies in the Mexican language "The resting place of the eagle," intended to perpetuate their trophies by fixing them on the durable surface of their rocks.

No. XXXIII. From Cuernavaca we proceeded to the westward, in order to visit a village of Indians called Tetlama, in the Mexican language "The place of stones." It is situated on a very sultry plain, about eighteen miles from that town. At three miles to the south of the village are the ruins of a celebrated work called Xochicalco: it was an oratory or palace built by the ancient Mexicans, and is a splendid monument of the genius of that people, developing their skill both in architecture and sculpture. It is placed on the summit of a natural and isolated mountain of a conical form. Its exterior is adorned with platforms of various heights and breadths, supported by massy stone walls

gradually slanting inwards as they attain greater elevation. This peculiarity in its structure renders the conjecture probable, that it was designed as a fortified building capable of resisting any hostile attack. The ascent to the top where the monument is placed is by an old causeway, with a considerable inclination. The area is inclosed by a wall of loose stones, which serves as a parapet. The base or first story of the building is the only part now remaining; it is the beginning of an oblong pyramid with its plinth. This solid story is divided into three unequal parts; the first, which has some declivity, serves as a base; the second is the frieze, plain and vertical; and the third is a projecting cornice: the whole forming a pedestal. The outside is constructed with large square stones firmly united, and differing in their dimensions from three feet long, and appropriately wide and thick, to six feet. They are compact, and of a blackish colour. The four sides, like those of the other pyramids, face the four winds; the stairs occupying the western side. It is evident that the sculptural ornaments in relievo on the other three sides were executed after the masonry of the building was finished, since some of the figures extend into several courses of the work. The same designs are repeated on each side; they consist of a variety of hieroglyphical subjects, men, animals, plants, and other unknown figures. The whole building was painted over with vermilion, which now appears in various parts of its surface. The second body or story (which was the base or pedestal) was likewise oblong, and served as a habitation or covered temple; its four faces corresponding to the same cardinal points and perpendicular to the base. It is built of the same kind of stone; but the fragments which are strewed at its foot denote figures of a different character to those of the first story. Its height cannot now be ascertained, but we may suppose it to have been in proportion to that of the base. The stairs were from five to six yards wide, and their height, rising by a gentle ascent, about thirteen yards. I could discover only the trunks of two great idols carved in stone, lying on the floor of the large area. Here again I had to regret that the neighbouring trees had pushed their spreading roots into the joints of the masonry, and assisted in the demolition of this ancient edifice.

In the adjacent parts, scattered without any apparent order, are many small artificial hills of circular shape and of various heights, formed partly of masonry and partly of earth. These (if they were not the sepulchres of their dead) might have been the minor oratories or military posts of the Mexicans, like the works which encircle the greater part of the mountain.

This sort of fortification was adapted to the mode of warfare which they practised, and, in the present instance, a deep fosse also encircled the base of this celebrated mountain. The circumference of the mountain is about three miles, and its perpendicular elevation about one hundred yards. The Mexican name of this curious edifice (Xochicalco), which signifies "The house of flowers," was probably derived from the ornaments which enrich its exterior, of which one of the most conspicuous is a kind of garland encircling the walls on three sides.

The ancient Mexicans appear to have preferred the pyramidical form for the temples of their false deities; and herein they discovered a degree of taste by no means despicable, but rather worthy the imitation of those who profess a purer faith. Among all the forms which architecture has devised, the pyramid deserves to hold the preeminence, on account of its antiquity, its massiveness, the strictly geometrical regularity of its structure, and its majestic height. In this stupendous monument all these are combined.

No. XXXIV. In an adit, called the Cave, which the ancient Mexicans opened in the northern side of the hard rock which forms the mountain Xochicalco, there is a narrow aperture, serving as the entrance to several galleries more than six feet in height. By the advice of the Governor of the Indians, who accompanied us, we unsheathed our swords before we entered, in order to defend ourselves from the attacks of the lions and wolves, which, he said, often harboured there: and, each taking a torch in his hand, we entered the mountain about six o'clock in the evening.

This subterraneous recess contains various passages, opened in different directions; the ceilings and walls of which are smooth, and the pavements which yet partially exist are made with cement and covered with red ochre. The difficulty of proceeding from one passage to another was occasionally great and not unattended with danger, as we were sometimes obliged to creep along the broken ruins of decayed walls and roofs.

At the extremity of the gallery, which is about sixty yards from the entrance, are two saloons, divided by two pilasters formed of the hard stone of the mountain. In a corner of the innermost apartment, a conical cupola, two yards in width, and rather more in height, is constructed in the solid roof overhead, from the upper surface of which proceeds a tube about nine inches in diameter, which served the purpose of ventilation. The whole interior is faced with square stones placed in circular rows with great precision and neatness. The floor of these saloons, as well as that of the whole excavation, is nearly level. It was late when I left the cavern, thankful to Providence for our preservation from danger, and filled with pleasing reflections on the wonders I had seen.

Now, who would suppose, after visiting this spacious subterranean monument of antiquity, excavated with great skill, and requiring, from the hardness of the rock, tools of considerable strength and temper, that the ancient Mexicans were unacquainted with the use of iron? This, nevertheless, is a problem which yet remains to be solved; for no person, as far as my information extends, has ever seen any sharp or cutting instruments of this kind of Mexican formation, such as hammers, wedges, &c. &c. But, whatever the fact may be, the skill and industry of the ancient Mexicans cannot fail to command the admiration of the present and of future generations.

These subterranean saloons appear rather destined for the repose of the dead than the residence of the living, and hence I conjecture this excavation to have been an oratory or private temple consecrated to the souls of the departed. These mournful vaults, shrouded in sepulchral darkness, and every thing that I observed within them, tended to the same conclusion, that I had entered the mansion of death.

Thus terminated our first expedition, which employed us rather more than four months, having quitted Mexico on the 5th of January 1805, and returned on the 10th of May. During our progress we remained in every city and town a sufficient time to enable us to collect from their respective governors or magistrates all possible information connected with the object of our commission. I would willingly have prolonged our journey, but the weather was now become very sultry and unhealthy, particularly in the districts which we had to traverse. We therefore returned to the capital, in order to arrange our papers and drawings, and to await the termination of the rainy season; holding ourselves in readiness to begin a second expedition, if the superior Government shall think fit: in which event, we should direct our course to the cities of Oaxaca and Chiapa, unless prevented by any adverse circumstances: as we are informed that those dioceses contain several important remains of a date anterior to the conquest of this empire.

SECOND EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF MEXICAN ANTIQUITIES, BY M. DUPAIX.

William Dupaix, retired Captain of the Mexican Dragoons and Director of this expedition, left the ancient and imperial city of Mexico on the 24th of February 1806, in obedience to the command of our Lord the King; accompanied, as before, by Don Joseph Castâneda, engineer and draughtsman; Don Juan Castello, secretary; and a dragoon.

In compliance with the instructions of my commission, we took the southern road from the capital to the ancient city of Chochimilco (which in the Mexican language signifies "A fertile plain"); and, guided by the information which we had received from the magistrate of the place, took up our abode in the old hotel facing the main road.

No. I. The first object (connected with the purpose of the journey) which engaged my attention, was the figure of an animal somewhat resembling a lizard, but probably existing only in the imagination of the sculptor, executed in alto relievo on a porous volcanic stone of a red colour. It is of large dimensions, and appears in the attitude of moving. The surface of the body and limbs is covered with scales regularly placed.

This soft kind of stone, so well adapted for the purposes of sculpture and masonry, is found in various parts of New Spain; although the only use to which the ancient Mexicans seem to have applied it, was that of ornamenting and enriching both the exterior and interior of their temples, sepulchres, and palaces. It is possible, that by means of these symbolical representations they intended to designate the situation and use of the building*.

It will readily be conceived that, in attempting to describe and explain these interesting monuments of antiquity, I must labour under great difficulty, on account of that originality and peculiarity in the style of the Mexican school, which superficial inquirers have spoken of with ill-placed contempt. But I shall not, on this account, be deterred from endeavouring to rescue them from the oblivion in which they have been shrouded by the lapse of ages, and to exhibit them to the intelligent examination of the lovers of antiquity.

In connection with this subject, I will here state my opinion as to the real cause of the ignorance and remarkable diversity of sentiment existing among the Indians, as to the etymology and the signification of the ancient names of their towns and various remains of antiquity, which, for the most part, were significatory and illustrative of their history. The cause of this confusion is most probably to be traced to the mixture, by marriage and otherwise, of their various tribes, as well as to the establishment of schools of instruction for the Castilian language. These causes are sufficient to account for the corruption of the original tongue, and the change of words and family names pecu-

* As I am desirous, as far as it is possible, of avoiding repetition when speaking of the admeasurement of such sculptures and buildings as I shall have occasion to describe in the course of this narrative, considering such repetitions both tedious and unnecessary, the reader will understand that all the drawings which are contained in the following sheets, are made to the scale of the Castilian yard, with the exception of such figures as are sufficiently small to be given in their original size. He will do well to have a pair of compasses at hand, and to bear in mind that all the architectural and sculptured remains which are described in this narrative, are of a date anterior to the conquest of the kingdom.

liar to it: and as I have found myself unable to discriminate between the primitive meaning of the Mexican words and those which in later periods were substituted in their stead, I cannot pretend to offer an opinion on the subject. I write the names as they are now spoken and written by all classes of the people; and for this reason:—the Mexican language, expressive in its character, and abounding with reverential forms of speech, is hastening to decay, and will by degrees be absorbed in the gulf of oblivion. The monuments of this nation (which, from its antiquity, language, and its cultivation of the arts, might rank among the most renowned of former times) will meet the same, perhaps a more speedy fate. The consuming hand of Time, removing even the bases of its pyramids, its temples, its sepulchres, and palaces, threatens their approaching and total extinction. The broken statues and sculptured stones will crumble away, and thus all the monuments of Mexican grandeur and greatness will be a chaotic heap of ruins,—the destined end of the works of man's ephemeral creation.

Another painful reflection suggests itself while contemplating this subject, occasioned by the irreparable loss of the historical annals of this country, which were traced in hieroglyphical characters on a paper made of the aloe-tree and of cotton. At an early period after the conquest these documents were collected and publicly burnt in the square of Tescuco; and thus the key which would have facilitated the interpretation of every inscription and every record has been for ever lost, and all the remaining monuments of Mexico buried in impenetrable darkness.

Many inscriptions on stone yet remain, in defiance of the attacks to which they have been subjected. Some of them are deeply engraved; others are executed in relievo, accompanied with symbolical figures: but I can only describe their appearance, without pretending to discover their meaning, or withdraw the mysterious veil which surrounds them.

No. II. Pursuing my researches, I found at the house of Guevaras a stone in the form of a trapezium, which is preserved there. On its surface are two concentric circles, and at the four corners of the square other circles, each having a similar convexity in its centre. The stone is hard, and of a brown colour. It is placed in its proper position, vertically. Its execution is conformable to the rules of art, and it is in a good state of preservation. The design of the artist, in all probability, was to appropriate this slab to the decoration of some public building, judging from the purely geometrical style of its embellishment*.

No. III. In the quarter of San Marcos in this city, are two similar figures of some monstrous and fanciful animal executed in hard red stone, each seated on a square base. They were intended as the termination of an aqueduct; receiving the water at the back of their heads, and discharging it through the mouth, eyes, and nose. They are enriched with some ornamental carving on the lower part of the head; and the construction of the figures evinces such a theoretical and practical knowledge of the principles of hydraulics as was necessary to convey the water from the level of the aqueduct.

No. IV. In the same place there are two pedestals, both alike, formed of striated limestone, and ornamented with alternate ovals and tassels, which are suspended from the upper surface. The projecting base is slightly enriched, but the carving is nearly effaced. These pedestals have been vertically divided, and the two separate sections when placed together form a semi-globe or altar.

* The reader is requested to notice that the figures from No. 1 to No. 20 inclusive, describe the sculptured remains which were found at Chochimilco.

No. V. About two miles to the north of the city is a rock formed of red-coloured stone, and of a conical shape. It is accidentally intersected by the wall of the estate called La Noria. Upon it is engraven in relievo a shield surrounded by a circle, the field of which exhibits a device in the form of a cross resting upon four ornamented arrows; the lower part is adorned with a row of feathers like an opened fan, and several tassels are disposed around at regular intervals. On the opposite side of the rock is represented a sort of military kilt or apron, divided into five pendants with semicircular ends, crossed by smaller ones as exhibited in the drawing. Some remains of foliage ornament the base of the shield, which is now almost buried in the ground. It has been an immemorial custom among ancient and warlike nations to perpetuate by sculptured trophies the victories which they obtained, and to erect them on the spot where such successes were achieved.

No. VI. In the house called Acocalco we found the representation of a curious fish carved on a close-grained grey stone. Its open mouth discovers a row of teeth, and its fins are regularly placed. Its belly, which has no scales, is flat; and its fins, being of the thickness of the stone, would show the figure in relievo when built into a wall. Whether this inhabitant of the waters was formerly worshiped by the heathens I have not been able to ascertain.

No. VII. This number refers to five fragments, of different size and colour; three of which are cylindrical, one is in the form of a cross, the other square. They are all carved in relievo on the surface of the stone, the rough part being intended to be imbedded in a wall. The drawing of the devices is geometrically correct, and discovers good taste in the artists who designed and executed them.

No. VIII. On the doorway of the saltpetre manufactory are carved two monstrous and fanciful heads, in red stone. As they are both exactly similar, a drawing of one, shown in profile, will suffice. It is worked with skill and delicacy, although the artist appears to have given only the leading outlines of the figure. Its open mouth shows two rows of corresponding teeth and two lateral fangs. The proboscis or trunk describes a semicircle bending towards the wall. These threatening and monstrous heads were, probably, placed like sentries at the entrance of their temples and sacred caves, in order to inspire the people with fear of their gods.

No. IX. In the interior of these saltpetre works, two pieces of red stone similarly carved are built into the buttress which supports a part of the building. On their square surface are represented two nosegays or bunches of herbs, with which the ancient Mexicans were accustomed to adorn the outer walls of their public buildings and their private houses.

No. X. In the house of Don Francisco Solares we discovered, on a slab of dark red porphyry variegated with white spots, the figure of a large frog or toad built into the angle of the inner wall of the court, and level with the balcony. The reptile appears at rest, and has the singular addition of two ears extended along its body. In this respect the figure is imaginary, but its proportions are good, and it is well executed. It is well known that the ancient Mexicans worshiped various animals, particularly the feathered snake; and it would be interesting, if it were possible, to distinguish such human or animal figures as were the subjects of adoration among them, from those which were merely used for the purposes of ornament and decoration. But at present there are no sufficient data to guide the inquirer, and I shall hence consider them all merely as works of art.

No. XI. On the site of a house now in ruins I discovered a broken slab of volcanic stone of an iron colour, upon the surface of which was carved the figure of a rabbit in the attitude of motion. It

doubtless formed a portion of some wall, where it was placed in a vertical position. This animal was one of the signs of the Mexican calendar.

No. XII. In the doorway of the house of Signor de Santa Cruz, there is inclosed a round stone in the form of a shield, the outer rim of which is studded with small circles. On its surface are displayed several hieroglyphical figures, with five numerical circles on each side, carved in alto relievo, as shown in the annexed drawing. Although the surface of this circle is small, being only about 18 inches in diameter, it may be presumed that the hieroglyphical writing, where every dot has a meaning, comprehends more ideas than words would be able to convey.

No. XIII. These figures, the symbols and sad mementos of death, one of which is represented in profile, and the other in front, both of the size of a human skull, are built into a wall in the court of Donna Ana Paton's house. The skull was an emblem in frequent use by the ancient Mexicans. They carved it in different kinds of stone, and in various ways displayed it on the interior and the exterior of the tombs of their deceased relatives. The hinder part of the block whence these figures are carved being shaped into a form adapted for the purpose of insertion into masonry, shows that it was intended to be so employed.

No. XIV. In the house of Don Joseph Ortiz there is another hieroglyphical figure of death, consisting of a gigantic skull carved from a hard red stone, which was most probably employed in the gloomy decoration of one of their mausoleums.

No. XV. In the house of Don Joseph Ystapan, at this time governor of the Indians, we found the figure of a snake in porphyry, artificially coiled. Its long body was gracefully entwined, leaving the head and the tail free. There is something showy in the execution of this figure. Its head is elevated and curiously ornamented: its open mouth is defended by two long and pointed fangs; its tongue, which is unusually long, is cloven at the extremity like an anchor; its body is fancifully scaled, and its tail, covered with circles, ends with three rattles.

The snake was a frequent emblem with the ancient Mexican artists. The flexibility of its figure being susceptible of an endless diversity of position regular and irregular, they availed themselves of this advantage, and varied their representations of it without limit, and without ever giving it an unnatural attitude. Its appellation was derived from its position and the mode of its decoration. Like the Egyptian Sphynx, the mystical snake of the Mexicans had its enigmas, and both are equally beyond our power to unravel.

No. XVI. In the threshold of a doorway in the house of Signor Martinez is a block of red stone with a plain moulding, on the surface of which is sculptured in basso-relievo the figure of a strange amphibious animal. The scaly head and tail resemble those of a fish; four bands are placed across the body, the ends of which appear like paws. In our conjectures on the origin and design of these fanciful figures, we must be careful not to assign a mysterious character to that which may have been only the extravagant invention of the artist.

No. XVII. In the Town-hall I saw another stone, of a dark brown colour, carved into the likeness of an Indian female, seated in a tranquil position with her legs doubled under her. She is clothed in a short garment, which is confined with a sash tasseled at each end; and her hair is formed into various tresses. The sex of the figure is indicated by the breasts. The simplicity of the dress leads us to refer its date to those early periods when luxury was unknown; and, on this account, no

accurate conjecture can be formed whether it was intended to typify a deity, or merely some individual personage. It has neither ornament nor appendage by which its character may be guessed at; and as there is no other way of classifying a bird but by its plumage, it is to be regretted that this uncertainty must, in some measure, pervade the entire series of these descriptions.

No. XVIII. This statue, of red stone, which we discovered in the house of a shoemaker, is also seated in the same posture (the usual attitude of Mexican sculpture), its legs being folded under its body. It is entirely naked, and its forehead is encircled with a diadem adorned with bands studded with pearls. Its ears are also ornamented. The lower part of the figure is somewhat mutilated. Although its head, as well as the ornaments attached to it, are characteristic of manhood, the great prominence of the breasts evidently denotes its sex; unless the artist by this ambiguous or equivocal design intended to represent an hermaphrodite.

No. XIX. In a room at the entrance of the saltpetre works I found this monstrous head or skull. It is executed in red stone, of the natural size. The upper part of the forehead, though resembling a skull, is ornamented: the eyes are circular, and the nostrils highly relieved; the open mouth discovers two formidable rows of teeth, and on each side of the head the hair is separated into two long tassels. The workmanship is excellent, and does credit to the artist. What shall we think of this singular production, in which life is so mixed up with death? It has no resemblance to those heads which adorned the walls of the ancient Mexican buildings, but had, doubtless, a different destination, although I am unable to assign it.

No. XX. In the house of Joseph Pichardo, the Alcade of the Indians, a circular red stone is imbedded in the wall, the surface of which is divided into regular compartments surrounding a circle, in the centre of which is a human head, also perfectly circular, and resembling the usual representations of the full moon. It is surmounted by the figure of a cross. I was at a loss to conjecture its design. At first sight it seemed to resemble a shield; but I was afterwards inclined to regard it as some astronomical emblem, on account of the apparent figure of the full moon, placed in the centre of its orbit. Or it may be a work of mere fancy, designed, from its masterly execution, to enrich, with others of equal excellence, some considerable building.

No. XXI. From this city we proceeded to the ancient town of Cuitlahuac, a word which in the Mexican language means "The deposit of the waters." It is situated on a fine island in the middle of the lake of Chalco, almost on a level with its surface, and surrounded by many inhabited Chinampas*. The communication with the shore is by means of two causeways stretching to opposite points of the compass, the one to the north-east, the other to the south-west, and extending, in their whole length, about three miles. This noble work, which was constructed by the ancient natives with volcanic stone, sand, turf, and stakes, is from five to six yards wide, varying in its height according to the depth of the lake; and, after the lapse of so many centuries, it remains unimpaired, and continues to be used for the purpose of its first destination, evincing at once the solidity of its foundations and its skilful execution.

In this town we discovered the following remains. At the entrance of the parish church-yard are two volcanic stones, of a porous substance and black colour, lying on the ground, and somewhat

* Small floating islands.

resembling millstones in their shape. The one which is in the best preservation has a pedestal or base, intended to support it perpendicularly on some solid foundation of earth or masonry. The surface of each side is deeply engraven. The figure carved on the stone has the singular appearance of being retained by its own gravity in its present position. The sculpture on each side is similar. Its form is partly human and partly animal; or, probably, merely ideal, accompanied by some lines of which I was unable to develope the meaning. I cannot conjecture to what purpose these stones were applied by the ancient Mexicans; whether to that of amusement, of worship, or of sacrifice: yet being found in several different towns, they must have been of general use.

No. XXII. In the hut of an Indian, situated in a Chinampa, is a pedestal or sacrificial altar, of a cylindrical shape, formed of a hard and dark-coloured stone. The upper surface is a plain circular tablet, the edge of which is ornamented with carving in relievo, and intersected by several parallel and regularly arranged fillets. It is probable that to each imaginary deity worshipped by these heathens was assigned his peculiar altar, being in shape either circular or polygon.

No. XXIII. In the rector's house we were shown a circular stone vase, the whole exterior of which discovers great skill in the artist. Its carved ornaments and mouldings are fancifully entwined around, displaying a graceful symmetry: the interior (of which the diameter is about eighteen inches) is covered with symbolical figures, disposed in the same order. The execution is neat, and the stone of which the vessel is formed is hard, fine-grained, and of an iron colour. It is sonorous and sufficiently hard to emit sparks when struck by the steel. The engraving on this curious isolated vessel has neither beginning nor end (a fit emblem of eternity); but as I have no clue by which to determine its use, or to decipher the hieroglyphics with which it is covered, I forbear to offer any superfluous conjectures.

No. XXIV. We proceeded by water to the village of Misquique, lying only a short distance from Cuitlahuac, and which probably derived its name from the misquite tree, so abundant in this country. It is situated on an island of the same lake, somewhat larger than the last-mentioned one, and is surrounded by Chinampas. The communication with the main land is on the western side, by means of a long causeway of ancient date. I found there a well-executed head, of frightful aspect, intended by the ancient Mexicans to project from the wall of some public edifice. There is no attempt at any imitation of nature; imagination alone has given existence to it. This head, carved out of a blackish volcanic stone, was once painted with vermilion, some of which yet adheres to it. The Mexicans were accustomed to give a gaudy appearance to their works, both of sculpture and architecture, by the use of various colours. They first applied a coat of lime or some whitish substance, and then another of yellow; but red, as the most brilliant of the prismatic colours, appears to have been most frequently used.

No. XXV. In a wall facing the churchyard chance has introduced a stone, on the surface of which are designed several circles in alto-relievo, with some symmetrical ornaments, all having a common centre.

No. XXVI. Another stone of the same kind is imbedded in the walls of the church steeple, exhibiting on its face a spiral ornament in relievo. If, divesting ourselves of prejudice, we were to enumerate the various purely geometrical figures on those stones which have already been described and delineated, they would bear sufficient and ample testimony that the ancient Mexicans were acquainted

with the elements of geometry, whether it existed among them in theory or only in practice. It is time, therefore, that we dismiss those erroneous impressions which are merely the result of imperfect information, and learn to respect those intellectual powers, which enabled the natives of this vast continent to enrich it with works of art.

No. XXVII. In the parish church is preserved a large ancient vessel, formed out of a block of hard marble, and now used as a baptismal font. The lower part is flat, and the border is enriched with ornamental foliage. What an immense number of strokes must the chisel have given, to hollow out a space of which the circumference is thirteen feet and a half, leaving only the thickness of five inches in the rim, and exhibiting correctness of proportion with a highly polished surface. The exterior and interior of the vessel were formerly covered with a fine and burnished cement. It was, no doubt, designed to hold some particular liquor, but of what kind or for what use, it is difficult to conjecture. We know that the ancient Romans employed lustral waters to sprinkle the animal victims in their holocausts; and perhaps in the New World a similar practice existed, where not only beasts but human beings were offered in sacrifice: or the vessel may have been applied to the purpose of holding water, with which to wash the bodies of the dead before they were committed to their last home.

No. XXVIII. In the wall of an inclosure near the church, I discovered a brown and porous volcanic stone, somewhat resembling that delineated in No. 21. It differs in size as well as in design, but its use was probably similar to that which I have described above.

No. XXIX. In the vestry of the old village church is a heathen altar, of an iron-grey colour and a cylindrical form. On the centre of the shaft is carved a snake in alto-relievo, partly coiled up, and adorned with a crown and plume of feathers. The mouth is open, and the tongue cloven at its end: the body is covered with scales, and the tail terminates with rattles. There are some other devices or enigmatical figures, all inclosed within two mouldings, and the whole appears to have been painted red.

We cannot help pitying those dark and wretched times, when the altars of heathenism were stained with the smoking blood of victims, offered up in the vain hope of propitiating idol deities, alike insensible to hatred as to love.

No. XXX. In the wall of a house called La Tecpan, is inclosed a slab of black and fine-grained volcanic stone, on which is sculptured in mezzo-relievo the figure of a wild dog, which, however, displays but little of that animal's natural character. It appears to have been formerly covered with a varnish or wash of fine lime. The Mexican draughtsmen, in their delineations of flowers and animals, were generally very correct imitators of simple nature; in works of imagination they were not equally expert.

The proportions of the human form they sometimes grossly violated, evidently not from ignorance of their art, since many of their works display correctness of design; but rather in consequence of some political or religious laws existing in the Mexican empire, which compelled its artists to give to the statues of their deities a similarity of attitude and a uniformity of style and character;—as in Egypt, where the priests prescribed fixed rules for statuary and the formation of images; thus fettering the inventive genius of the artist, and checking the progress of sculpture.

No. XXXI. In the house of an Indian, situated on the banks of the lake to the north of the church,

we found a human head of the natural size, formed of a dark purple-coloured volcanic stone, and decorated on each side with similar ornaments and pendants. This is one of the figures so much used by the ancient Indians, for the purpose of fixing into their walls by means of the shaft before mentioned. The Mexicans not only attempted to adorn, but in some measure to give animation to the fronts of their temples and palaces, by geometrical designs or the figures of animals. And they likewise made use of the human form for the same purpose; thus uniting every species of embellishment in the decoration of these buildings. I regard this kind of ornament as peculiar to the Mexican nation, and employed according to rules prescribed by their taste in architecture.

Nos. XXXII & XXXIII. These numbers refer to two small stone idols of fantastic shape, the originals being of the same size as the drawings. The first is in a sitting posture; its head raised as if in the act of contemplation, and covered with a kind of skull-cap. Its body is without arms. A perpendicular hole passes through the figure, which was thus suspended by a rope. The stone is unctuous, glossy, and of a blackish ash colour. It appears to have been polished by being rubbed with another stone.

The other figure is formed of a volcanic stone, of the colour of half heated iron. It is in a mutilated state, having neither arms nor legs. On the head is placed an ornamented cap: the features are prominent and expressive; the eyes are closed, and the mouth open as if singing, or expressing suffering; the body appears to have been flayed to the lower extremity of the ribs.

These figures may be considered either as household gods, or as mere toys formed for no definite purpose. Their forms are infinitely varied; some being painted, others appearing in the colour of the substance of which they are composed. These pigmy and portable divinities, the tutelar gods of the Mexican houses, were common to most of the nations of antiquity. The Scriptures mention the "images" or idols of Laban, which were probably formed of baked clay: the histories of the Egyptians and of the ancient Romans record the existence of their household deities; and we know from the records of this kingdom that the Mexicans had likewise their Penates, who were always treated with veneration, and placed in the most honourable part of their houses. It is evident that these little idols were bored through for the purpose of being affixed to the walls.

No. XXXIV. Having finished our researches in this village, we went to that of Tlalmanalco, where we found in the house of the priest a female bust. It is well executed in a sort of green stone which the natives name Chalchihuitl; its size is rather beyond that of nature, and its proportions are well formed. The features of its face and the prominence of its breasts discover its sex. The ornaments of the head are carved in relievo and disposed in regular order; the bosom contains a square concavity, well adapted for receiving a plate of gold or silver. This bust was probably so formed with a view to its being placed on the top of some temple or pyramid fronting the East, in order that the rays of the rising sun or moon falling on the burnished surface of the plate might reflect and diffuse a beautiful and brilliant light.

No. XXXV. In the house of a neighbouring Indian we found a human figure perfect from the waist upwards, carved from a pale ash-coloured stone. There was nothing remarkable in its appearance, except that its arms were raised, and the hands shut and reclining on its breast.

No. XXXVI. This block of stone, of a somewhat cubical shape, served as a small pedestal. It is enriched with ornaments, and formed part of an old wall.

No. XXXVII. This is a woman's head slightly decorated. The artist has taken nature for his model, and the bust is fashioned according to her unchanging rules. Its substance is a firm and finely-grained stone, of a lead colour. It is evident that it was originally covered with some white and glossy composition. We found it in the curate's house, and there the annexed drawing was made. As the contour of the human head is the greatest difficulty the sculptor has to surmount in the execution of a statue, it is to be regretted that in the present work of art, the limbs and the rest of the body should be wanting; since he who succeeded so well in the most elaborate part of the sculpture would not be likely to have failed in that which was of easier execution.

Nos. XXXVIII. XXXIX. & XL. These numbers represent three stone statues, which were found in a wall of the mill called La Madonna del Socorro. The first is seated in an easy posture; her arm is raised, as if she were lifting something with her hand (which has been broken off) to her mouth.

No. XXXIX. represents the bust of a female, designed according to the ancient and primitive style of Egyptian sculpture. It was originally a work of skilful execution, but destructive Time has now very much impaired it.

No. XL. is remarkable for its strange and monstrous formation. It consists of a head without a body, covered with a sort of conical cap. It stands on two legs, its hands resting on its knees. This very rare figure, which is probably symbolical, has in its style some resemblance to the preceding one.

No. XLI. In the wall of a ruined house I found another stone of a cubical figure; on one side of which are represented in alto-relievo two bones crossed, and inclosed in a square moulding. I imagine that these last relics of a part of the human body were placed in some mausoleum, and were designed to infuse into the mind of the spectator that horror which such emblems of death are so well adapted to inspire.

No. XLII. The block of stone represented in this drawing is of an oblong form, encircled with a moulding. In the centre of its surface is a figure of regular design, resembling a flower with six petals. This ornamented slab, like some before mentioned, served to enrich the front or doorway of some public or private building.

No. XLIII. In the hut of an Indian we found the figure of an unknown animal, represented (as in the annexed drawing) in profile. The stone which forms its substance is close-grained, of an iron-grey colour, and capable of receiving a fine polish. The lifeless attitude of this animal would seem to mark the appearance of an embryo extracted from the womb, while its execution displays the elaborate attention of the artist. I am entirely ignorant to what class of animals it should be referred, and equally at a loss to assign the reason for perpetuating its likeness in sculpture.

No. XLIV. In the road from the village of Tlalmanalco to that of Mecamecan, about three miles eastward of the latter, and within the boundaries of the estate of Senor Don Joseph Tepatolco, there is an isolated rock of granite, artificially formed into a conical shape, out of which are hollowed six steps facing the East. The summit of the rock forms a platform or horizontal plane, well adapted to the observation of the stars on every side of the hemisphere. It is almost demonstrable that this very ancient monument was exclusively devoted to astronomical observations; for, on the south side of the rock are engraved several hieroglyphical figures having a relation to that science. But the most striking feature in the group is the figure of a man in profile, standing erect, and directing his view

to the rising of the planets in the heavens. He holds to his eyes a tube or optical instrument. Underneath his feet is a frieze divided into six compartments, with as many celestial signs carved on its surface: the results, most probably, of such observations as had been made and calculated. Some of these symbols have an affinity to those, which are to be found in that ancient Mexican sphere which is an object of such attention and admiration to all who visit the city of Mexico. In front of the figure is engraved the likeness of a rabbit sitting, as well as two parallel rows of numerical signs. In addition to these, there are two symbols connected with astronomical science. This interesting discovery will of itself be sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that astronomy was known and cultivated by the ancient Mexicans.

No. XLV. At a short distance from Mecamecan, or Amatemecan, is situated the town of Ozumpa. On our arrival there we discovered in the pavement of the churchyard a circular piece of stone, of a hard and ferruginous substance. Its surface is divided by radii proceeding from the centre of the circle to its circumference. The regularity displayed in the perforation of this stone, had probably no other design than that of varying and adorning its appearance.

No. XLVI. In the town of Chimalhuacan Tlachialco, not far distant from Ozumpa, I found the stone represented in the annexed drawing. It was discovered in the house of an Indian, behind the Town Hall. Its form is circular, and in its centre is carved a flower with six petals, beyond which extend four petals of another flower. This slab is probably one of those which the ancient Mexicans used for the purpose of giving some variety to the gloomy monotony of their walls.

No. XLVII. This carving represents a human figure, apparently that of a female, seated in the accustomed manner. Her head resembles that of Cybele, as represented in the mythology of Greece, being surmounted with a mural crown. The features are very prominent: and her right hand grasps some unknown symbol. The material is a coarse stone very much consumed by time.

No. XLVIII. This piece of stone was also found in the same town. Its form is circular, its surface convex, surrounded with a fanciful border. In the centre is displayed a flower with many petals, opening around a cross. This stone, like those already mentioned, was merely designed as an ornament for some building.

No. XLIX. In speaking of the town of Ozumpa, I should have said that in the house of the Lieutenant Don Francisco Muñiain we made the drawing of a statue placed on a square base. It is full length. Its head is merely encircled with a band, while its ears are adorned with pendants, and the cartilage of its nose pierced with a ring. A sash or short apron is tied round its waist. This figure, which is that of a male, has no visible symbols from which its character may be determined. It is one of the few statues of which the posture is erect; they are usually sitting.

No. L. From the town of Ozumpa we went to Cuauhtla Amilpa, and thence to the village of San Juan Ahuehuepan, lying about three miles to the west of Ozumpa. We here found the mutilated trunk of a statue sculptured in red stone. If we may judge of the execution of the whole from what remains, there is great reason to regret its mutilation. It is destitute of all ornaments and apparel with the exception of a sort of frill, and a sash tied in a bow, which serves the purpose of an apron. The trunk of this beautiful statue discovers great skill and accuracy of proportion, and was probably designed by the artist to represent some hero or superior deity.

No. LI. The drawings attached to this number represent the head of a female carved in solid red

stone: the one exhibits the front, and the other the back of the bust: it is of the natural size, and its ornaments are disposed with regularity. It is to be regretted that only a fragment of so well executed a figure should have been preserved.

No. LII. From the last-mentioned villages we pursued our route to the town of Chonacatepec, where the magistrate showed us at his house a sort of mask, made of a white transparent and gritty stone, (known there by the name of Tecalle,) well proportioned and neatly finished. It seems as if the artist designed to portray in it the distinctive features of the Mexican face: the ears are pierced laterally, either for the purpose of being decorated with ear-rings, or of suspending it as an ornament from the neck of an idol. It was discovered on opening an ancient and deserted cave on the side of a mountain. The back is flat, unlike the generality of masks, which are usually formed concave so as to fit the face.

No. LIII. On our way to the town of Chila, at the distance of about three miles, we saw on the summit of a mountain called Tortuga, a pyramid of a solid mass resting upon an equilateral base, formed by four isosceles triangles. It was constructed with massy materials, but its primitive covering has mouldered away. The four sides front the four cardinal points of the compass. It does not terminate in an acute angle; the summit, at a third part of its perpendicular height, stretching into a spacious area, which was ascended for the purpose of prayer or sacrifice by a flight of stairs on the western side.

No. LIV. At the foot of the northern angle of this pyramid, at the depth of three yards and three quarters from the surface of the ground, exist the ruins of a sepulchre in the form of a cross. We descended by six steps into an oblong vault, the four compartments of which, like the sides of the pyramid, front the four points of the compass. The walls of this subterraneous building are constructed of squared blocks of stone, cemented with mortar and polished. The ceiling is coated with lime, sand, and probably some other ingredients. We found the remains of only a few human bodies.

No. LV. From Chilan I proceeded to the town of Huahuapan. About three miles eastward of which, at the top of a little hill called Tallesto, I found lying on the ground a block of hard and fine-grained stone of a bluish colour. Its shape is prismatic, and on one of its sides is carved in relievo a circular shield. Its field displays some unknown symbol, and from the lower part of the circle extends an arm, the hand of which grasps some kind of offensive weapon resembling a dart or spear, to which certain ornaments are appended. This shield, belonging to a class of defensive arms in general use amongst the ancient Mexicans, is engraved with great skill, and is probably the memorial of some deed of valour; or it might have been the honourable military device of a warlike province.

No. LVI. In the town of Yanquitlan I saw a solid red stone carved into the resemblance of a head. It is of the natural size, but of strange and uncouth physiognomy. It bears some resemblance to a skull masked and adorned. This fanciful piece of sculpture indicates a style differing from that which is strictly Mexican.

No. LVII. This small vessel, in shape resembling a censer, and formed of well baked clay or some other hard red substance, is smooth and polished on its surface, and very neatly and tastefully executed. It is an ancient toy, formed of two pieces; the upper one, which serves as the cover, is cast in a mould and fluted: the lower, which is solid, is encircled by a moulding. There is a hole at the top and bottom, by means of which the two pieces may be fastened together with a string.

No. LVIII. This number describes the barb of a dart or arrow, consisting of three sharp edges forming a triangular figure. The shape of this very ancient offensive missile weapon is no less adapted to inflict a wound than to prevent its extraction. It is made of a light grey flint stone, and is furnished with a shaft by which to attach it to a handle.

No. LIX. These figures represent a small idol, which exhibits a departure from the characteristic style of Mexican sculpture. They are made of a light green jasper, and are found in abundance in the ancient sepulchres of the Mistecas. Like Isis and Osiris, those constant appendages to the Egyptian mummies, they invariably present the same attitude and prismatic form, with the exception of one or two which have four sides. The shoulders, either straight or angular, are pierced with two right lines to a certain depth, which meet at a given point, and for man angle of greater or lesser degree, without the employment of any other than a straight instrument for this purpose. This is a simple invention, but it proves the ingenuity of the artist. These figures, with the addition of beads or precious stones of a green colour, either round or fluted, formed the necklaces with which the bodies of the dead were wont to be adorned.

No. LX. This small idol, of a similar class to those just mentioned, and sitting in a contracted attitude, differs somewhat from them in form, being cut down the back vertically.

No. LXI. The sight of those instruments with which the Mexicans executed their admirable sculptures cannot fail to be highly interesting.—This number represents an heptagonal chisel, or perhaps a burnisher, the form of which may be seen in the annexed drawing. It is made of a very hard kind of touch-stone, fine-grained, and of a jet black colour. Its surface still retains a high degree of polish.

No. LXII. This number represents a sharp-pointed instrument, which probably was the chisel of the Mexican sculptors. Its material is a hard stone of a dark green colour; its figure is hexagonal. One end was originally sharp, although now somewhat blunted; the other exhibits the blows which were given to it by a hammer or some tool of the kind which they were accustomed to use.

No. LXIII. This last number of the antiquities of Misteca represents a kind of cylinder, made of a dark green stone, having an extremely smooth surface.

The original figures indicated by the Nos. 61 to 63 are somewhat smaller than the drawings, as I thought they would be better understood if their proportions were rather enlarged by the draughtsman. The intrinsic value of works of art depends not upon size; they are not to be measured by the yard, nor estimated by their weight in the balance. Invention and finished execution are the true tests of excellence; and to speak according to the rules of art, it is neither the bulk nor the material which can determine their merit, since a figure of clay may be of more value than one of gold; and a work of diminutive proportions more worthy of admiration than a Colossus.

After having finished my search after antiquities in Tanhuitlan, I proceeded to the city Oaxaca, where I prosecuted my inquiries concerning the ancient remains which yet existed in that province, beginning with those of Mount Alvan, which is about six miles distant from that city. The result will be found in the following pages.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MOUNT ALVAN.

To the west of the town of Antequera, at the distance of about six miles, there is a mountain named Mount Alvan, the summit of which forms a table. Although apparently the work of nature, there can be little doubt that the art and patient industry of the Zapotecas (an Indian nation so called) has contributed in no small degree to its formation. It is a well known fact, that this race of Indians always availed themselves of the favourable disposition of the ground to erect monuments to their deities, their deceased kings, and their kindred; as well as fortifications which they constructed in their own defence, in accordance with the usages of those remote times. In the beginning of the month of July I resolved to ford the dangerous river called the Atolliaque, which flows between the above-mentioned fixed points,—a thing not always practicable. It is true that in the dry season the waters of this river are so shallow, that its appearance is rather that of a gentle brook; but in the rainy season it not only receives a great accession of water which flows from the valleys, but carries with it in its whole passage a quantity of fine sand, which sinking to the bottom by its specific gravity forms horizontal banks, destitute of firmness, and renders the fording of it treacherous in the extreme, as was experienced by our secretary, who together with his horse fell midway in the channel, and would have perished had it not been for the great exertions of the Indians who attended us. Finally we reached the summit of this memorable place, which we found to be formed out of a group or assemblage of high hills, which separate the greater valley of Oaxaca from the less, where the following ancient ruins attracted my observation.

No. LXIV. Upon the plane or the table formed by the above-mentioned mountain there is a little hill somewhat resembling a tomb, artificially raised, of a conical shape and covered with a great quantity of trees and shrubs. It is traversed through its centre from north to south by a very well planned gallery, having a semi-elliptical vault, and lined (on the left hand side as one enters) with many large and oblong slabs of granite, on the surface of which, sculptured in alto-relievo, appear several figures or human busts, rather exceeding in dimensions the common stature of man, with open mouths, and in various attitudes; some sitting, some standing, and all in profile, looking towards the north along the interior of the gallery, five only of which I have taken copies of, because they were found in a perfect state of preservation.

No. LXV. The first figure is represented in a sitting position, rather in front, and without any covering or ornaments except those which it wears on the head.

No. LXVI. This figure resembles the first, except that its position is more in profile, and the attitude of the arms and legs different.

No. LXVII. The figure represented under this number displays a greater degree of diversity, being in an upright position and in the act of walking: some difference is also observable in the ornament (or crown) which it wears on its head; at the lower part of the legs a flourish of the chisel and two circles are discernible.

No. LXVIII. This figure is also in the act of walking in the same direction as the foregoing, but the attitude of the right arm is somewhat different. Its crown is similar to those worn by the two first, but it is distinguished by the peculiarity (perhaps a hieroglyphic necessary for the explanation of this curious and enigmatical piece of history) of manifesting a superfluous sign of the sex to which it belongs.

No. LXIX. This figure is represented in profile, seated with its arms crossed over its breast; its head armed with a sort of helmet or close cap, and a fanciful circle under the ear, with a lock of hair behind in the form of a cue. In the right angle of this square block of stone there appears a hieroglyphic of the king of birds, with a crowned head and an ornamented eye: it is in the act of devouring the body of a bird, upon which are six numerical signs, disposed with some degree of order, with three symbolical figures underneath. I directed that an excavation should be made in the interior of this hill, but found nothing remarkable except the fragment of a skull, a thigh bone, and some other small bones very much decayed. There was sufficient, however, to convince me that this was the tomb of some king or illustrious family of the Zapotecas. But I must confess that what perplexed me, was the grotesque attitudes and apparent flexibility of limb displayed by these male figures, sculptured in relievo on the above-mentioned stones, as well as their being beardless, naked, without the distinctive marks of sex, and all directing their attention towards the centre of the tomb, with their mouths open as if in the act of exclaiming, while performing the part of mourners over the body there deposited.

No. LXX. Near this monument there is another similar to it, which was probably raised for the same purpose: it has a spacious gallery which traverses diametrically, in a straight line from south to north, the centre of the artificial hill, the interior of which is faced with square stones disposed in horizontal rows, whilst some large slabs which form a projecting angle over the solid masonry of the lateral walls resembling the ridge of a house, serve as a roof; the pavement is composed of a hard mortar of sand and lime. These sepulchral monuments evince the recollection and tender affection which this nation bore to the dead.

No. LXXI. Another monument presented itself to our view, externally of the same shape and materials as the preceding ones, as may be seen by referring to its plan and elevation: it has likewise a gallery lined with wrought stones, having a somewhat concave roof. It deserves to be noticed that the gallery of this tomb does not follow a straight transverse line, but terminates on arriving at the centre of the cone, where, having formed an oblong saloon, it is divided into two equal portions, each following its meridian line.

No. LXXII. At a short distance from the last monument, there yet exists an ancient building (either a temple or mansion for the dead, for it might have served both purposes). I found this great structure rested upon an immense base or terrace of hewn stone, the projection of which forms a quadrilateral figure, each side facing one of the four cardinal points of the compass. A tomb of a conical figure rises from its area: I was struck at beholding, in the interior of this solid body, a sort of well-constructed rotunda, from the centre of which proceeded four spacious passages dividing the whole plane into equal portions; and the interior walls of this famous work of art were formerly (judging by what is still visible) lined with uniform and perfectly even stones. It is to be lamented that time and vegetation,—the enemies of buildings, but more especially of

monuments of antiquity,—should confound art with nature, assigning to the former a brief and transitory existence.

No. LXXIII. At the foot of the above-mentioned artificial hill there is a large block of granite, the visible surface of which contains several hieroglyphics engraved in relievo: on one of the sides are sculptured in profile six human figures in a row, ornamented and dressed in a uniform manner; six other figures, with which I am unacquainted, are alternately placed between them. The ingenious art of transferring the thoughts to cloth or stone by means of symbolical figures, was in general use in the Mexican empire; and if the surface of this historical basso-relievo displays a difference in the order and formation of these figures, this may have originated in the diversity of national customs; since as the language of the Zapotecas was totally different from the Mexican, so likewise the symbols by which they expressed their thoughts might have been equally different.

No. LXXIV. I found near the same place a light and cylindrical stone, belonging to that class which mineralogists call breccia. This ancient piece is wrought in a simple style, and I judge it to have been an altar for sacrifices: it deserves its place amongst the antiquities of this country, on account of its having been an instrument, if I may so term it, famous in Mexican mythology, upon which was shed with profusion the blood of so many human victims.

No. LXXV. In Zocho, a town in the vicinity of Oaxaca, I was shown a copper instrument, in the house of an Indian labourer named Pasqual Bartolano, who a short time before my arrival discovered, when ploughing his field, twenty-three dozen of these tools, contained in two large earthen pots, in very good preservation: they are all of the same cast metal, and of similar form; they only differ from each other a little in length, but appear to be of equal thickness; and the silversmiths are very anxious to obtain them on account of their fine alloy. It remains for me to attempt to explain (which I fear I shall find an impossible task) the use to which these instruments were applied; since those ages, the customs of which were so wholly different from ours, would likewise have had their peculiar usages, with which we cannot be acquainted. It is possible, therefore, that they might have employed them either in agriculture, war, or sacrifices; or, perhaps, as cutting instruments in their arts,—none of which suppositions are improbable.

No. LXXVI. This small and well wrought piece of sculpture, of a semi-spherical shape, formed of a kind of copper-coloured pyrites, possesses excellent proportion and a fine polish, particularly on the side intended for a mirror, or to serve as an ornament for some idol: on the convex side a hole has been bored for the purpose of fixing it in any situation at pleasure. This pretty little specimen of art confirms the opinion I have ever entertained of the ingenuity of the natives of this large portion of the new continent: they employed almost every known metal, especially those of a more shining nature; and it is probable that iron, not possessing this superficial property, was not worked by them, and they consequently remained ignorant of its intrinsic qualities, of which we have so advantageously availed ourselves.

No. LXXVII. Several chisels of red copper have also been found in the immediate environs of this city. We are ignorant of their mode of giving a temper to these sharp-edged tools, whatever may have been the purposes to which they were originally applied, whether to fashion and cut wood into a regular shape, or perhaps even stone itself.

ANTIQUITIES OF SAINT PAUL OF MITLAN.

DESIROUS of quitting as soon as possible the city of Oaxaca, in order to inspect the far-famed ruins of Mitlan, we set out on our journey on the first of August, 1806, leaving behind us on the road the town of Tlacolima.—The town of Saint Paul of Mitlan, or rather of Miguitlan, is situated in a deep valley surrounded with mountains in seventeen degrees and a half north latitude, and about twelve leagues to the south-east of the city of Oaxaca, in a warm climate; the soil being dry, venomous insects multiply there in excess, including many sorts of snakes and spiders, particularly tarantulas, of immense size. The produce of the country is maize and the maguey, although of a species different from that which grows in the cold provinces; the chief fruit is the pitaya. The population of this town has experienced the same decay as its ancient monuments, both having participated in a common fate. The language which they speak is the Zapotecan: its original and proper name was Liuba, which means, a burial place; but the Mexicans, after having subdued this nation, named it Miguitlan, which in the Mexican language signifies Hell, or a place of sorrow. It is evident that both names appear to be well adapted to each signification, if we only consider the sepulchral nature of its ancient monuments, the sterility of the surrounding mountains, the gloom of the valley, and the scarcity of water which prevails there. On my arrival in the town, I presented to the governor of the Indians, and to the officiating rector of the parish, Don Joseph Castillano, the civil and ecclesiastical orders which I bore, charging them to aid me in my antiquarian researches: they accordingly provided me with every thing necessary to carry into execution His Majesty's commands. As I was very anxious to commence operations as soon as possible, I made diligent inquiries on the following day concerning the monuments of ancient architecture and sculpture which might exist in this neighbourhood, desirous of comparing them with each other, that I might judge which of the sister arts here enjoyed the preeminence: but to my great disappointment I could only obtain the three following small specimens of sculpture.

No. LXXVIII. This is a bust of terra cotta; the face of the figure is masked, and it is modelled after a fashion in the highest degree capricious, and novel. I must therefore dispense with the necessity of further description by referring to the drawing. Behind it we perceive a cylindrical tube capable of containing chips of pine, or any other combustible substance; or to express my meaning more clearly, to serve as a candelabra at their pagan festivals.

No. LXXIX. This image, formed out of greyish purple jasper, well polished, presents to our view a dwarf-like figure seated in a natural and easy position, with the arms crossed over the breast, and its forehead, neck and waist, girt with a sash; the ears consisting of curved lines, the eyes shut, the mouth half open, and showing the tip of the tongue, whilst the back of the figure forms a vertical plane. What shall we think of such a being, who appears to be filled with compunction and absorbed in some mental abstraction!

No. LXXX. This piece was brought by an Indian to me at the rector's house, the place of our

temporary abode. It is a small head of baked clay, of solid consistency; its aspect is martial, and it exhibits great correctness both in outline and proportions; it is armed with a sort of graceful helmet, ingeniously displaying the crest of a crowned or royal eagle. In the cavity formed by the aperture of the beak (where are described two circles in the points of the lateral angles) the head of a warrior appears, beardless and without mustachios.

It is very strange that on so renowned a site, which led us to form sanguine expections, (proceeding on the supposition that the ancient artists would have managed with equal dexterity the chisel and the square,) we should have been unable to discover a single fragment of sculpture; since it was reasonable to suppose that a soil so rich in monuments of architecture would likewise have possessed many valuable sculptured remains. Our surprise should cease, however, when we consider the causes to which their disappearance may be ascribed. It is alleged, that at the eventful period immediately preceding and after the Spanish conquest, the Indians either buried their idols, or carried them elsewhere. But I think the true and more probable cause was, the violent and open proscription which these false gods suffered from the iconoclasts, who destroyed every thing appertaining to them, without sparing aught for the sake of history or from love of the arts: and thus their false zeal effected their entire annihilation. But if our researches after monuments of sculpture were attended with little success, the contemplation of architectural remains considerably lessened our disappointment; and although these latter monuments have yielded to the ravages of time, nevertheless some portions possessing beautiful perfection still remain, by judging from the parts of which, we may form an opinion of the whole.—Let us proceed then to the examination of them, since they will assuredly repay our curiosity to the utmost.

There are four edifices which have received the common appellation of the Palaces of Mitlan, of these two are contiguous to each other; the third forms a part of the parish church, and the fourth stands upon a spacious foundation; they are all situated at short distances from each other. With respect to their plans, elevations, and general geometrical dimensions, the drawing of each edifice contains its scale of admeasurement, to which it will be easy to refer.

These great and splendid fabrics, partly in ruins, have been erected with a lavish magnificence worthy of ancient Rome. Situated in the most elevated part of the town, notwithstanding the destructive revolution of ages, they convey a high idea of the power of the prince who caused their construction, as well as of the inventive genius of the artist who planned and executed them.

No. LXXXI. This drawing presents to our view the geometrical plan of the largest edifice, and of the three square buildings attached to it, of which one alone retains some traces of its ancient and beautiful front.

No. LXXXII. This monument, which from its present state of preservation we are enabled more accurately to delineate, immediately creates the admiration of the beholder by its majestic appearance and mosaic decorations; the whole producing in the soul of the visitor a soft melancholy, and an emotion of pleasure that cannot be defined.

Whenever in the course of this description I shall avail myself of technical terms employed in Greek and Roman architecture, to explain the architectural parts of these buildings,—such as pilaster, architrave, frieze, cornice, and others of a similar kind,—it is by no means my intention to display scientific knowledge, but merely to express myself in language which may be intelligible to artists:

thus I say that the ichnography of this monument has for its foundation and base a socle of cut stones (the circumference of which embraces and measures, in a polygonal figure, a superficies extending over a vast area) of suitable dimensions and elevation above the level of the ground, the principal sides facing the cardinal points of the compass. On the southern front there are three staircases, of which the central one conducts to three doors, and the other two, placed at the projecting angles of the lateral extremities, serve equally to facilitate the ascent to the gallery formed along the upper plane: the steps consist of large and well cut stones, of a regular shape, and lead to the three great doors or vacant doorways, divided by as many pilasters, with their capitals or cornices having each a circular niche adapted to receive the head of some animal, or perhaps a skull; the discovery of which would have been very serviceable for the illustration of this description, by removing every doubt as to the destination of these edifices, and establishing certainty on almost infallible grounds. Although I was informed that an Indian woman possessed one of these, and kept it concealed in the wall of her house, all my inquiries to ascertain the fact were fruitless.

The architrave, resting upon three pilasters, is a solid block of square evenly cut granite of enormous size; the base of the latter is composed of a row of stones perfectly square, with their edges well adjusted. The surface of the walls is covered and adorned with various entablatures or oblong compartments terminating in mouldings, which project from the vertical line of the walls, and in the planes of which are mosaic ornaments executed in alto-relievo and of most beautiful invention; the designs presenting to the eye a series of very intricate flourishes, following in geometrical order with the most perfect union between the stones composing them, all of which are cut and of different shapes and dimensions. The exact evenness of this admirable mosaic work is further remarkable; and it is protected and crowned by a very deep moulding, whilst all the projecting angles are strengthened by beautiful buttresses of stone decorated with mouldings.

The interior of the building corresponds to the magnificence of its exterior. The three doors lead straight into a vast saloon, longitudinally divided from east to west by six granite columns, each of a single piece, one yard in diameter, and five yards and a half long, without base or capital. These columns were employed to support the transverse rows of beams which formed the roof of the saloon. The inside walls of this spacious room are merely covered with plaster, over which is a coat of fine stucco nicely spread with the trowel, and another of vermilion mixed with ochre, having a hard and excellent polish; the greater portion of this has crumbled to pieces, with the exception, however, of here and there some entire fragments, by which some estimate of its merits may be formed. We should not omit to remark, that the exterior as well as the interior of the whole palace, even the columns, was dyed or painted with the same colour. The pavement forming the floor of the entire edifice is a composition of lime and sand, covered with a coat of a finer and more solid cement, of a blueish grey colour, highly polished and shining. In that part of the inner wall which faces the principal door between the two centre columns, there is a square niche, in which probably was placed some mysterious statue.

This saloon communicates with a quadrangular court, formed by four oblong edifices or apartments, with which there is a communication by a passage covered with large and very thick slabs placed horizontally. These inner apartments or long chambers, narrow in dimension, and with their

doors facing each other, are covered externally with the same fanciful flourishes as decorate the outer wall of the entire building.

The horizontal roof or terrace which formerly covered the apartments of this edifice was composed of several rows of stout beams or trunks of the sabine tree, each one foot and a half in diameter, of which only three remain as a sample to posterity, the whole being now unroofed. Upon these strong beams was a floor of square flags, and over that a layer of mortar, composed of lime, sand, and earth, one foot and a half thick : and the whole was covered with a solid and smooth coat, forming the terrace, which is not perfectly horizontal, but has an almost imperceptible declivity, sufficient however to allow the rain to run off, which following its natural course flows into a pipe or gutter, and is conducted by this channel into a reservoir dug in an angle of the court.

This great pile is connected with or attached to three other inferior edifices, which are built upon socles exactly on a level with it ; and the equilateral figure described by the four principal fronts of these edifices, forms a square, that incloses within its compass a spacious area, the pavement of which is formed of cement of a good quality. It is to be regretted that only one of these three minor structures or saloons should exist, and that only in a very dilapidated state ; their magnificent ruins nevertheless proclaim their past splendour. We here behold an oblong saloon, of such narrow dimensions that it only occupies a third of its plane, divided from north to south by a row of five columns of the same length and diameter as those before mentioned, two of which are still standing. The entablatures of the wall are completely stripped of their original ornaments, but its three doorways still remain, with the four circular niches cut in the capitals of the pilasters, and an architrave of an immense block of stone, on the surface of which are engraven in basso-relievo the designs which are there visible. It is evident, from the traces which still remain, that when entire it was only ornamented with a single external frieze contained within two mouldings, having in its plane the same patterns in mosaic as those which are represented on the principal edifice. The view which this ancient ruin presents when contemplated from afar has a grand effect. We recognize in it the features of venerable antiquity, and behold at the same time the havoc which time's unsparing hand commits on the fragile works of man.

No. LXXXIII. Under this number is represented a small fragment of the beautiful mosaic work which once ornamented these edifices, and which will soon disappear from the face of the earth, time and vegetation being its relentless foes.

No. LXXXIV. The plan of this second palace, which is more simple, presents a perfect square, the sides of which are formed by four narrow long saloons ; which arrangement comprises a spacious inner inclosure of a rectangular shape. Three only of these saloons at present exist : all that remains of the fourth, which is in ruins, is its socle or platform ; for these saloons, like those of the first palace, were all constructed on platforms. The three which still exist, although in a very dilapidated state, retain their principal parts, such as the walls, doors, and pilasters, with their niches. The excessive thickness of the walls is remarkable, as likewise the extreme narrowness of the interior apartments, which are unroofed. The solid union of the rows of stone composing the former has been entirely destroyed, together with their mouldings, frieze, and mosaic ornaments, with the exception of some fragments which have escaped the hand of rapacious man, who, when desirous of converting the materials to his own use, is a more formidable enemy even than Time to ancient

monuments.—The drawing contains all the information which we have been able to acquire respecting this palace.

Nos. LXXXV. & LXXXVI. These drawings represent the four fronts of the saloons; and I should observe, for the more clear comprehension of this description, that as regards their symmetry, those saloons which are opposite to each other correspond in their ornaments; since the two, the situation of which is diametrically the reverse of the other two, and which occupy the same line north and south of each other, differ in their external style of decoration from those lying east and west, as will easily be perceived from their plans.

No. LXXXVII. Under the socle of the saloon facing the south there is a sepulchre or pagan mausoleum, the plane of which is in the form of a cross. It is spacious, and the walls on the inside are embellished with various compartments in mosaic. A cylindrical column rises vertically from the central point of the plane of a square block of stone, formed by the intersection of the perpendicular and horizontal lines, which supports a large square stone that constitutes the ceiling; the four angles of which embrace as many right angles, that divide and portion off four square rooms, the sad receptacles of the mortal remains of man, which are covered with large square slabs forming the roof. Every visible part of this dismal abode was painted with vermilion: a door, subterraneous passage, and staircase, give admission to the tomb. I was unable to discover in this magnificent sepulchre any thing either artificially or naturally emblematical of death.

No. LXXXVIII. The parish church and the rector's house occupy the walls of this third palace; and its plan may be seen in the ichnographical delineation. The materials employed in its construction, its doorways, and ornaments, were similar to those of the other palaces, with the admission nevertheless of some variety, which evinces the fertile genius of the architect.

No. LXXXIX. This, which we may designate the fourth palace, comprises in its plan two edifices, the walls of which are distinct. They do not constitute a single body except by their similarity and close proximity, being only three feet apart: the walls and doors are at present much decayed, and have even been propped up, which rendered the task of drawing their plan more easy.

No. XC. At the distance of a league and a half to the east of Mitlan there is an ancient house built upon the summit of a high hill, the commencement or beginning of the Mijian range of mountains. The walls are constructed of square stones laid in rows and cemented together with lime, plain, and without the addition of any ornaments; its plan is quadrilateral, and it has a court, platforms, and corresponding doors. At the back there is another contiguous edifice of smaller dimensions, which has likewise its four little platforms; and over one of the doors (that which faces the principal entrance) there is a stone of considerable length, on which are sculptured in basso-relievo some ornaments resembling those of Mitlan. This monument is fast going to decay; and the trees and shrubs which surround it will contribute by the slow and penetrating progress of their roots to the total downfall of these valuable remains of antiquity.

No. XCI. Under the principal entrance of this building, at a very little depth, there is a subterraneous sepulchre; it is constructed in a simple style, and its plane is in the form of a cross, constituting four square chambers, the walls of which are coated with square stones polished and painted with ochre; a flight of stairs conducts to it, and their descent faces the west. We found nothing in this

dismal vault but the remains of a deer and a kid, which some leopard or wolf, the present occupants of these ancient ruins, had dragged to this solitary spot.

No. XCII. On our return from the building which we have just described, and before our arrival at Mitlan, I directed an excavation to be made, all the inhabitants of the town aiding me in the task; when we found beneath an artificial hill, at the depth of six feet, a sepulchre, the form of which was oblong, and its walls lined with square hewn stones with mouldings and mosaic work of well finished execution: the roof was composed of large square flags; and on the outer side, which faces the west, there was a small door. All that we found in this vault was a skull and some smaller bones, together with fragments of pitchers, jugs, and dishes of fine earthenware of a blue colour, destined for the use of him who could eat and drink no more.

SEPULCHRAL ARCHITECTURE.

The idea of absolute annihilation is repugnant to the physical constitution of man, even amongst savages themselves, who for the most part indulge in the fallacious hope of being able to prolong the body's material existence beyond the verge of the tomb: but the love which this nation entertained for the bodies of their deceased friends equalled in some measure that which they bore to their gods; the altar scarcely differed from the tomb.

Experience has convinced me of the skill which this nation possessed in subterranean architecture, which in art and in manual labour has a decided superiority over the more common kind, of which the sphere of operation is the open air. Let their adits, conduits, idolatrous caves, temples, and sepulchres, bear testimony to the truth of this assertion. It may even be doubted with respect to the last, whether any people of the Old Continent, the Egyptians not excepted, evinced a more tender affection for their deceased friends and kindred, in the solicitude which they displayed to erect suitable monuments to their memory, than the Çapotecas; who, besides the subterraneous sepulchres already mentioned, constructed artificial hills and pyramids above-ground, strengthened on the outside with strong masonry; whilst the interior was the sanctuary, where, as in the centre of a citadel defended by external works, they deposited the body of the deceased, making choice of the best materials for these sepulchral edifices, and employing them with method and order to ensure their longer duration.

The art of subterranean architecture requires that attention should be paid to certain rules: in common architecture there is only one gravitating power, the column of air above; but in the former, of less frequent necessity, there are two, namely, earth and air; both which elements conspire to accelerate the sinking in and the downfall of subterraneous buildings.

No. XCIII. There are two pyramidal oratories in this town, erected by this nation in honour of their false deities; the first of which has a quadrangular base and four stories diminishing in size, and is of great height, being built of stones and unbaked bricks. It forms a massive and solid edifice: each story has a terrace, with a pavement of cement of the colour of ochre, and well polished. It is evident that the entire fabric was coated with square blocks of cut stone: the side on which the staircase is situated faces the west, and the other three sides the corresponding points of the compass. It has likewise a court of an oblong shape inclosed within three elevated platforms, which

in pagan times served as socles for the quadrangular saloons destined for the habitations of the priests and the other ministers of this open temple. Exactly in the centre of the court there is a square altar built of stone and mortar, with a flight of steps opposite the stairs of the pyramid.

No. XCIV. The other oratory has an oblong base; it consists of three stories built of unbaked bricks dried in the sun, placed in simple rows, with alternate layers of bricks made of a kind of composition. Its revestment no longer exists, and time and the rains have diminished the bulk of its solid body. It serves at present as a representation of Mount Calvary, for the pious exercises of Christians, who ascend to the summit by a broad and beautiful staircase, furnished with landing places recently formed out of the spoils of the ancient palaces. This oratory in other respects resembles the preceding.

From the vast number of idols, and consequently of temples or oratories erected for their worship, which even still remain scattered over the extensive surface of this kingdom of New Spain, without counting those already ruined and destroyed, we may justly characterize the Mexicans as one of the most religious nations which has ever existed on the face of the earth, not excluding from the comparison those of antiquity; but at the same time they were plunged in the deepest abyss of idolatry, until the happy arrival of their conquerors, who by rescuing them from it became their redeemers.

Nature was their prototype in the construction of their temples, the mountains themselves serving them as models; and they sought in this manner to exalt their gods above mankind, by placing them in more elevated and retired regions. From heaps of mud and shapeless mounds the majestic pyramid, consisting of a single body, took its origin; but as the genius of man advanced, the architect added to it progressively nine successive stories, gradually decreasing in size. At first it was formed simply of earth or of unbaked bricks; but it was afterwards coated with well-cut stones disposed in regular rows. This grand fabric served as a basis to the altars and thrones of their gods; and in the same way as the art of statuary has its colossal productions, so architecture can boast of the pyramid. I shall only further remark, that this excessive abundance of temples and idols clearly indicates that this great and ancient continent possessed a most numerous population.

ARCHITECTURE.

The destruction of so many monuments of sculpture and architecture, which might at this time have aided our inquiries, and guided us through the dense darkness of remote antiquity, excites our deepest regret. As a matter of probability, we may be permitted to hazard the conjecture, that when the Spaniards first landed on these shores, Liuba and its primitive population had ceased to exist; and that the present are a more recent race of Indians, who replaced the ancient population by whom the structures which we so much admire were erected. But whence did that primitive population come? and at what period did they people this soil? and, finally, whither have they emigrated, carrying away with them their arts and the instruments which they employed in them? since their first arrival and their subsequent disappearance are equally problematical. In order to arrive at any conclusion upon this great and famous question, it would be necessary to have a number of original monuments of archi-

tecture and sculpture, by means of which we might form some plausible conjecture respecting the uncertain race of this most ancient people, from comparing statue with statue, building with building, and hieroglyphic with hieroglyphic.

The ancient Çapotecas cultivated the fine arts, were extremely religious, and entertained great reverence for the dead, as their own monuments, works owing their existence to a wise form of government, unequivocally show. But what may have been the epoch of the construction of these sumptuous edifices? Were they all built at the same time, or were they founded progressively? We certainly find, on consulting their plans and style of ornament, that they uniformly preserved the same order of architecture, differing from each other only in being more or less complex in execution, but modelled according to the elements of the same school, which happily combined the solidity of the works of Egypt with the elegance of those of Greece.

The architectural parts which immediately invite the attention of the connoisseur are, first, the transverse architrave, or, as we may otherwise define it, the stone which closes the upper empty spaces of the doors resting upon the jambs and pilasters. This solid block, of the nature of granite, of enormous magnitude, forms a prism with a square base, on none of the sides of which is there any visible sign of its having been worked with a sharp tool or chisel; neither is this observable on any of the other stones which enter into the composition of these wonderful structures, all of which have a soft and finished evenness of surface, such as might have been produced by the grinding, or rather the friction, of one stone against the other. Secondly, the nice and perfect squaring of many of the stones, both great and small, which face and adorn the walls of the above-mentioned palaces, giving by their beautiful union and exact correspondence an admirable finish to the work. But what is most remarkable, interesting, and striking in these monuments, and which would alone be sufficient to give them the first rank amongst all known orders of architecture, is the execution of their mosaic relievos, very different from the plain mosaic, and consequently requiring more ingenious combination, and greater art and labour; they are inlaid on the surface of the wall, and their duration is owing to the manner of fixing the loose stones into it, and to their firm union.

When the line of ornament could not be pursued along the wall, they continued it over the doorways, engraving there a series of picturesque ideas. No cement or glutinous substance whatsoever can be discovered in the perfect union of these little stones with each other: an exactly cut square or level surface composes the mechanism of these mosaic works. The intaglio of the stones resembles the figure of a wedge or of a pyramid with a quadrangular base, the vertex of which is encrusted in the wall, which is composed of a blackish earth well tempered. Some of these stones are laid on the plane, others on the edge, others vertically, and lastly some are placed diagonally, as the design may require.

The interior body of the wall is a solid composition of earth and sand with a mixture of lime, into which the loose stones have been pressed to a certain depth. It appears to me vain to inquire when or from whom was borrowed the beautiful conception which still remains in the thirteen compartments which embellish the principal fronts of these monuments, or to seek to determine which of them was prior in foundation to the others. It is natural in works of human art that less perfect efforts should precede the more perfect; but these admirable structures, combining grace with majesty, display a style of architecture which it is impossible could be more original, since in truth we here

behold a gigantic piece of mosaic work such as antiquity never produced. Four things are principally deserving of notice in these palaces, of which the first is, that only two of them have socles; the others are built immediately upon the surface of the ground. Secondly, the first palace occupies a more elevated site than the second. Thirdly, they appear to owe their situation to mere accident, since neither symmetry nor order is observable in their disposition with respect to each other. Fourthly, they are built of the same materials and in the worst situation, although the highest in the neighbourhood; for which, two reasons may be assigned; one is, that a rocky soil is more fit to support the weight of such massive buildings; the other, that they might not be exposed to the inundations to which the plains are liable in the rainy season. Lastly, considering the solid structure of these works, the narrowness of their chambers, and their physical situation, I am of opinion that they never were intended for the habitations of their kings. History informs us, and I have verified the fact, that the palaces of those monarchs occupied the most agreeable and delightful sites; the proof of which may be found in the remains of those of Chapultepec, Ystapalapan, Tescuco, Huastepec, and others, which are the very reverse of Mitlan, which seems more adapted by its situation to be a receptacle and abode for the dead, who desire such places for their eternal rest.

No. XCV. About three quarters of a league to the west of Mitlan, an ancient fortress towers over the rugged summit of a steep and isolated rock, which is only accessible on its eastern side, and which is crowned and circumvallated with a solid wall of stone, one and twenty feet thick and eighteen feet high; forming in its wide range, which is about a league in extent, several salient and retiring angles, with curtains interposed: and on its assailable side, at which is the principal entrance, it is defended by double walls which mutually flank each other. The first, or that more advanced, forms an enceinte or elliptic rampart, upon which, at short distances from each other, there are heaps of small round stones for slinging, and in the centre of its crescent there is an oblique gate to avoid the enfilade or right line of arrows, darts, and stones. The second wall, which is joined at its extremities to that of the fortress, is of greater elevation, and forms a sort of tenaille. This wall differs from the other in having its sides or flanks more open; and the second gate of the fortress is formed on its right side; it has likewise its rampart and heaps of stones. There is besides a parapet in the obtuse inner angle of this work, which leaves in the recess formed by the wall a small vacant space, sufficiently large to admit a certain number of troops to be drawn up on a sudden attack or in defence of the entrance to the fortress: and for greater security in case of an attack, batteries were disposed according to their system of tactics, in front of the fortification, which consisted of loose round stones about three feet in diameter, placed on high and balanced on the upper edge of the talud, for the purpose of being directed to their aim by the power of the lever or united manual strength, and forming by their rapid rotation on their axis bounds and rebounds, so as accidentally to imitate the batteries named *rebound*. In the interior of the fortress, or the space contained within and defended by the above-mentioned circular wall, there exist, on the convex and plain surface of the rock, various ruins of square buildings and edifices of capacious size, which were the barracks of this ancient garrison. In the part diametrically opposite to the entrance there is a postern or sally-port, for furnishing the fortress with supplies of men and provisions, or to facilitate a forced retreat. It is evident from the reasons above stated, as well as from the epoch in which this work of military architecture was constructed, that it was not susceptible of any other system of defence, due regard being paid to

the nature of the offensive weapons and the tactics or art of attacking then in use, as the topographical plan and its scale will show.

Proceeding about a league in an eastern direction from Mitlan, I discovered the ancient and famous quarry of stone of the nature of granite, which was the bed from whence were procured the voluminous masses employed in the erection of these various monuments. It extends longitudinally from east to west on the top of a mountain. Its naked surface forms furrows or parallel ridges, or rather perpendicular strata, contrary to the general order and disposition of nature. In the spaces between the furrows holes are visible, which were made by the ancients to serve as a point of support for the lever, when, dividing with the stone wedge (of so much use in their arts) the parallel strata, they afterwards had occasion to raise from the quarry those enormous blocks of which they formed architraves and columns; some of which, in an unfinished state, are even still scattered on the surface of the ground; which proves that it was the intention of that people to execute the plans which they had in idea formed of other works, but that the course of circumstances prevented them. Nearly the same is reported by travellers in Egypt, who have found at the present day in the ancient quarries of granite, which supplied the materials of the colossal figures and obelisks, some in an unfinished state and still in the rock, and others half trimmed and detached from it. But what, we may inquire, was the power employed in raising these stones from their primitive bed? Experience has taught us that the power of the lever is unlimited; and it is probable that they employed it for that purpose, otherwise we must suppose that they were acquainted with some other mechanical contrivance wholly unknown to us, which perhaps may be reserved for the investigations of others to discover: amidst so many conflicting doubts, we can only have recourse to conjectures and suppositions, which in the end leave us in the same state of uncertainty as we were in at first. If, again, we seriously consider the difficulty of transporting these stones, either in blocks, half worked, or finished, to the place of their destination, we must in each case suppose that powerful machinery was required to effect the object. It would be difficult to persuade me that the ancient Romans placed in their great and proud edifices stones comparable in magnitude to these, (and I appeal to their original monuments still in existence.) They would have been obliged to have called to their aid all the powers proposed by Archimedes; whilst the Indians, barbarians as many ignorant writers complacently style them, who do not hesitate to apply to them that degrading epithet, with less parade of art attained in their works the same practical results, and who knows if not greater?

After the conveyance of these stones, the task of lifting and fixing them in their proper places was further requisite; for which we must suppose the pulley was used or some other machine equally available. Finally, as regards the elevation of their columns, all was concerted with precision and skill; although, in order to give a firm foundation to them, a knowledge of their horizontal planes was necessary, since on the proper fixture of a column depends its being able to resist the weight which it is intended to support.

INSTRUMENTS EMPLOYED IN THE ARTS.

It may not unreasonably be expected that I should close my description of the monuments of Mitlan with some account of the instruments which the ancient Mexicans employed in squaring, cutting, and polishing the stones which entered into the composition of their monuments. Desirous of attaining information so highly interesting to the arts, I did not neglect making the most diligent inquiries respecting them, and charged the local authorities and the inhabitants of the town, to collect whatever stones could be found, either there or in the neighbourhood, which bore any resemblance to a wedge, chisel, punch, axe, hammer, &c. My expectations were not disappointed, since I was so fortunate as to obtain, in the course of a few days, several stone chisels shaped like wedges, which I considered a propitious omen of further discoveries. The Indians displayed during the entire of my stay amongst them the greatest solicitude to oblige me. Availing myself of this favourable opportunity, I made a large collection of stone implements, with the intention of selecting out of the number the most perfect specimens: I was most desirous of obtaining metal instruments; and it was not long before I procured several of copper, of various sizes and shapes. But what I chiefly wished to discover, were iron tools; my inquiries after this metal were, however, fruitless.

Long experience proves that gold, silver, and copper, when wrought, whether exposed to the open air or buried underneath the surface of the earth, will remain for many ages in an uncorroded state; but this is not the case with iron, which from its nature is exposed to the attacks of rust and moisture that in time effect its entire decomposition.

What theory shall we advocate, or what new hypothesis propose, on this difficult question? Modern art certainly has never had recourse to so simple a process as that of reducing stones to proper shape and dimension by means of mutual friction; neither is it probable that any ancient nations of the Old Continent resorted to this expedient, which on the supposition that it might be found available, where all that was requisite was to fashion stone in a plain manner, would be totally inapplicable to the formation of relievos. If the Indians had ever used copper instruments, copper being extremely ductile and not susceptible of a sharp and hard edge, they could scarcely have employed them for other purposes than carving wood: I should also observe, that stones which had been fashioned by the simple friction of one against another, would acquire a plane surface from having been ground, and would likewise have a certain polish, which is in fact perceptible on the surface of the slabs, as well as of the lesser stones, which enter into the composition of the mosaic ornaments, the most interesting feature in these monuments. Impressed with a full conviction of the difficult nature of this inquiry, I shall conclude by candidly confessing my ignorance on a subject which does not admit of superficial reasoning, and shall leave to others, who may be perhaps more fortunate in this respect than myself, the task of solving this interesting problem. In fine, having thoroughly investigated and taken the plans of the most ancient ruins of the venerable town of Saint Paul of Mitlan or Miguitlan, we resolved on our departure, and directed our course towards Zachila, the court and residence of the ancient sovereigns of the Zapotecan empire.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE TOWNS OF ZACHILA AND QUILAPA.

IN the beginning of September, 1806, we quitted Mitlan, directing our course to the towns of Saint Pablo Guilaa, Ocotlan, Zachila, and Quilapa. The first of these places, situated on the brow of a steep mountain, is remarkable for a singular willow of large dimensions and lofty height, which grows in that neighbourhood. This venerable production of the earth forms, by the spreading of its roots, an oblong reservoir, the sides of which resemble basket-work, or interwoven snakes. So close and firm is this fibrous union, that with the exception of some apertures which are filled up with stones and mortar, it is capable of holding a sufficient supply of water for the town, either for washing linen, for bathing, or other purposes, and is ever replenished with the clear water of a perennial spring. The bottom of this curious bath or reservoir is formed by roots of the same tree, from which protrude several excrescences, some of which are round, some conical, and others of most grotesque shapes. It was impossible not to contemplate with pleasure this probably unique production of nature, at once so rare and so serviceable to the inhabitants of this town. From hence we went to the village of Ocotlan, where we remained some days, without observing any thing remarkable. Having arrived at the town of Zachila, we entered upon a wider field of research; for here, as we had anticipated, we discovered several interesting monuments of antiquity; this place having been in former times the court or residence of the ancient Zapotecan kings. Its original name in the Zapotecan language was Zaachillattoo, as I ascertained from the inspection of some old documents: but when in process of time victory followed in the train of Mexican invasion, it seems to have changed its appellation into that of Teozapotlan, which latter name fell likewise into disuse, and it was finally called Zachila, a diminutive or corruption of the primitive term, as is the case with almost all the proper names of places in this ancient empire. This town, being extremely populous, extends through a vast and smiling plain situated in the middle of the great valley of Oaxaca; the principal produce of which is cochineal. Here we beheld several pyramids of earth and stones: we commenced our researches by causing excavations to be made in some of the groups which tower majestically in the centre of the plain: these were probably oratories, sepulchres, or watch-towers. The Indians, whose exertions were heightened by the presence and exhortations of their rector and magistrates, applied themselves with alacrity to the task. In the progress of our excavations we often met with human bones, as well as statues or idols made of terra cotta, and small earthenware vessels, such as plates, jugs, and censers. Now and then we came to the mouldering remains of massy sepulchral walls, formed of very large burnt bricks. This confirms what I have elsewhere remarked, that the ancient Mexicans not only used sun-dried bricks, but such also as had been hardened in the furnace.

On the southern brow of one of these hills we saw the print or impression of a human foot, cut deep in the rock, and pointing to the meridian. I have occasionally found similar impressions in different parts of this kingdom. They most probably were intended to guide travellers on the road: I have

observed on some ancient maps, traced by the Mexicans on paper made of the maguey, a series of impressions of the same kind directed to some of the principal points of the compass.

I am fully persuaded that excavations conducted on a grand scale, would bring to light another subterraneous world buried beneath the soil of this ancient continent, the latent record of remote ages. I gave orders to dig holes to a considerable depth in several artificial hills, but without success. This, however, ought not to discourage any further attempt, for it is probable that sooner or later some important discoveries will be made.

No. XCVI. I found at the rector's house a statue formed of a stone of a yellowish grey colour, representing an idol or human figure seated: its arms are crossed over the breast as if in the act of praying; an attitude expressive of the reverence which this people felt for their gods and princes. The forehead is encircled with a diadem garnished with precious stones (an ornament designedly introduced by the sculptor); the hair hangs loose and dishevelled; a sash is girded round the lower part of the body; the nose and chin are a little mutilated. This statue, together with a human skeleton, was found in a sepulchre beneath an artificial hill. The style of the carving induces me to suppose that it was executed by the Zapotecas, which nation is of greater antiquity than the Mexicans.

No. XCVII. In one of the lesser pyramids, which forms part of the group already mentioned, and perhaps not far from the site of the greater oratory of this town, there is a large oblong slab of granite, encircled with a plain moulding, and containing profile representations of four human figures in a sitting posture. In the centre of the group (which consists of a series of basso-relievos) appears a kind of altar, to which the attention of each figure is directed. The first on the right wears a sort of cap or crown, surmounted by an eagle. It is beardless; nor could I discover any traces of apparel upon it: on the right arm, which is raised, are engraved two numerals, one near the shoulder, the other at the elbow. The head of the second figure is curiously adorned with a plumed turban; ear-rings are added to the other ornaments; the right arm, although mutilated, appears to be pointing to the same object of veneration. This figure, like the preceding, is destitute of apparel; but it is distinguished by the peculiarity of having a long and thick beard. Time has deprived the first figure on the left of its ornamental head-dress: the ear-rings are similar to those of the opposite figure. In its right hand is a branch of palm; its left is raised, and points to the centre. The last figure has suffered most from time. The upper portion of the head is mutilated, but the ear-rings and part of the beard are yet remaining. Both its arms are extended as if in the act of adoration, and the sash which encircles its waist is distinctly visible. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to decypher the meaning of this mysterious and hieroglyphical stone. We must content ourselves therefore with admiring the excellence of its sculpture and the expressive character of the figures.

No. XCVIII. This granite statue represents a human figure seated in an attitude of repose. Its head is ornamented with a sort of mitre, covered with relievos and fanciful decorations. The face is masked, and its neck is encircled with a necklace of pearls or precious stones. A peculiar dress, terminating in an apron, appears in front; and its hands rest or are supported upon its knees. This statue must evidently be referred to a new school, since the style of its execution differs materially from that of the Mexicans, who, when they subjugated the Zapotecas, gave a new character to the arts as well as to the language of their empire.

Although the Mexicans, never attained great celebrity as artists, being a nation more addicted to arms than to arts, they nevertheless availed themselves of the inventive genius of the Tultecas, whose ancient state deserves the appellation of the Athens of the New World. At the back of this statue two locks of hair, a portion of the necklace, and the girdle, are visible.

No. XCIX. This statue of white marble, well carved and in excellent preservation, was found in making an excavation in the parish churchyard. It appears to be a male figure, and the attitude in which it is represented is very strange. The head is adorned with a profusion of feathers, with other ornaments intermixed. The ears are carved in a fanciful manner, and might almost be considered a part of these ornaments. The face is masked; a string of pearls is suspended round its neck, and a plaited mantle is thrown over the shoulders. The band which encircles its waist is not visible in front, and the arms are entirely concealed, displaying only the extremity of the right hand, in which is a vase of a globular shape, accompanied with some symbols which I cannot explain. This statue was originally painted with vermilion or red ochre, a brilliant colour that accorded with the national taste, as their palaces and sepulchres sufficiently declare.

No. C. This is a block of polished grey marble, forming part of a buttress in the hermitage called "La Soledad." The figure carved upon it is spherical, and that part which is visible exhibits a face resembling the image of the full moon, which is frequently symbolized by a human countenance. It is probable that the ancient Mexicans worshipped this planet, and that it occupied a distinguished place among their numerous deities.

No. CI. At the foot of the steps leading to the parish churchyard stands a block of marble, on which is carved the prominent bust of an eagle. It is represented in profile, in an erect position, with expanded wings; its talons grasp the tail of a snake, while it attacks with its beak the reptile's head. This part of the figure is much mutilated. It is probable that this ancient and well-executed piece of sculpture was destined to adorn some regal edifice; since the eagle, the king of birds, has always been considered the type of strength and dominion, on account of which it was embroidered on the Roman standards, and enjoys among birds the place which is allotted to the lion amongst beasts. The breast exhibits a small cavity, which was doubtless filled by a plate of gold or silver: whence I imagine that its intended situation was the summit of some stately palace facing the east, in order that the rays of the rising sun might be reflected from it.

No. CII. Of these massy blocks of stone (similarly numbered) the first was discovered in the steps leading to the churchyard; the second in the south entrance of the church; the third formed part of the wall of the rector's house. They vary in size and in quality, as well as in the figure and arrangement of their relievos, which exhibit a regular and symmetrical design. It is impossible not to behold with regret these fragments hastening to decay; since there is every reason to suppose that they were originally destined for the decoration of some magnificent structure. Their surface is now defaced, and part of the carving has mouldered beneath the hand of time, which destroys alike the porphyry column and the brazen bust.

The remains which I am now about to describe are specimens of an art which probably preceded that of sculpture;—the art of forming figures in clay, either with the hand or the mould, solid or hollow, which were afterwards baked in the sun or hardened by fire. My reason for supposing that this art

preceded that of sculpture, is, that it is so much easier to mould plastic clay, than to give shape and symmetry to stone, metal, or wood.

No. CIII. The first specimen of terra cotta is a very extraordinary figure or fanciful bust. It serves as the cover to a square hollow pedestal resembling a box, resting upon four cylindrical and hollow feet. This idol, which is formed of fine and well-baked clay, is perforated by a perpendicular tube which is a sort of support to it. I should in vain attempt to explain the various designs in relievo with which this figure is embellished, since they are too complicated and too fanciful for my comprehension; but they exhibit (as reference to the drawing will show) the most exact symmetry throughout. It was found some time ago, together with four others of a similar size, shape, and substance, in ploughing a piece of ground near the rector's house. For what purpose could it have been designed? This is a difficulty no less perplexing than the development of the meaning of its various hieroglyphics. The figure comprises three distinct pieces or parts; the pedestal or box, the lid or masked bust, and the tube. Perhaps the box was used to hold jewels or incense; the bust was the cover; and the tube served to diffuse odours, or to hold some torch or lighted piece of wood in honour of their deities, or of the sovereigns of Zaachillattoo.

No. CIV. The description we have just given of the preceding figure is applicable to that which is represented in this drawing.

No. CV. This number represents a female figure of diminutive proportions; it is fashioned in lead-coloured clay. The disposition of its limbs (which are visible only at their extremities) is remarkable. Its garments are thrice folded round it, and enriched with a fringed border; its head is richly adorned with ribbons, tresses, and rings, and its neck encircled with a necklace of precious stones. The erect and fixed attitude of this figure, resembling a mummy, its folded arms, its singular vestment, and the circular tube which perforates its body, seem to indicate, that like the figures last mentioned it was intended to hold some sort of torch.

No. CVI. This small, hollow, and rather fanciful head bears some resemblance to that of a tiger or leopard, or perhaps it is the likeness of an unknown wild beast. It is formed of red clay; its surface is smooth, its expression ferocious, and its execution finished. The dilated jaws show it to be in the act of seizing upon its prey, and they likewise display formidable fangs and a cloven tongue. A collar confines its neck, which is tied with a knot.

No. CVII. This strange figure, which represents a kind of mastiff, is of very finished workmanship. It is destitute of limbs. The ears and the belly are large; the eyes distended, and it holds in its mouth a human head, which it appears in the act of devouring. This figure, like those which precede it, is attached to a tube, and was apparently destined for the same use. It is rather mutilated: works formed of clay being very liable to suffer injuries from time.

No. CVIII. This is a small hollow head very similar to that of the domestic quadruped which the Mexicans name the "Cacomistle". The mouth is just opened sufficiently wide to display the teeth regularly arranged. The Mexican artists were better delineators of the forms and proportions of animals and vegetables than of the human figure; the probable reason of which I have before attempted to explain. This figure is formed of baked clay of a reddish brown colour.

No. CIX. Is the head of an armadilla, forming a hollow figure of baked clay. I regret that the

body of this animal is wanting, since its execution may be presumed to have been of equal excellence with the head.

No. CX. This is the head of some animal unknown to naturalists. It is moulded in solid clay of an ash colour, hardened in the fire. This antique fragment is very valuable on account of its originality, finished execution, and its animated expression.

Pottery, as another branch of the plastic art, next merits consideration.

The ancient Zapotecan potters manufactured their jugs and other vessels, either by the help of moulds, or simply with their hands; preparing the clay, of different qualities and colours, with appropriate tools. Their workmanship was good; that of their thin plates and dishes especially, which might rival the celebrated wares of Sagunto in the brilliancy of their colours and the clearness of their varnish. Fragments of this description I have occasionally found under the ruins of their magnificent buildings.

No. CXI. This common-sized jug deserves attention from its perfect symmetry, its fine material, its transparent varnish, and the skilful display of dark yellow and lead colour which adorns both its interior and exterior. It stands upon three hollow feet, shaped like the rattles of a snake, and its neck is encircled at top and bottom with a ring or moulding: it has no handle. The materials of this vessel are so well tempered, and the baking so perfect, that when struck it emits a clear and brilliant sound. The ancient Zapotecas evinced the fertility of their genius, by giving a thousand different shapes and colours to their manufactures, and enriching them with ornamental designs of flowers and animals, either painted or moulded.

No. CXII. In the cluster of artificial hills near the town of Zaachillattoo before mentioned we discovered a sepulchral vault of hewn stone; on entering which we observed a row of human skulls, each placed in a dish standing upon a separate pedestal: every dish also contained a small artificial skull with the hair longitudinally extended. I imagine these skulls to be the relics of the victims which were sacrificed to inhuman deities, whose nature it was to be ever thirsting after human blood.

No. CXIII. & CXIV. These numbers describe two vessels which were employed either in the service of the temple or the sepulchre. The first is a portable censer, to which a long hollow handle is affixed. Its circular patera or bowl is perforated with several holes to admit the action of the air. The other, which may more properly be named a chafing-dish, rests upon three feet. These ancient vessels were in all probability intended to fumigate the temples and the images of their deities. If the religious rites of this ancient people had merely consisted of these simple offerings, they would have been less deserving of censure; but to propitiate their ferocious divinities with the reeking limbs of their fellow-creatures was an act no less barbarous than superstitious.

No. CXV. Proceeding with our excavations, we met with a great variety of small pots of different shapes. Of these I shall mention only the two of which representations are given in the annexed drawings. The form of the first is simple and well proportioned. The bottom is flat, and the middle as well as the neck are neatly finished.

No. CXVI. The form of the other vessel is more singular. The mouth resembles that of a funnel or trumpet. From the foot project three prongs or roots, and two similar ones extend from the body. It

was customary with this nation to deposit in the tombs of their deceased friends various jugs, basins, and dishes, which vessels I have described in order to show their taste and skill in the manufacture of them. Nothing is insignificant which points out the origin or the merit of the arts in which they chiefly excelled: viewed in connection with so interesting an enquiry, every relic however minute forms a link in the chain of knowledge, and thus acquires value and importance.

From this ancient imperial court of Zaachillattoo, I proceeded to that of Quilapa, the residence in past times of the sovereigns of the two Mistecas, whose territory, in respect to its geographical position, lay in an opposite direction to the Zapotecan empire: the former extending from south to north, the latter from north to south, as far as the city of Tehuantepec.

Having made the necessary arrangements for commencing the task of excavation, I procured, through the obliging exertions of the rector of the parish, the help of some Indians, when we penetrated to the centre of several artificial mounds, which the ancient inhabitants had erected in honour of their deities, and which were the only monuments of antiquity that continued to exist in that neighbourhood. Here we found the following relics.

No. CXVII. This figure represents a musical wind-instrument, or rather a whistle, such as was in use among this people, both sides of which are copied in the drawing. The first resembles the radiated and bearded face of a man, and rests upon a triangular base which composes the other extremity. The mouth-piece is at the lower end of the opposite side. Besides this, I have discovered several other different kinds of wind-instruments, upon all of which tunes might be played. Among these there is one which is now in my possession, resembling a German flute, of which the material is a very fine clay of a dark purple colour, well polished, and finished. Another is a sort of trumpet, formed of the same kind of earth. I might add to the list of these musical instruments, but those already named will be sufficient to satisfy even the careless enquirer, that the people of this country were not entire strangers to the charms of music.

No. CXVIII. This is a female bust formed of terra cotta, and, as the drawing shows, gracefully ornamented.

No. CXIX. In the progress of our excavations we found this small head of clay, which exhibits a pleasing and manly combination of features. The ears, as well as the forehead, are furnished with ornamental rings: a beard is visible on its chin, which contradicts the opinion of those naturalists who deny to the aborigines of this vast continent that characteristic sign of manhood.

Thus empires cease, nations disappear, and last of all those monuments of art decay, which, while they silently proclaim their founders' skill and genius, testify how transitory is the existence of man's proudest works.

From the province of Oaxaca we went to the town of Tehuacan de las Granadas, and thence to the city of Tepeyacac. This journey was retarded in consequence of our party being attacked by a malignant fever, brought on by the dampness of a very rainy season, and by frequently inhaling the noxious vapours contained in the excavations and sepulchral vaults which we had explored at Zachila and Quilapa. This severe attack of illness, by which our draughtsman was brought to the point of death, delayed our progress for more than two months.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF TLASCALA.

No. CXX. HAVING arrived at the town of San Pablo del Monte, near the city of La Puebla, I made diligent enquiries after two statues, which I had been informed existed in that neighbourhood, and which I found to be the figures of two Mexican vestals. They were placed upon a wall, in the court of a chapel named Santiago. Both are represented kneeling upon square pedestals. The first is almost entirely without apparel; her hands conceal her breasts: her hair is confined under a cap, which is formed into a bag at the back of her head.

No. CXXI. The second statue represents a female figure of the same class. A plain collar is fastened round her neck, and her head and shoulders are covered with a long cloak which reaches to the extremities of her feet. She likewise modestly veils her person with her hands and arms. These statues are sufficient to show that the ancient inhabitants of this country were not so rude and barbarous as some writers have falsely represented them. The same feelings of delicacy which suggested to the Grecian artist the attitude in which he has represented the Venus de Medici, guided the chisel of the Mexican sculptor. These feelings are common to human nature; and the artist who carved the coarse Mexican block was as much under their restraint, as he who gave form and beauty to the Parian marble.

No. CXXII. In the ancient capital of this province, called Tizatlàn, the Spaniards have built a hermitage, dedicated to the proto-martyr St. Stephen, upon the ruins of the palace which once belonged to Chicotencatl. An Indian showed me here a small female bust, sculptured in iron-grey stone, in a sitting posture, and dressed according to the ancient costume of the country. Destitute as this statue is of merit as a work of art, the description of it cannot be deemed useless, since it will be serviceable to those who may desire to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the history of the kingdom of New Spain, and of the manners of its inhabitants.

No. CXXIII. Another statue, formed of a similar hard and dark-grey stone, was brought to me from that quarter of the city called St. Sebastian. It is of very small size, and stands on a square pedestal, having its body covered with a garment fastened with a girdle. Notwithstanding the hideous expression of its features, which in part resemble those of a man and in part those of a beast, its brow is encircled with an ornamented crown, which likewise covers the back of the head. Its hands are folded over its breasts, and discover an excrescence upon the back of each. The Mexican or Tlascaltecan nation, however enlightened in other respects, were not singular in associating these monstrous images with their religion: we recognize also the same practice among the ancient and wise Egyptians,—I need scarcely mention their worship of Osiris, Anubis, Canopis, &c.

No. CXXIV. In an Indian hut in the same quarter of the city I found a piece of ancient sculpture, the most perfect in material, execution, and proportions, that my researches in this continent have yet discovered. It is a mask carved in green agate and finely polished; probably the resemblance of one of the four chiefs who once swayed the destinies of this celebrated republic. The

ears as well as the forehead are pierced, for the purpose of suspending some kind of rings or jewels from them. The chin is destitute of beard. It seems to have been the intention of the artist to fill up the cavity left in each eye with pupils of a different substance from that of which the mask is composed, a custom not uncommon amongst the Greeks and Romans. The drawing represents both sides of this image.

No. CXXV. In that part of the city called St. Stephen I found the flint barb of a lance, such as the Tlascaltecas used in their wars. This is the only weapon of its kind that I was able to discover in the country of that warlike and celebrated people; and this fact inclines me to believe that they were accustomed to bury their arms in the earth. The annexed drawing will convey an accurate idea of its form.

No. CXXVI. I directed an excavation to be made in the quarter of St. Sebastian above mentioned, but with little success; some human bones and fragments of idols, together with a vase named a Popocaxtli, which signifies a fumigating vessel, were all that we discovered. This relic is however interesting, from its having been employed in the funeral rites of this nation. It is a small and well-formed vessel of fine clay, standing upon three feet. One of the borders which encircles its exterior is painted with a fanciful pattern; the other is perforated with regularity, in order to give admission to the air, and by so doing to facilitate the burning of the incense or odoriferous gums which it was intended to contain.

No. CXXVII. During our stay in this city, the Indians of the village of Tepoyango brought me a military musical instrument, or Teponastle, made of a dense, heavy, and dark-coloured wood. It is cylindrical and hollow. No ornaments are painted upon its surface; but festoons and other devices are carved at each extremity. In the centre, which is the part where the instrument was struck, are two bars longitudinally placed, which project from the surface, each of which possesses its distinct tone: these, when struck, return a deep and loud sound. The instrument is formed out of a single block of wood, and, like a drum, was intended to be beaten with two sticks.

No. CXXVIII. This figure represents another kind of Teponastle, probably that which was most anciently in use among the Tlascaltecas. The material and the execution serve equally to give beauty and value to this instrument; the former being a hard and heavy wood of a rich purple colour, and susceptible of the finest polish; the latter exhibiting a specimen of that peculiar style of carving in wood, which the ancient Indians alone were capable of executing. It is supported by a human figure lying on its breast; and by striking the back of the instrument, two tones are produced similar to those already mentioned. The head is remarkable for the singular beauty of its proportions; both the eyes and the lips are formed of mother-of-pearl, while two pendants are attached to the nostrils. The shape of this instrument is not unlike that of a canoe: it weighs about twenty-five pounds, and after the lapse of so many ages it is still in the most perfect state of preservation. The sounds of this martial instrument were employed to animate the Indians to battle.

These ancient drums were the first specimens of the art of carving in wood which I had met with. They are valuable on account of the abundant testimony which they bear to the skill and ingenuity of this nation. I should in vain endeavour to explain the mysterious imagery which decorates the latter Teponastle; but the three drawings which are annexed will give the reader a correct estimate

of its proportions. The first represents the head viewed in front, and the other two the different sides of the instrument.

No. CXXIX. In the province of Tlascala there yet remain two bridges constructed by the ancient Indians, though now in a state of great dilapidation. One of these, situated at the distance of a league from the town of Los Reyes, crosses a deep ravine at the foot of a steep and lofty hill on the road to San Francisco Temetzontla, and is built of large stones of various sizes, of even shapes, and well cemented with mortar. This bridge has a sort of arch, which forms an obtuse angle springing from its two side walls or buttresses; the height of which is about seven feet, its breadth the same, and its width forty-two feet. It had originally a parapet on both sides, of which some traces yet remain. The work was ornamented with four stately obelisks, built of stones and mortar within, and faced on the outside with large bricks disposed in circular rows, with the addition of mouldings, which divided the obelisks into four parts, in the highest of which there was a niche destined perhaps to receive the statue of some rural deity. At each angle of the bridge stood an obelisk forty-two feet high, and collectively they must have presented to the eye of the passenger an object of striking grandeur.

No. CXXX. The other bridge is constructed over a difficult pass on the same road, about a mile distant. In the brick parapets of this bridge the architect has made gutters for the discharge of water. Its length is about one hundred and two feet, its breadth thirty-six feet, and its perpendicular elevation sixty feet. The aqueduct is four feet and a half in breadth, and five feet high, and is covered with large slabs of stone horizontally disposed. This bridge is likewise adorned with four obelisks placed at its four angles. Their dimensions are larger than those before mentioned, and they have no niches in the upper compartment. Their execution is equally skilful.

What opinion shall we form of these stupendous works, which, all circumstances considered, are unique in their kind? Constructed amidst rugged precipices in the deep glens of mountains, they afford a striking proof of the population and the power of this once mighty republic.

ANTIQUITIES OF TEHUANTEPEC.

PROCEEDING from the city of Mexico through Puebla and Mosaque, we pursued our journey first to Molcaxaque, and thence to New Tepexe. Here I obtained from the magistrate of the town the requisite assistance to enable me to explore some ruins which still exist about three leagues westward of the site of Old Tepexe.

No. I. My curiosity was gratified by the sight of several ruins which I discovered in that neighbourhood. The first that attracted my attention was a massy pile of building, apparently designed for the defence of some interior structure. This work exhibits a system of fortification which I cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent. The walls are constructed of square stones, cemented with a durable mortar composed of lime and sand, and present an elevation which gradually recedes from the base to the summit, forming a series of overhanging platforms; thus giving each platform (of which there are eight) the command of that beneath it, as may be seen in the drawing annexed.

The space which this building covers is immense, but its situation precluded the possibility of any accurate admeasurement. It stands on the projecting angle of a rock, surrounded by vast precipices; while innumerable serpents, fostered by a climate so intensely hot as that of Lower Misteca, lurk in its recesses and guard its mouldering walls from intrusion. The buildings which form the interior of this vast structure are disposed with such order and regularity, as to lead me to imagine that they were once the residence of some potent Indian prince; for notwithstanding its present state of dilapidation and decay, the traces of arrangement and design in the disposition of its several parts are clearly visible, while the whole building must have been executed with rule, compass, and level, or some instruments of a corresponding description.

No. II. In the middle of a spacious area we found a fragment of red granite, the carved surface of which resembles the calendar affixed to the steeple of the cathedral at Mexico. It exhibits several concentric circles, two of which inclose a row of square compartments. The few hieroglyphics or astronomical symbols which this fragment contains (sufficient to enable us to form an opinion of the appearance which the perfect whole presented), show that astronomy was a favourite science among the ancient Mexicans. In addition to these, our attention was drawn to the transverse orifice in the centre, the probable receptacle of a hand or gnomon; which, supposing this dial to have been horizontally placed, was intended by its shadow to mark the hours through every month of the revolving year. I computed the diameter of this instrument to have been six feet, and its thickness nine inches; and I contemplated it with a feeling of regret, that any part of so valuable a testimonial of Mexican science should have been irreparably destroyed.

No. III. This spherical stone, about a yard and a half in diameter, which we found at the entrance of the ruins above mentioned, was probably employed by the ancient inhabitants to sharpen the points or edges of their domestic tools and weapons of war; since we observed on its surface several marks which confirmed us in the opinion that it had formerly been converted to such a use.

From this ancient site we proceeded to Oaxaca, being obliged to pursue a circuitous course in order to arrive there.

No. IV. Some Indians of the village of Quilapan brought me a small axe of red copper, which had evidently been cast in a mould, of the size and shape represented in the drawing. At first sight it resembled a labourer's tool, but it might also have been applied to the purposes of war or sacrifice; or perhaps, when mounted on a shaft, have enjoyed the more honourable distinction of being borne in the hands of the civil magistrate.

Leaving behind us the city of Antequera, and journeying by the main road to Tehuantepec, we arrived there without meeting with any ancient building during the whole of our journey.

No. V. Soon after our arrival at Tehuantepec we were informed by Don Vicente Lelo, the Deputy Governor of the district, an enlightened man and a loyal subject of our sovereign, that within a few leagues of that town we should find various architectural remains. Whilst I was preparing to proceed thither, a military weapon was brought to me which had been found in those ruins. It is the barb of a sort of dart such as I had never seen, made of very hard flint, and of the size represented in the drawing. Like our bayonets it has three edges, and the end is formed into a shaft with the design of its being fixed in the socket of some pole or handle.

In furtherance of the object of the commission which had been intrusted to me, I made the necessary arrangements for exploring a plain three leagues to the westward of the town. Accompanied by the Deputy Governor, we arrived at the base of a lofty mountain called Guingola (which name signifies in the Zapotecan language The High Rock), on the summit of which we observed some ruins. We ascended the mountain by steep, winding, and rugged paths, and our progress was rendered more toilsome by the intense heat of a vertical sun. Having reached the summit, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ascent, we discovered amidst heaps of earth and fragments of ruined edifices, some buildings yet remaining of a pyramidical shape, and in a state of good preservation.

No. VI. The first of these is a pyramid consisting of four stories, built of stone. The walls are coated with flags which are overspread with a cement of lime, sand, and ochre. The principal ascent is on the western side, while two smaller flights of stairs face the north and south, all conducting to the horizontal surface, on which worship was paid, and barbarous sacrifices performed to false and imaginary gods. The second story is ornamented with stones inserted longitudinally, and at equal distances in the wall, the extremities of each projecting from its surface: on these the natives were probably accustomed to fix lighted torches, or to range the heads of their sacrificed victims. The dimensions of this structure may be seen by the scale. The basement story is perpendicular, and its form oblong: the three other stories are oblique, each receding about a yard from its base. The principal ascent consists of about forty steps; the height and breadth of each step is about nine inches. The breadth of the staircases on the north and south sides is two yards.

No. VII. The dimensions and the form of the second pyramid, though apparently built at the same period, differ from those of the first: the former, as I have stated, being of four stories, the latter of only two. The principal staircase has likewise a contrary direction, facing the east; the smaller ones, like the others, front the north and south; and it is remarkable that the angles of the basement story are curvilinear. The materials of which this monument is composed are similar to those of the one last mentioned; but grandeur is united with simplicity in the architectural deco-

rations of the upper story, which consist of two parallel friezes with square mouldings, inlaid with large blocks of white marble, covered with hieroglyphics, now in a state of decay. There is something painful in the reflection, that the proudest works of man must sooner or later yield to time.

No. VIII. This monument is of a conical form, divided by stories, resembling a flight of steps. The base or platform upon which it stands is sixty-six feet in length, and its height twelve feet. Its construction is perfectly regular; the material is stone covered with a coat of lime and sand, painted with ochre. It is probable that the flat surface by which it is terminated, served as the pedestal of some heathen statue placed in this open and conspicuous situation, or it possibly might have been a sepulchre destined to contain the remains of some distinguished warrior. I must here remark, that of the many pyramidical edifices which I have had the opportunity of observing in my different excursions through the provinces of New Spain, none terminate in a point, but invariably in a horizontal plane of greater or lesser extent. It is evident that the founders of these structures spared neither labour, time, nor cost, in the erection of fabrics which they consecrated to religion, or hallowed to the memory of their deceased kings and ancestors.

No. IX. Before I quit this memorable spot, I shall notice another curious monument, which from its circular form I imagine was dedicated to the celebration of gladiatorial sacrifices. It is composed of stones and mortar formed into a solid mass, and its whole surface is coated with a hard, smooth, and white cement. It occupies the centre of a square area in front of the principal ascent to the second pyramid, at the distance of about one hundred paces. This position confirms my conjecture that it was associated with some religious rite. It might, however, have been constructed for the very different purpose of serving as a stage for the exhibition of burlesque representations.

No. X. I quitted the town of Tehuantepec, having been much gratified with what I had seen in it, and proceeded to an Indian village named Chilhuitlan, situated at the distance of a day's journey, where I found an ancient stone bridge in a state of good preservation, still serving as a passage over the river which flows in the neighbourhood. It is about twelve feet long, six feet wide, and its elevation is nine feet above the level of the stream. Its sides are provided with low parapets, which are intersected with gutters for the discharge of water. That which first attracts the spectator's attention, and forms indeed the most interesting feature in this ancient piece of masonry, is its pointed arch, which is composed of two blocks of stone of curvilinear shape and large dimensions, comprising within their span a space of nine feet.

From this village we continued our journey to the town of St. Dominic Petapa, lying in the direct road to Ciudad Real, where, thank God, we arrived in safety.

No. XI. A few days after my arrival at this city, I inquired, as was my general practice, for some intelligent persons from whom I might procure information on the subject of the commission with which I was entrusted, and I had the pleasure of finding in Don Ramon de Ordoñes, the Vicar-general of the diocese, a gentleman whose love of antiquarian research well qualified him for the task. He showed me two curious relics in his possession. The first is a head formed of green porphyry, measuring seven inches in breadth and two in thickness. It is a whimsical attempt to represent a man's face in double profile, as will be better understood by reference to the annexed drawing. The countenance is beardless, the ears fanciful, and the cap which covers the head quite

original. There is a protuberance on the forehead, and to imitate nature seems never to have been contemplated by the artist. A semicircular fracture is visible at the top of the head, which was perhaps originally a circular hole, by which it was suspended like a medallion round the neck of some gigantic statue. The surface of this curious piece of sculpture displays an exquisite polish.

No. XII. This number presents to our view in miniature one of the most valuable specimens in existence of Mexican or Guatemaltecan antiquity. We here behold an engraved copper medallion, about two inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch in thickness, the weight of which rather exceeds that of a Mexican dollar, as the Vicar-general ascertained at Guatemala. He conjectures, and I think with reason, that its date is as ancient as the first colonization of this continent. It was found on that celebrated spot which in later ages received the appellation of Palenque. It is evidently not struck from any die, but shaped and engraved by the hand, the point made by the compass or some similar instrument when forming the concentric lines on its surface being still visible in the centre. The upper side of the medal contains an historical device, composed of a mysterious hieroglyphical group, of which the principal figure is that of a man kneeling in the attitude of a suppliant, and entirely destitute of apparel, with the exception of a turban and buskins. The beard denotes the sex of the figure, although the lip is without mustachios. Placed between the ferocious and menacing heads of two monsters, nearly resembling the alligator or the Egyptian crocodile, he seems, not without imminent peril, to have gained admission to this romantic, luxuriant, and fruitful portion of the globe, so favourable to the multiplication of the human species.

The reverse, as I term it, of this medallion, which nevertheless may be its principal face, is equally enigmatical and difficult of explanation. How in attempting to escape Scylla shall we avoid falling into Charybdis? Its field displays the same mountainous yet luxuriant scenery; but the effigy of a lofty tree in the centre, covered with fruit and spreading foliage, is that which chiefly attracts attention; the size of its trunk undoubtedly indicates the fertility of the soil in which it grows.

We perceive at the root of the tree a scaly serpent entwining itself round the trunk, which may possibly allude to the primitive occupation by some ancient colony of this chosen and retired spot. The bird of Jove, perched upon the summit of an adjoining mountain, was perhaps intended as the symbol of rising power. These and similar conjectures must, however, be received with caution, since the subject to which they relate is as dark and mysterious as was the riddle proposed by the Theban Sphynx. If I may venture to offer an opinion, it would be, that the principal side of this medal records the migration of a colony, which, after encountering many difficulties, at last arrives at the land of its destination; whilst the reverse signifies the flourishing and prosperous state which the same colony afterwards attained*.

Having terminated our researches in this place, notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by the inhabitants, who designated us as traitors, we continued our journey to Ocotzingo.

No. XIII. We observed in the town-hall of the latter place two large blocks of stone, the first of which is of a hard substance and of a dark grey colour. It exhibits a male figure executed in alto-relievo. The style of the sculpture is good, but the attitude is constrained and painful, the head being very much inclined to the right, while the arms and hands appear to be bound. It was im-

* A similarity is perceptible in the ornamental border which surrounds this medallion, to the necklaces of several statues which we discovered in the ancient city of Palenque.

possible to ascertain the position of the legs, the lower part of the stone having suffered considerable mutilation. The figure is naked, with the exception of a sash girt round the waist. How shall we attempt to describe the curious crown which adorns without protecting the head? It is impossible to guess what may have been the design of the artist, but probably he intended to represent a victim destined for sacrifice on the bloody altar of superstition and fanaticism.

No. XIV. The other basso-relievo, sculptured in a yellow stone, is probably historical. Besides the two principal figures that constitute the group, hieroglyphics are distributed in different parts of it, of which the drawing will convey a more perfect idea than any description that I could offer. I shall therefore confine my remarks to the former. One of these beardless figures is standing, and the other sitting; while the artist evidently designed to represent both personages as engaged in animated conversation. Each is presenting to the other some gift. The figure which is sitting holds in its left hand a globe surmounted by a crown: the other holds something likewise in its hand, but the sculpture is too much defaced to enable me to judge what it resembles. The dress, fashioned after nature's simplest pattern, is disposed, as is usual in their representations of the human form, with a strict regard to decency. Their helmets are of very complicated workmanship. That of the upright figure is composed of the head and tail of some bird, probably the eagle, on the top of which is a circle decorated with plumes, whilst the expanded feathers of the tail hang down gracefully behind: to these are added other ornaments. The helmet of the seated figure is not so elaborately adorned, but I am unable to give a minute description of its parts. I have already observed that these figures appear to be engaged in amicable conference, in confirmation of which it may be remarked that neither of them is furnished with any offensive weapon. This piece of sculpture, as well as that before mentioned, formed a part of the decorations of some ancient buildings situated two leagues eastward of the town, in a place called in the Zendal language Tonila, which signifies The Stone houses.

No. XV. In our way thither, and in its immediate vicinity, we found several human figures carved in stone, all of them headless trunks, and scattered like rubbish over the surface of the plain. I shall describe the two which were in the best state of preservation. The mutilated form of the first is one yard and half an inch in height, and of proportionate breadth. This statue is affixed to a pedestal of a prismatic shape, measuring two yards in length. The material is a hard ash-coloured stone; and from the excellence of the workmanship, I cannot help regretting its present imperfect state, which also renders any conjecture as to its original design almost fruitless. The arms are folded over the breast, the feet are in contact with each other, and the long robe which covers the whole figure, with the exception of the hands, resembles a scapulary. The fixed attitude of devotion, and the dress, render it more probable that this was the statue of a heathen priest, than an image to which vows were accustomed to be addressed. It bears some resemblance, either by chance or imitation, to the ancient statues of the Egyptians.

No. XVI. This statue, the material of which is similar to that last mentioned, is equally well executed. It is the mutilated figure of a female (the mere trunk being all that remains) dressed in a robe, covered by a sort of vest, which divides in front like a curtain drawn aside. An apron, tastefully ornamented, is fastened to the waist, and descends to the feet of the figure. The remains of this statue are sufficient to indicate the regular symmetry of its original form, although it is impossible to say

what might have been its destination when new from the hands of the sculptor. It is probable that the Indians had their female as well as their male divinities, and that both were equally invoked by them in seasons of calamity.

No. XVII. Having spent some time in contemplating these mutilated statues, I proceeded to examine the remains of their temples, which were situated in a sultry and woody spot, at the distance of a cannon-shot, on the slope of a gently rising eminence terminating in a flight of steps, which (though now in a state of dilapidation) formed the entrance to the building. Five of these temples are still in existence; three of which are roofed, and two open to the air. The perspective view of these ruins presents three points of elevation: on the first stand two small oratories, then the large temple, occupying the centre of the second elevation, while the two artificial hills are ranged upon the third.

The three covered oratories have many points of resemblance in their structure. They are built in the same style, with the same materials, and the same ornaments: their porches are paved with large square slabs of free-stone; the walls and roofs are coated with a cement of lime and sand; and the doors and vaulted ceilings terminate in an acute angle. The four sides are decorated with a frieze, and the interior is divided into several different apartments. The principal building stands in the centre, and was formerly occupied by the idol and its altar.

The artificial hills, which are about twenty yards in height, and which bound the perspective just mentioned, are built of stone and mortar, the whole occupying a space of about two hundred yards.

These two pyramidical structures differ in one respect from all the buildings of a similar kind that I have met with. Their roofs, which are entire, terminate in an acute angle, and are destitute of the round or square area, usually appropriated to the celebration of their religious rites. The principal entrance to the largest temple fronts the west; the sides of the smaller ones face the cardinal points.

No. XVIII. This plate contains a vertical section and ground plan of the buildings mentioned above.

Having fully investigated these ancient edifices I returned to the town of Ocotzingo, intending to proceed thence to Palenque.

ANTIQUITIES OF PALENQUE.

AFTER a journey of eight days we reached the city of Palenque. The space which we had to traverse is scarcely passable for any other animal than a bird; the road winding through mountains and over precipices, which we crossed sometimes on the backs of mules and sometimes on foot. Our only vehicle was a litter or a hammock, and we were compelled to pass the streams which intersected our route by bridges rudely formed of trees. The country through which we travelled, though fertile, is uncultivated and unpeopled, except by the inhabitants of a few scattered huts: hence we had no other bed than the earth, nor covering than the heavens. Our baggage was transported by the help of some Indians of extraordinary strength and agility. Loaded with a weight of two hundred and fifty pounds, enough for the back of a mule, they proceeded on with unslackened pace, and climbed like deer the passes of the mountains.

After having encountered every kind of difficulty during this toilsome journey, we arrived, thanks to God! in safety at New Palenque, the principal object of this our third expedition. This city belongs to the diocese of Chiapa, and the principal magistrate is also Deputy Governor of Ciudad Real, a city distant about eighty leagues to the westward. The population is large; composed of natives, Europeans, and their joint offspring. It stands on an uneven site of ground, in a climate which, though hot, appears to be healthy and favourable to vegetation, situated in the latitude of sixteen degrees north. Plantations of achote, rice, cacao, and other productions peculiar to this climate are found here, and the pine-apple grows wild.

The surrounding country is mountainous, interspersed with fruitful plains, which are watered by rivers and brooks, and produce in great abundance a lofty tree with a trunk of proportionate magnitude, the bark of which, naturally dry, is powdered and used as a perfume in the churches. It is odoriferous in the extreme, and its name in the Zendal language is Ticconti.

As soon as the weather permitted I hastened to explore the neighbouring ruins. The name of the celebrated city, of which they are the remains, has not survived the oblivion in which that of its founders is equally involved, and the Spaniards have improperly called it Old Palenque. Nothing remains of this powerful nation but the mighty skeleton of those works of art which time has not been able to destroy.

It was built on the brow of a chain of rugged mountains, and situated to the south-west of the new city occupied a space of ground seven miles and a half in extent. A situation so elevated rendered it easily defensible against any hostile attack, while the woods which diversified the face of the wide and beautiful landscape lying around it, contributed to make it an equally desirable residence in time of peace.

The copious streams which still pour their rich treasures through the neighbouring valleys, fall upon the ear with soft and gentle murmurs; and while they give beauty and variety to the lovely face of the surrounding scenery, adorn it yet further by nourishing a thousand gay flowers, which

fill the air with the most delightful fragrance. A spot so favoured by nature abounds with birds and beasts of various tribes, which here propagate their species unmolested and secure.

Having contemplated and admired the beauties which nature has so lavishly bestowed upon this solitary place, I proceeded to examine those monuments of man's skill and industry which attach still greater interest to it. The dimensions of these various buildings may be ascertained by the scales annexed to their several drawings, and the reader will be assisted by consulting the ichnographical surveys, in which it is to be observed that the arrow always indicates the north.

I shall confine myself to the description of the ground-plans, elevations, and materials of each structure, reserving for the future any remarks connected with their architectural merit, and the figures and hieroglyphics sculptured on their walls, in order that the thread of my narrative may be unbroken.

In front of the ancient palace was a spacious open square, commanding a noble view of the greater temple. Here we encamped, building our huts with stakes, and covering them with the leaves of a tree (somewhat resembling those of the tobacco plant) of more than three feet in length, and proportionably wide, but destitute of smell.

No. XIX. The stupendous pile which supports the intricate fabric I am going to describe is of a pyramidical shape: its oblong base is about three hundred and sixty yards in circumference, gradually decreasing towards the summit. On the front, which faces the East, is an ample staircase of hewn stone, forming the principal entrance to the building. The basement story is built of square blocks of stone, and enriched with a very bold cornice.

No. XX. This number represents the ground plan of this vast edifice, whence its dimensions may be accurately ascertained, as well as the distribution of its various apartments. The summit of the artificial pyramid forms a spacious platform, which served for its foundation; and the excellence of the materials which were employed in its structure, is apparent in the durability and strength of its walls. The oblong area, on which the building is situated, projects six feet on every side beyond it, its circumference being about three hundred and twenty-four yards. The elevation is about ninety feet from the surface of the ground; the principal walls are four feet in thickness, the inner walls less. The galleries are constructed so as to admit light into the several apartments, by the vacant spaces which are left alternately in the walls. The door-ways vary from twelve feet to one foot and a half in breadth, and from fifteen feet to four feet and a half in height. They are for the most part without lintels. The windows also differ considerably both in size and form, as may be seen in the drawing; and the apartments are of very limited dimensions.

The floors are composed of loose stones, firmly united with sand and cement, and covered with a thick coat of hard and polished stucco. The ceilings are curiously constructed, all of them terminating in angular vaults, closed above with slabs of stone, each a yard in length.

The roofs are of a corresponding shape with the ceilings, on which were placed, instead of tiles, large slabs of stone regularly disposed, and forming a covering of great durability. The whole of this vast structure was plastered both within and without with shining stucco, and enriched with a plain deep cornice inclosed within two double mouldings.

No. XXI. This plate represents the interior or vertical section of the corridors, saloons, and chambers, as well as the buildings which stand in the large quadrangle. Two flights of steps, facing

each other, descend into the grand area. They are formed of blocks of hewn stone half a yard in height, the same in breadth, and one yard in length.

No. XXII. On the first flight of steps appear two rows of gigantic figures (as shown in the annexed drawing), placed somewhat obliquely side by side. They are carved in alto-relievo out of blocks of granite; some are standing, some kneeling in different attitudes. The heads are all sculptured in profile; the mouths, half-open, show part of the upper teeth, and all appear absorbed in admiration, their eyes fixed on the same elevated point. Their chins are beardless, and their hair falls in tresses from the head, which is covered by a kind of turban, of a different fashion in each figure. The ears are ornamented, the wrists encircled with ruffles, and they wear girdles, two of which are of considerable breadth and covered with hieroglyphics. The size of each figure is portly, and the aspect grave: they are all mitred, and to the neck of each is suspended a collar studded with precious stones, to which is fastened a locket containing some device. Nakedness among these people was not the effect of poverty, but of habit caused by residence in a sultry climate; neither was it connected with any feeling of indecorum. They were content with merely studying decency in their apparel, a due regard to which is sufficiently discernible in all the representations of the human figure which have fallen under my notice.

These statues, notwithstanding the solidity of the material in which they are executed, have suffered considerably from the unrelenting hand of time. It is vain to inquire who they were originally intended to represent, or why they were placed in their present situation. My ignorance on these points obliges me to view them merely in the light of ornaments, not unworthy of a sumptuous temple.

No. XXIII. This drawing represents a building of singular beauty and proportion. It is a square pyramidical tower, remarkable for its symmetry and the elegance of its construction, of which there remain four stories, gradually decreasing in size, and separated by deep stone mouldings covered with a coat of bright cement. The jambs and lintels of the door-way are of chaste and finished execution. To every story there are windows on each of the four sides. The circumference of the tower measures one hundred and twenty feet at its base, each side being thirty feet in breadth, and its whole exterior has an air of simple grandeur.

No. XXIV. This plate shows the vertical section of the tower, with the staircases leading diagonally to each story. The upper story being in ruins, its original height cannot be ascertained.

No. XXV. This drawing represents an isolated interior building, which, except the roof, is in very good preservation. It differs in its construction from those I have already mentioned, the architrave being of an uncommon form, and composed of solid blocks of stone obliquely placed, forming an obtuse angle, and thus serving as a penthouse fit to afford shelter from the heat or rain, as well as a support to a broad frieze with two mouldings, the lower of which is wider than the upper one. The upper story of this building (if another existed) is destroyed.

No. XXVI. The walls of the saloon which you enter on the northern side of this isolated edifice are not wholly divested of their ancient ornaments. A stucco moulding tastefully executed encircles a tablet of stone, on the surface of which are two figures carved in alto-relievo; its lower extremity rests upon a square block of stone, probably an altar, which is also ornamented with figures and symbols. The subject of this piece of sculpture is most rare and curious. Two female figures are represented as seated; the one seems to be a goddess or personage of distinction, to whom the other

is offering a gift, which the former is in the act of gracefully declining. This personage is seated on a throne carved in the form of a monstrous animal, with a head at each end of its body looking in opposite directions, having its two necks decorated with collars of pearls, to which other ornaments are appended. This group was perhaps designed by the artist as an allegorical illustration of some part of the law or fabulous history of his countrymen. The principal figure, which is naked, is probably emblematical of Nature. Her head is adorned with a very light and curious cap: a string of pearls and precious stones hangs round her neck, to which is attached an ornament surrounding a device resembling somewhat in form the letter T; and her arms are also decorated with bracelets. The other figure, represented in a sitting posture, is dressed in the usual attire of the country, a mantle and petticoat, which are of a pattern resembling net-work, adorned with pearls and a festooned border. She also wears a curious cap and ear-rings. The mouth of each figure is open, as if they were engaged in actual conversation. The hieroglyphics which are engraved on the surface of the stone were doubtless intended to explain the subject of this composition. The stone itself is of a durable quality and dark-coloured. On the south side of this saloon is the staircase which leads to the subterraneous apartments.

No. XXVII. In our descent to these apartments we remarked, over the first door-way, some plain yet elegant ornaments executed in stucco; the first two mouldings being in remarkably good taste. It is probable that they had some relation to the rites which were practised in these gloomy abodes.

On one side we observed the body of a man joined to the head of a quadruped, resembling that of a wild dog, or Osiris, celebrated in ancient mythology, whose neck was surrounded by a collar formed of leaves arranged like feathers. On the opposite side is a corresponding figure of a naked man, whose head is covered with a cap of leaves; he holds in his mouth a kind of pipe. These hieroglyphical figures face each other, and support with their hands a table or altar resting upon two feet, over which is placed an ornament also formed of leaves. Under these figures are two dismembered arms, two skulls, and several smaller hieroglyphical figures.

The design of this enigmatical device was probably to awaken a feeling of awe and fear in the minds of all who entered these sacred precincts. It is not surprising that on approaching these gloomy vaults, the scenes of human sacrifice, we should encounter such emblems. The skulls and mangled limbs are fit devices for the portals of such a temple.

No. XXVIII. The ornaments of the second door-way are less complicated, but of a more graceful character than those of the first. They consist of some curious Arabesque foliage diverging from a central point, whence also a human figure appears to descend. Half only of the body is revealed to view; the neck is encircled with a necklace, and the wrists with bracelets. We may suppose this figure to represent one of the aerial messengers so frequently described in the Arabian Nights, as descending from a superior region on some important mission to the world below. The head is covered with a sort of cap, analogous to that with which the heathen mythology has attired the god Mercury. Curiosity in vain attempts to discover the meaning of these mysterious symbols.

No. XXIX. This plate contains a ground plan of three subterraneous vaults. They are built with solidity, and their structure is perfectly regular. Their roofs are angular, and they are furnished with staircases, doors of communication, and tables or altars resting upon the floor, or built into the wall. The first impression, which further examination tended to confirm, led me to suppose that

these were chambers dedicated to the service of the dead, and that the altars were intended for the reception of offerings or the immolation of victims. They differ in size, being from two yards to two yards and a half in length, and one yard and a half in breadth. Some are of smaller dimensions, but all are formed of a single stone, sculptured in a simple style without any ornamental relievos. They are of proportionate thickness, and rest upon four square stone legs.

It was impossible to explore the remainder of these gloomy vaults, the north end having fallen in and being choked up with rubbish; and we feared that an attempt to make any excavation might bury us in the ruins. We therefore ascended by a different staircase, affording an egress near an angle of the building, on the landing-place of which I discovered a stone, which I have preserved as a curious relic.

No. XXX. This stone being strongly imbedded in the wall was removed with great difficulty. It is of calcareous substance, and is in very good preservation. The surface is covered with various hieroglyphics, which, like the relievos placed over the door-ways before mentioned, might have been intended to convey a tacit admonition to persons who descended into these vaults. My only motive for removing this stone from its place, was the desire of possessing some memorial of my journey, as well as a testimonial of the correctness of my draughtsman, whose uniform accuracy and fidelity I am bound to commend.

No. XXXI. This plate exhibits some ornamental mouldings in stucco, which are executed in alto-relievo, with such a regard to symmetrical arrangement, that a line drawn vertically through the centre divides the whole into two equal and similar parts. They consist of various Arabesque ornaments and designs, to which are added the fanciful and symbolical figures of two birds exactly similar to each other, standing upon a base formed of regular geometrical figures that appear to have been drawn with a compass. This ornament in stucco was found in a room of inconsiderable size, on the wall facing the entrance; in the centre of which is a window or opening in the form of a cross, or rather of the letter T, communicating with an adjoining room, which forms part of the same great edifice.

No. XXXII. This number comprises a drawing of one of the tables which were found in the subterranean apartments above mentioned, formed of a single slab of the same kind of stone as that employed in the erection of the building; and likewise specimens of the different shapes of the various windows and small recesses which this vast labyrinth contained.

No. XXXIII. On the left side of the staircase which leads from the great court to the saloon above the vaults, there is a statue resembling the colossal ones which I have described above, and probably placed there with the same intention. The kneeling posture is similar, and the countenance gazes upwards with an air of admiration. The head is covered with a cap of strange and curious fashion, and the chin is beardless. Its neck is adorned with a necklace, which is partly concealed by the arms folded over the breast. The ear-rings consist of long tassels, and the dress is merely a curiously wrought sash which reaches to the knees. This statue is carved only in front, its back being a tablet inserted in the wall. In material and colour it resembles the colossal statues before referred to. As it is a small and solitary figure, a place has been allotted to it in the plate which contains representations of the windows.

Thus far I have described what presented itself to my observation; but vain would be the attempt to explain the meaning of these mysterious relievos: the national deities or kings may perhaps be represented by the statues which crowd the avenues of this vast temple, or the laws of some ancient legislator may be recorded on the tables of granite ranged along its mouldering walls.

The air of authority distinguishable in most of the figures, the crown or diadem encircling their brows, the sceptre, the collar and the badge suspended to their necks, render it not improbable that they were intended to represent kings, with vassals prostrate at their feet in suppliant attitudes, either paying homage or imploring protection.

Their costume though simple is varied. Their caps, helmets, and girdles differ: and this variety in the dress of the kneeling and recumbent figures may be characteristic of different vanquished cities and states.

I am aware how short and unsatisfactory this explanation must appear, and that it can afford but little real information to the inquirer; it nevertheless must supply the place of more certain information.

OF THE ART OF MOULDING IN STUCCO.

The subject at which we now arrive is so mysterious, that its elucidation would require the art of the diviner. Surrounded as I am with what amazes and perplexes me, I shall begin by describing the large historical alto-relievos which still exist in perfect preservation, although the greater part of those that once ornamented or illustrated these temples have mouldered beneath the hand of time. With the exception of a few which were carved in stone, they were all uniform in size, colour, and material, and were disposed at regular intervals in compartments, which occupy the inside and outside walls of their respective temples.

No. XXXIV. Like the structures which contain them, these relievos are fast hastening to decay. Already their remains, mixed with dilapidated fragments of the walls to which they were attached, strew the surface of the ground; and if they were of an historical nature, the chain of events which they record is now for ever broken. All that I could do was to cause those which were still perfect to be copied with the utmost fidelity, the greater part having left merely an impression on the wall. There are many circumstances connected with these relievos worthy of attention. The situations which they occupied, more especially in the greater temple, were happily selected; ranged in regular order, and filling the vacant panels between the portals on the outside of the corridor of that vast edifice, they invested it with an air of imposing and regal splendour. Each compartment contained some mysterious group of figures and hieroglyphics surrounded by a border.

They executed their figures in stucco in two different ways: one of which, it appears, was by first drawing the outline on the wall, and afterwards spreading the cement over it. Traces of these black outlines yet remain. By the other mode a rude imitation of the human figure in stone was substituted for the outline, to which shape and proportion were added by moulding the limbs into proper form with moist stucco. This operation is called in our academies, making the skeleton of the statue, a practice which likewise obtained among the Indians. They afterwards painted these

statues with vermilion, minute particles of which, as well as occasional patches, are still visible in the narrow folds of the drapery. The stucco employed in the composition of them was admirable in quality. I term it natural stucco, for it does not appear to contain either sand, powdered marble, or any sort of adulteration: it is hard in the extreme, besides being beautifully white. With this substance all the relievos which enriched the walls of these buildings and splendid monuments were executed.

Most of the figures are erect and well proportioned: all of them are in profile, portly, and almost colossal, their height exceeding six feet; while their attitudes display great freedom of limb, with a certain expression of dignity. Their dress, though sumptuous, never wholly covers the body: their heads are decorated with helmets, crests, and spreading plumes; and they wear necklaces, from which are suspended medallions. Many of the figures hold a kind of rod or staff in one hand; at the feet of others smaller figures are placed in reverential postures, and some are surrounded with rows of hieroglyphics.

I feel persuaded that these alto-relievos were historical representations. Each compartment contains from one to three figures, tastefully grouped, and standing upon pedestals ornamented with hieroglyphics and other curious devices.

The plates included under the present number are copies of the figures which are ranged along the principal front of the greater temple. Notwithstanding the general correctness of design which they discover, it is impossible to regard without surprize a striking peculiarity exhibited in the physiognomy of these statues, the nose and the forehead forming by their junction a perfect curve; and as if to render this peculiarity more apparent, the nose is made unusually large. It is generally allowed that the profile of the human countenance is of more easy representation than the full face; but refraining at present from indulging in conjecture, I shall content myself with remarking that the intelligent will view with deep interest the features of a race of men which appear to have been unknown either to ancient or modern historians.

No. XXXV. At a short distance to the south of the greater temple is another, which has received the vulgar appellation of "Las Lajas," (*The Slabs*) a name probably given to it from the massy slabs of stone of which it is built. It stands on the summit of an artificial hill, and its front faces the north: its elevation is well proportioned, and (like all other buildings of a similar kind) the entablatures of its walls are adorned with allegorical figures, enclosed within parallel mouldings, and surmounted by a broad frieze. The roof is in ruins, but the stone floor still remains.

No. XXXVI. The four colossal figures referred to by this number are placed in the panels between each door-way on the principal side of the last-mentioned temple; they are apparently absorbed in devotion, and the faces of all are turned towards the centre of the sanctuary. Two are placed on each side, holding in one hand a gift, and with the other supporting a child, offering it as it were to the Law; for it does not appear that these children were offered to any deity, since no statue or image of any kind is placed in this temple, its only contents being massive blocks of stone, full of hieroglyphics, which doubtless were tables on which were engraved their laws and ritual observances. I regretted extremely to find that it was utterly impossible to copy these hieroglyphics: the rain having so injured and decayed the surface of the stones, that a fragment which we endeavoured to clean for the purpose crumbled in the attempt. Each of the figures is in the act of presenting a branch, as well as a child, at the temple, which might either have been to entreat

fruitfulness, or some symbol explanatory of the nature of the offering. Considerable variety is displayed in their dress. The chin of one of them is not wholly destitute of beard: another is a female figure attired in a short petticoat, elegantly adorned with net-work, pearls, and fringes, and wearing a rich girdle. The other two represent men, plainly and uniformly habited, in a dress which I am inclined to think must have been their national costume. They are all standing upon pedestals, decorated as usual with fanciful embellishments These emblematical relievos, formed like the others of stucco, are in a state of similar decay; being exposed to the open air, they have suffered much from the changes of the atmosphere. The head of the woman, as well as those of the children, has completely mouldered away.

No. XXXVII. I shall now proceed to describe a human figure executed in stucco in bold relief, which owing to its situation is in excellent preservation. It was discovered in an interior covered temple, the architecture of which scarcely differs from that of the temples in its immediate vicinity. It faces the east, and its subterraneous vaults are also on that side. It stands at a short distance to the south of the Presentation Temple, or the Temple of the Children, upon the verdant summit of a natural hill, to which the hand of man would seem to have given a certain regularity of form.

This image is placed on a throne or altar; its attitude is graceful, expressive, and commanding, and it appears to be in the act of delivering oracles either true or false to the people. It is seated on a richly adorned cushion, with one leg crossed under its body: the cushion is elevated upon a pedestal or table of curious shape, the feet of which resemble the claws of an eagle, and serve as pilasters to a massy square slab, well wrought and finished. At the extremities of the table are carved the heads of two monstrous animals, surmounted by fanciful ornaments: their open mouths display the eagerness with which they are prepared to defend or to enforce due respect to the image and its temple. A knotted collar encircles their necks. The head of the image is not decorated in exactly the same style as those of the preceding figures, as will be immediately perceived on referring to the drawing. Its arms are ornamented with bracelets, and it wears a short vest, apron, and drawers; sandals are fastened with ribbon tied in bows to its feet. On its right hand appears a row of hieroglyphics ranged vertically. Complete oblivion veils its history, but it may still be presumed that this image represents some distinguished and extraordinary personage.

No. XXXVIII. This temple differs from the one last mentioned, the edifice built upon its upper area consisting of two stories ornamented with their respective cornices; its principal side faces the north. Unlike other structures of this kind, there is no appearance of its ever having contained any figures or hieroglyphical inscriptions, either in its interior, or ranged along the outer compartments of its walls. It stands on the summit of a pyramid, one hundred and eighty feet high, and resting upon a square base. This pyramid was ascended by a staircase, of which scarcely any vestiges remain; it was constructed of excellent materials, and displays skilful masonry. The ground-plan of the temple is annexed to the plate.

No. XXXIX. This temple, which has received the appellation of La Cruz, from the Cross which occupies the centre of its shrine, is likewise famed for the beauty of its architecture. It nearly resembles the former structure, though consisting only of a single story. Situated on the upper area of a steep and lofty pyramid, the ascent to it is difficult, and its principal side faces the north. It is built on the plan of the last-mentioned temple. I have remarked that no trace was there discoverable

of any figures, either carved in stone or executed in stucco; here on the contrary we found many. This temple is aptly named The Sanctuary of the Cross, since it contains a representation of that symbol, carved in stone, and resting upon a pedestal. Beside it stand four grave personages, who contemplate it with an air of deep veneration. The two figures nearest to the Cross are habited in dresses which differ from any that I had hitherto beheld, and seem more deserving of minute attention. The tallest of them (probably a priest) is offering to it with upraised hands a child of singular shape, apparently a new-born infant: admiration is depicted in the countenance of the other. Of the two figures placed in the back ground, one appears to be that of a man bending under the weight of years, apparently in the act of blowing a musical instrument, which he holds with both hands to his mouth. It is a sort of trumpet, composed of different pieces longitudinally united by rings placed at regular intervals: from the tube of the instrument proceed three leaves or feathers; probably feathers, as they were a favourite ornament of the Indians. The last personage in this group is a grave and majestic figure, apparently an admiring spectator of the scene.

It is impossible adequately to describe the interior decorations of this sumptuous temple; the sculptor and the painter seem here to have embodied the most exalted conceptions of their art. The hieroglyphics which adorn this mysterious shrine are innumerable; not only do they surround the Cross in its centre, but present themselves on all sides. They are carved on the surface of marble slabs, of a fine grain and of a deep buff colour, ranged in horizontal rows; they occupy the centre of the building, as in the sanctuary of the Presentation Temple above described.

Our surprise was great on suddenly beholding this cross; but closer examination of it convinced me that it was not the holy Latin Cross which we adore, but a Greek Cross disfigured with various fantastical ornaments; since the former consists of a perpendicular line intersecting a horizontal one rather shorter, thus forming four right angles. Neither do these whimsical embellishments correspond with the venerable simplicity and the sublime mysteries of the true Cross; we must therefore refer this allegorical symbol to the religion of the country, and being totally ignorant of its ritual, it is vain to reason about its destination. I wish that it were in my power to explain the signification of the historical figures which so conspicuously adorn the walls of these temples, a task less difficult than to decypher the meaning of the hieroglyphics. It would appear that this nation had two methods of expressing its ideas, the one by letters or alphabetical signs, the other by obscure and mysterious symbols. These symbols, infinitely diversified in form, were disposed in parallel rows, both vertically and horizontally on the same stone, so as frequently to form right but never acute angles: this peculiarity in their arrangement is not unworthy of attention. In each kind of line the same symbols often occur; and the human heads, which are always in profile, are uniformly turned to the left; a circumstance which leads me to suppose, that like Hebrew writings, these inscriptions were read from right to left. It is much to be regretted that their complicated form would in itself render the attempt to analyze them almost wholly useless; since characters of various colours and substances are here glued over each other, which firmly coalescing have become as it were incorporated with the stone*.

* The nature of these characters will be better understood by comparing them with the hieroglyphics contained in the Dresden MS. The human head with the profile turned to the left is frequently represented in that MS.; but the hand amputated at the wrist, which enters into the composition of four of the symbols surrounding the Cross described by M. Dupaix, is of rarer occurrence: in those characters, of which it forms a part, it points to the right; as is also the case in the symbols referred to.

The path on which I have entered is so difficult and obscure, that I would willingly quit it for the wider field of conjecture, were I not convinced that the result would be fruitless, the scientific key to these hieroglyphics having been for ever lost. It would be wrong indiscriminately to attach importance to all the relievos discovered in these temples: on the contrary, many of them may have been mere ornaments, in no wise connected with religious mysteries. Private edifices of any considerable size or beauty I imagine could never have been numerous in Palenque; but it requires much practical knowledge on the part of the observer to enable him to classify ancient monuments, and to assign to each its proper place.

Having treated of the sister arts, Sculpture and Architecture, I must not omit to make mention of Painting. The skill which this nation displayed in sculpture affords the most satisfactory proof that they must have been proficients in the art of painting. It is therefore only necessary for me to remark, that the colours which they employed were mineral. Notwithstanding the lapse of ages and the corrosive moisture of the atmosphere, I discovered some paintings in the greater temple, representing animals, birds, fruits, and flowers, which displayed both taste and correctness in their design.

No. XL. Under this number are included two stucco tablets. They are copies taken indiscriminately from that numerous class of relievos, which in a sort of language of their own appear to address the stranger. The antiquarian will view with deep interest the unknown characters which cover their surface: their disposition into horizontal and vertical lines is remarkable, and their form is quite original, since they bear not the least resemblance either to Egyptian hieroglyphics, or to the symbols in use amongst the ancient Mexicans.

No. XLI. This circular stone was taken from the foundation story of the greater temple. It is perfectly plain, and without any kind of ornament or device. We found several stones similar to it in the vicinity of that temple, but were unable to ascertain their original destination. They might have been used either as tables or altars for sacrifice.

No. XLII. We discovered amongst these ruins chafing-dishes and censers, of a cylindrical shape and fluted, with oval covers, containing an aperture apparently for the purpose of allowing a passage to the smoke, when incense was burning before the idols or on their altars.

No. XLIII. At a short distance to the north of the greater temple there is a bridge, built of stones so evenly united, that no cement is visible in their interstices: no traces of any parapet can be discerned. The arch, if it may be so called, is of a very peculiar construction; being curvilinear below and flat above, as represented in the drawing. Although the river over which it affords a passage is at some seasons of the year shallow, it is at others deep and dangerous to ford. It flows in an eastward course, and its cold and limpid stream nourishes a shell-fish somewhat resembling a snail, and exceedingly palatable.

No. XLIV. Westward of the greater temple, at the distance of a league, we found the remains of a structure, which possibly served for the public execution of criminals. It consists of a lofty square column, resting upon an oblong granite base. We could neither ascertain its original height, nor make any excavations about its foundations, the upper part having been mutilated, and the site which it occupies being extremely rocky. Its sides face the cardinal points of the compass. Two cylindrical blocks of stone are placed beside it, which might have been pedestals upon which criminals were obliged to stand, to render their punishment more conspicuous.

No. XLV. A league to the westward of this spot runs a rapid stream, in which we found some petrified shells, and others in their natural state. It flows in a southerly direction through an aqueduct, built of stones, united together by a cement so fine as to be scarcely visible: the roof is formed of massy stone slabs.

We were at a loss to conjecture the use of this aqueduct, which might either have answered the purpose of a cistern to convey water to some bath or public reservoir, or have been intended to preserve that element in a pure and salubrious state; or finally, have connected together the straggling suburbs of this city at the period of its greatest population. These immense ruins, scattered over a vast tract of country, and the greater portion of them buried beneath the soil, awaken in the mind of the spectator the liveliest feelings of curiosity and interest.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TRIUMPHAL STONE PRESERVED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO.

THIS monument, which is still preserved in the University of Mexico, is remarkable for the richness of its hieroglyphical sculpture. It is a cylindrical block, vulgarly but erroneously called "The Sacrificial Stone," or "The Stone of the Dance," since doubtless it records victories obtained by the Mexicans over fifteen different provinces or states, and therefore should be regarded in the light of a valuable historical monument. In order to transmit the fame of these victories to distant ages, the Mexicans caused the representation of them to be engraved on a cylindrical stone of the hardest grain. The upper surface of this stone is likewise carved with devices, either merely fanciful, or which may have some connexion with astronomical science, since they are not unlike those sculptured upon the Mexican calendar*; but it would be impossible for me to determine this point. It is evident that this stone was intended to be placed in a horizontal position, with its flat surface resting on the ground; and it probably occupied the centre of some open court, as the most advantageous situation for a monument consecrated to national glory.

The ancient Romans were accustomed to erect columns and triumphal arches in honour of their Emperors, and the Mexicans sought in a similar manner to eternalize the fame of their martial monarchs. It would be a difficult task to assign any dates to the victories emblazoned on this triumphal stone: nor is it possible to ascertain where the series commences, since a cylindrical surface has no defined beginning or end. Although thirty figures are sculptured upon it, they may be reduced to fifteen pairs, as there are only sixteen different warriors; one of whom, who in all probability is the King of Mexico, is represented fifteen several times, while the remaining figures, symbolical of the various conquered nations, differ from each other in their dresses, arms, and devices. Some of the latter are represented with beards, but the attitude of each is expressive of the deepest reverence and submission. There is a general resemblance in their apparel, but their head-dresses and sandals exhibit some variety. There is some difference also in their warlike weapons, though in most cases they are similar; but each subjugated state is distinguished by its peculiar symbol or device. It is probable that the artist, having reduced the block of stone to proper shape and dimensions, and given it the requisite polish, sketched upon its surface the outlines of his work, which he afterwards executed in basso-relievo with a metallic or stone chisel. The figures are all represented in profile, and exhibit a uniformly flat, and not a convex basso-relievo, their outlines principally consisting of straight lines. It is impossible not to admire the symmetrical distribution of the thirty figures into fifteen distinct groups, and the relative equality of

* The Mexican Calendar to which M. Dupaix alludes was dug up not many years ago in the plaza mayor of Mexico, the site formerly occupied by the principal temple of the Mexicans. Baron de Humboldt has given a minute description of this enormous block of sculptured granite, to which the name of The Mexican Calendar has been given from the astrological symbols carved upon its surface, and an engraving of it will be found in his Monumens De L'Amérique.

their proportions. Two parallel borders with different designs inclose and adorn this valuable ancient monument.

The position of the principal figure, which I have already observed is fifteen times repeated, is such that the Mexican monarch, as I shall designate him, is only represented in profile; neither have we a full view of his person: the style of the sculpture is nevertheless bold and energetic. He is attired as a warrior, and wears a crown adorned with beautiful and spreading plumes: his vest is confined with a rich and broad girdle. On his feet are sandals, and that on his left foot is remarkable for the singularity of its shape, and unlike the other rises in the air with a high and graceful curve. His air and demeanour are those of a conqueror: with his left hand he grasps the crest of his vanquished foe, and compels him to an act of submission, while his right holds a circular shield, from beneath which projects a quiver of arrows in a vertical position.

The second figure, which is also in profile, is shorter in stature than the first, and is habited in a plainer military costume, consisting of a helmet or crown of feathers, sandals, a girdle, &c. He seems to be in the act of presenting with his right hand some flowers as a mark of homage to the conqueror. It would certainly be difficult to explain the reason why mankind prefer the right hand to the left; but this appears to be the case amongst nations the furthest removed from each other. The left hand of this figure grasps some warlike weapons which differ from those of the other figures.

Two things are particularly deserving of notice in the figures which represent the conquered nations; the one, that their eyes are either covered with a bandage or concealed by a shade*, probably to mark the respect due to their conqueror; the other, that two of them have long beards and mustachios, a fact which would seem to indicate a diversity of national character.

The hieroglyphical devices, or, as they may be more properly styled, the arms of the several states, provinces, or cities vanquished by the Mexicans, remain to be noticed. To each of the latter was assigned its distinguishing symbol; the emblem of its jurisdiction, situation, and natural productions. I know not whether it was intended to register on the surface of this cylindrical stone (as represented in the preceding plate) the dates of these memorable triumphs, but its first appearance certainly resembles that of the Mexican calendar. The area of the circle is divided into thirty-two equal parts, exhibiting a number of concentric circles exactly parallel, and eight very acute angles, the points of which intersect the outer circle and divide it into eight equal parts; while in like manner eight parallelograms and some oval figures occupy the intervening spaces between the angles. Immediately below these ornaments is a border divided into squares, in each of which are five small circles, one at each angle and one in the centre. This stone in shape also resembles the calendar; but its position must always have been horizontal, with its flat surface resting on the ground: in other respects the difference between these two Mexican monuments is sufficiently apparent.

A human countenance symbolically representing the Sun is carved on the former. What a striking contrast does this representation of the effulgent Author of light present, when compared with the

* The Mexicans seem to have been the only nation who invented and used defensive armour for the nose; their helmets being without vizors, that expedient might have suggested itself to them to remedy the defect. It would appear from some plaster casts of the figures surrounding the sacrificial stone, that the noses of many of them are provided with that species of defence.

sculptured divinities of Grecian mythology. Let us turn from their young and graceful Apollo, with his long and golden tresses, and compare him with the Mexican god of light. His face, of which a front view is given, is represented with mustachios, but destitute of beard, and his tongue protruding from his mouth: various ornaments are fastened to his ears, some of which are circular, others pendant like purses: the collar which adorns his neck is composed of six pearls or gems of different sizes: his head is covered with a sort of mitre, divided by three horizontal lines, with the addition of two circles on the sides: his hair is gracefully arranged. Such is the exact portraiture which the Mexicans drew of the Father of light.

The horizontal surface of the monument above described is sculptured in basso-relievo, with much elegance and correctness of proportion, being ornamented with a series of concentric circles, displaying great regularity, and studded with rows of round and even rings. The outer circle is intersected by eight acute angles and eight parallelograms.—This explanation, though brief, may convey some idea of the merit of this ancient piece of sculpture. The accuracy of its proportions renders it difficult to conceive how it could have been executed without a compass. It is probable that the carving was not merely ornamental, but intended to mark, according to the calculations of the Mexican calendar, the precise period of the erection of this monument*.

* The plate representing the sacrificial stone has been intentionally executed in a coarse style, that the similarity to the original drawing might be more faithfully preserved. It may be proper to remark, that M. Dupaix's Dissertation on the Architecture of Palenque, and the four supplementary chapters which immediately follow it, have been omitted in the translation, because their contents were judged unnecessary for the illustration of the plates, and they are printed in Spanish in the fifth volume.

NOTES.

Note I.

M. DE HUMBOLDT has described in his American Monuments the Temalacatl, or stone for the gladiatorial sacrifices which the Mexicans celebrated in the month Panquetzaliztli. This stone was dug up in the Plaza Mayor of Mexico, not many years before the baron's visit to that city; and since a representation of it will be found in the fourth volume of the present work, it is only necessary to remark here, that the Mexican paintings serve to illustrate the ornamental figures sculptured in relievo around it. It has generally been supposed that these figures commemorate the triumphs of some Mexican king, who is there represented as a warrior leading to execution or into captivity his vanquished foe, and that the symbols placed behind the head of each prisoner denote a different conquered city or state. The latter part of the supposition alone appears to be correct; since in the person of the presumed king may be recognized, *by the symbol of the smoking mirror* worn as an ornament at the back of his head, the priest of Tezcatlipoca or Huitzilopuchtli, the supreme deity of the Mexicans, to whom prisoners taken in war were sacrificed as devoted victims. It was customary with the Mexican priests to dress themselves in the same costume as that worn by the deity whose festival they celebrated; and hence it may be inferred that this stone for gladiatorial sacrifices was dedicated to Tezcatlipoca: which supposition will also serve to explain the nature of the ornament or symbol worn on the advanced foot of the principal figure; since the Mexicans, in allusion to their belief that that god had appeared to them in fire and *smoke* on Mount Tezca (the Mountain of the *Mirror*),—whence the proper name which they bestowed upon him of Tezcatlipoca, compounded of *Tezca*, the name of the mountain, *tlil* dark, and *poca* smoke, in reference to the manner of his manifestation,—always represented him with the symbol of a smoking mirror, which was placed either on his head or *his foot*, and sometimes on both, as in the eighteenth and twenty-second pages of the Borgian MS. This god was also named by the Mexicans Yao; and the smoking mirror on his foot reminds us of Habakkuk's description of the presence of Jehovah in the fifth verse of the third chapter of his Prophecies: "Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals *went forth at his feet*:" whilst the proper name Tezcatlipoca recalls to our recollection the eighteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Exodus, descriptive of the descent of God upon Mount Sinai: "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly." So important an event in Hebrew history as the promulgation of the Mosaic code of laws might, it may readily be conceived, have disposed the Jews, who were fond of bestowing *many* names upon God, either to use at first, or to invent *in later ages*, an epithet in his honour commemorative of the time when he conversed with Moses in the mount. They likewise emphatically styled the laws that were then given to them, *the mirror of God*, declaring that they beheld in them, as in a mirror, his will clearly revealed: and hence they argue that the old law has never been repealed, because the will of God must needs be *immutable*. This being the opinion of the Jews, it would be interesting to learn from them whether they believe that a remnant of the Canaanites, who were sentenced to utter destruction by Moses, exists in any corner of the earth; and whether, if they had the power, they would feel it to be a duty imposed upon them by Moses, to force idolaters under pain of death to become proselytes, and to wage war against idolatrous nations to bring them over to their faith? These questions may appear to be invidious; but they are intimately connected with the present subject of inquiry, the object of which is to discover the real origin of human sacrifices in the New World, and who were the authors of them. It is the spirit of Judaism, however, rather than the Jews, that we would interrogate upon these two points; since it was the former persuading the latter that they were the chosen people of God, whilst the rest of mankind *of a different creed* were his enemies, that constituted them the haters of nearly all their species, and too frequently made them the

cruel avengers of the pretended honour of Jehovah. Can it for a moment be doubted, whether, if any tribe or race of men could be impressed with the belief that some other tribe were the enemies of their god, they would not deem it to be a meritorious thing to make war on and to exterminate them, and consider the field of battle on which they fought them as a sort of table or altar of sacrifice destined to receive the blood of victims most acceptable to the deity? which would naturally lead to the custom of reserving prisoners taken in an engagement for a still more holy sacrifice at the hallowed shrine of his temple,—a custom which was common amongst the Mexicans, and which cannot fail to bring to mind what is recorded in the Old Testament, of Samuel hewing Agag in pieces *before the Lord* in Gilgal; which words unequivocally declare that the high priest of the Lord acted on that occasion the part of the Mexican Topiltzin, and stained, if he did *not* profane, the shrine of Jehovah with the blood of a human victim. This is the only example, it is true, which is recorded in the Old Testament of the solemn immolation of a prisoner of war by the hand of a Jewish *high priest:* but who can venture to affirm that later high priests might not have imitated the zeal of Samuel, although Hebrew history is silent respecting them? The ordinance in the last chapter of Leviticus, which expressly commands that *all of man* devoted *by men* to the Lord should *surely* be put to death, not only proves that the custom of devoting men to the Lord did exist amongst the Jews, but that it was approved by Moses, who no where forbids the Jews in the Pentateuch to devote men to the Lord, but only after having devoted them to save them alive; whilst the condition annexed to the act, implied in the first instance permission granted to it, since what is absolutely forbidden by the law *is never made conditional.* The history, indeed, of Jephthah offering up his own daughter as a burnt sacrifice to God, as related in the eleventh chapter of Judges, and the reason which he assigns for carrying his fatal vow into execution, "I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back," fully prove what the Jews believed to be the spirit of this ordinance, which was no less killing than was its letter, which is as follows: "Notwithstanding, no devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord of *all* that he hath, both of *man* and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or *redeemed;* every devoted thing is *most holy* unto the Lord. None devoted which shall be devoted of *men* shall be redeemed, *but shall surely be put to death.*" To understand more clearly the force of this ordinance, it may be proper to observe, that there were two kinds of devoted victims of men amongst the Jews which they were bound to put to death; the former class comprehended those whom *God himself,* speaking through the mouth of Moses, had devoted to destruction, who were all the original inhabitants of the land of Canaan: the latter were those who were devoted by men to him. The question may well be asked, Who were these? If we may venture to offer an opinion, it would be, that they were either Hebrew slaves descended from Canaanitish parents, or prisoners of war captured by the Jews from those distant nations which were not doomed to utter destruction by Moses, whom the Hebrew soldiers were *permitted* before a battle to devote, in case they should take them prisoners in the engagement, as a sacrifice (for by what other name can the deed be called?) to Jehovah. The probability of this conjecture having been admitted, it will not be unreasonable to suppose, that the Mexican custom of sacrificing prisoners taken in war to Tezcatlipoca originated amongst the Jews who colonized America. If the interpretation which is here put upon the above-mentioned ordinance of Leviticus be disagreeable to the Rabbis, they will oblige the world by explaining its true signification, confining themselves strictly to the *letter* of the sacred text, and bearing in mind that the words "of all that *he hath,* both of man and beast," render it clearly impossible that the Canaanites can be alluded to. This doubtless is one of those many passages of Scripture that the early Fathers put *without the pale of discussion,* desiring their simple flocks to hold those who would indulge in an inquisitive train of reasoning upon them in the light of excommunicated persons, and to make no reply to their objections; and hence it happens that a great portion of the Old Testament is even at the present day but ill understood, because its contents have never yet been freely *discussed* by *all classes* of the community.

In reference to a remark made above, that human sacrifices to the Deity probably originated in the notion that certain tribes or nations of mankind were his enemies, whose blood would be a most acceptable offering to him (which likewise supposes the existence of some chosen or favourite people, the executors of his will; and in fact every early nation were in their own estimation the chosen people of God, differing only from the Jews in not imagining that the rest of mankind were objects of his aversion), we shall cite some passages from the Old Testament, in which the field of battle is very unequivocally named a place of sacrifice. Ezekiel in the following passage of the thirty-ninth chapter of his Prophecies thus describes the defeat of Gog, under which name is

signified some powerful enemy of the Jews. "And, thou son of man, thus saith the Lord God; Speak unto every feathered fowl, and to every beast of the field, assemble yourselves, and come; gather yourselves on every side to *my sacrifice* that I do sacrifice for you, even a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel, that ye may eat flesh, and drink blood. Ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth, of rams, of lambs, and of goats, of bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan. And ye shall eat fat till ye be full, and drink blood till ye be drunken, of my sacrifice which I have sacrificed for you. Thus ye shall be filled *at my table* with horses and chariots, with mighty men, and with all men of war, saith the Lord God. And I will set my glory among the heathen, and all the heathen shall see my judgment that I have executed, and my hand that I have laid upon them. So the house of Israel shall know that I am the Lord their God from that day and forward." Isaiah in the sixth verse of the thirty-fourth chapter of his Prophecies, applies the term 'sacrifice' to the slaughter of God's enemies, which being there said to be accomplished by the sword, it is to be supposed refers to the field of battle. "The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams: for the Lord hath *a sacrifice* in Bozrah, and *a great slaughter* in the land of Idumea." The precise meaning of the word sacrifice in the eighth verse of the first chapter of Zephaniah, is less obvious. "And it shall come to pass in the day of the Lord's *sacrifice*, that I will punish the princes, and the king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel." The sacrifice of prisoners taken in war, it may be presumed, soon led to the sacrifice of slaves; since when once it had become an established usage to celebrate solemn festivals with the blood of human victims, a *fanatic* multitude would have been likely to deem it more criminal to let the festival want its accustomed rites, than to put to death some unoffending slaves. The direst of all human sacrifices was, however, that of children by their parents, at which extreme goal the Jews in very early ages had arrived; since Scripture informs us that the valley of Tophet, which was *close to the gates of Jerusalem*, had acquired an infamous celebrity by reason of such rites. The apologists of the ancient Jews are here placed in a dilemma from which they will find it difficult to extricate themselves; since if they will not allow that these sacrifices were performed in imitation of the example of Abraham, who offered up his son Isaac to God, they must admit that the Jews, *beginning with animals*, waded through the blood of all kinds of sacrifices, until they finally imbrued their hands in the innocent blood of their own children;—and then with what sentiments will the future perusal of many books of the Old Testament inspire them! The representation of human sacrifices so frequently occurs in the Mexican paintings, that it is unnecessary in this place to enter into any particular description of them: three things, however, deserve to be noticed respecting them; of which the first is, that the victim was not sacrificed *at* but *upon* the altar of *smooth* stone which stood on the upper area of the temple: secondly, that the sacrifice was performed by dividing him *in the middle;* and thirdly, that the Mexicans declared that Huitzilopuchtli taught them that mode of sacrifice when he led their ancestors forth on their pilgrimage from Aztlan, the occasion of which is more fully explained in the 241st page of the present volume. There was a peculiarity in the Mexican mode of laying the living victim upon the altar and sacrificing him there; since the general practice of ancient nations was to immolate animals near the altar, and afterwards to place certain parts of them as an offering upon the altar. We are informed, however, in the ninth and tenth verses of the twenty-second chapter of Genesis, that Abraham, when about to sacrifice his son Isaac, laid him *upon* the altar. "And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood *in order;* and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son." The precise manner in which Abraham would have killed his son cannot be known, because he did not complete his intended sacrifice; but that patriarch had on a former occasion divided the victims in the middle, when by the express command of God he sacrificed to him on entering into the covenant with him. The obvious interpretation, however, of the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of Genesis, certainly is, that Abraham divided the victims in the middle after he had sacrificed them; but still fanaticism might have understood it in another sense. "And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? And he said unto him, take me an heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them *in the midst*, and laid each piece one against another: but the birds divided he not." In conclusion to this note we shall only observe, that the instrument with which the Mexicans performed

their human sacrifices was a stone knife, which perhaps resembled the sharp-edged Ethiopian stone with which the Egyptian embalmers opened bodies, in the manner described by Herodotus in his second book: "*Μετα δε, λιθῳ Αἰθιοπικῳ ὀξεϊ παρασχισαντες παρα την λαπαρην, ἐξ ὠν εἰλον την κοιλιην πασαν.*" The Jews would probably have considered such knives as well adapted for the purposes of sacrifices, from the holy use which their ancestors had in the earliest ages made of them in circumcision.

Note II.

It has been already remarked, page 377, that the words of Ezekiel, "And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches which hath devoured her fruit," afford grounds for supposing that the Jews were acquainted with the Mexican method of kindling fire from two pieces of wood. This supposition would likewise serve to explain another passage in the twenty-first chapter of Ezekiel, which is thus translated in the Septuagint: "*Στησεται βασιλευς Βαβυλωνος ἐπι την ἀρχαιαν ὁδον, ἐπ' ἀρχης των δυο ὁδων, του μαντευσασθαι μαντειαν, του ἀναβρασαι ῥαβδον, και ἐπερωτησαι ἐν τοις γλυπτοις.*" which Selden says that he does not clearly comprehend; observing that he cannot see how the words *του ἀναβρασαι ῥαβδον* can refer to *ῥαβδομαντεια*, or that kind of divination which Hosea, in the twelfth verse of the fourth chapter of his Prophecies, says that the Jews practised by means of their staves: "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their *staff* declareth unto them: for the spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God." If that learned man had known the Mexican method of kindling fire by means of two pieces of wood, and that one of those pieces was a *staff*, the rapid rotation of which between the hands produced ignition in the other piece, he would not have hesitated to refer the divination practised by the king of Babylon to *πυρομαντεια*, or divination by fire, when the propriety of the choice of the verb *ἀναβρασαι*, to express the mode in which the flame proceeded from the wood, becomes apparent; and the entire passage may be translated, "The king of Babylon will take his station at the cross road, where an old road branches off in two directions, to have recourse to divination, and to kindle fire with the staff, and to interrogate images." The object of the king of Babylon in using divination was, that he might thereby be guided in the choice of his captains and the operations of the war which he was about to undertake. It is singular that the Mexican priests,—who, as it were in obedience to the precept contained in the second verse of the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy, "And it shall be when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people," accompanied the Mexican armies, and encouraged the soldiers to battle by exhortations and by the blowing of trumpets, as the Levites are said to have done in the sixth chapter of Joshua, when the walls of Jericho fell down at the sound,—should likewise, either as a mode of divination, which is very probable from the superstitious reverence which the Mexicans felt for fire kindled by the hands of their priests, or as a propitious omen, have drawn new fire from a piece of wood on the eve of an engagement, that ceremony serving as a signal for the battle to begin, as Sahagun informs us in the first section of the seventeenth chapter of the eighth book of his History of New Spain. We may observe, in reference to a very barbarous and superstitious rite practised by the Mexicans on their year of jubilee, at the commencement of every new cycle of fifty-two years,—that of drawing fire *from the body of a sacrificed prisoner* by kindling it in a piece of wood placed in the wound in his breast, a representation of which occurs in the fifth and sixty-ninth pages of the Borgian MS., although in the latter painting some miraculous circumstances appear to accompany the ceremony, and the painter perhaps intended to represent a living sacrifice,—that if the Jews were the institutors of this rite in the New World, it was probably from a fanatical desire that the denunciation contained in the twentieth verse of the ninth chapter of Judges should appear to be fulfilled against their enemies; "Let fire *come out* from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem and the house of Millo; and let fire *come out* from the men of Shechem, and from the house of Millo, and devour Abimelech." This denunciation was pronounced by Jotham the son of Gideon, who delivered the Israelites from the Midianitish yoke, against his brother Abimelech, who had usurped the title of king over Israel; and against the men of Shechem, who had conspired with him to deprive the Israelites of their liberty, and who were consequently regarded by them in the light of their bitterest enemies. Sahagun and Torquemada both describe the ceremonies which accompanied the above-mentioned cruel Mexican rite; the former in the tenth

and thirteenth chapters of the seventh book of his History, and the latter in the thirty-third chapter of the tenth book of his Indian Monarchy. The remarkable passage in the Book of Judges referred to, which corrupted by tradition possibly laid the foundation of that rite amongst the Mexicans, is thus translated in the Septuagint: "Ἐξελθοι πυρ ἀπο Ἀβιμελεχ, και καταφαγοι τους ἀνδρας Σικιμων, και τον οἰκον Βηθμααλω. και ἐξελθοι πυρ ἀπο ἀνδρων Σικιμων, και ἐκ του οἰκου Βηθμααλω, και καταφαγοι τον Ἀβιμελεχ." It is not a little surprising to find, from the fifth and eighteenth verses of the same chapter of Judges, that Abimelech slew seventy sons of Gideon, his own brothers, *upon one stone;* since we here have an example of the Mexican mode of immolating victims upon a stone (the *piedra* or *tajon* so often mentioned by Sahagun) having been practised in very early ages by the Jews. But it is even more surprising that after such conduct the Israelites should have allowed Abimelech to reign over them for three years, as we are informed was the case in the twenty-second verse of the above-mentioned chapter; and that at the expiration of that period it should have been the men of Shechem, and not his Hebrew subjects, *who dealt treacherously with him.* The precise manner in which Abimelech put his brothers to death upon one stone, it is impossible to know; he must have had a reason for causing so many as seventy persons to be led to the same place of execution, which was probably founded either upon the intended mode itself of their death, or upon the propriety of slaying them upon *that particular stone.* But if his conduct was on that occasion influenced by mere caprice, and if in the face of day, the children of Israel looking patiently on, he ventured so to act in the full confidence that the nation would not avenge so great a wrong, it can only be said that a people who could be guilty of such base ingratitude to their deliverer, well deserved so worthless a king. Whether the Jews ever immolated victims in the Mexican manner, by making an incision in their breasts and tearing out the heart through the wound, is no where recorded in Scripture. On the authority however of Maimonides, their most famous Rabbi, we affirm that they were *acquainted with such a mode of sacrifice,* since the following passage occurs in the seventh chapter of his Treatise concerning Idolatry. בהמה שהקרבוה לעבודת כו"ם כולה אסורה בהנאה אפילו פרשה ועצמותיה וקרניה וטלפיה ועורה הכל אסור בהנאה לפיכך אם היה בעור סימן שיודע בו שזה העור תקרובת כו"ם הוא כגון שהיו עושין שקורעין קרע עגול כנגד הלב ומוציאין הלב הרי כל אותן העורות שהן כך אסורין בהנאה וכן כל כיוצא בזה which has been thus translated by Dionysius Vossius: "De juramento quod obtulerunt ad quæstum quicquam lucrifacere prohibitum est: etiam de stercore, ossibus, cornibus, ungulis, pelleque ejus; de omnibus, inquam, istis quæstum facere vetamur. *Quod si in pelle nota foret,* et indicatum pellem eam idolis esse oblatam; *ut fiebat, cum rotundo foramine ex adverso cordis facto, cor per illud extrahebant:* ex pelle hujusmodi inconcessum erat lucrum, ut et cæteris talibus." The learned translator, commenting upon the concluding portion of this paragraph "But if there should be a mark in the skin, and it be plain that it is a skin which has been offered to idols, as is the case when, *a round hole* having been made opposite to the heart, the heart has been torn out through it; it is unlawful to turn such a skin to profit," makes the following curious remarks: "Tradit Maimonides in notis ad Misnajot, hunc fuisse cultum gentilium, est 'species idololatriæ.' Videntur gentiles (*si Hebræos audimus,* qui tamen, *unde* illud hauserint *nescio,*) ad extrahendum cor animantis *foramen,* circuli aut potius cordis formâ fecisse; et si foramen illud per errorem in longum disruptum fuisset, illam pecudem pro inutili ad sacrificia habuisse. Habes idem in Aboda Zara, cap. 11. sec. 4: 'Raban Simeon Ben Gamliel ait, quando incisura est orbicularis, prohibitas esse (pelles); ubi oblonga, licitas.' Pelles eæ, quibus incisura rotunda est, vocantur ibidem 'pelles cordium'." "Maimonides observes in his notes upon Misnajot, that this was a heathen practice, 'a kind of idolatry'. It would appear that the Gentiles (if the Jews are to be credited, whose sources of information are wholly unknown to me,) made an aperture of a round shape, or rather in the form of a heart, through which they tore out the heart of the victim; but if the aperture from want of dexterity (on the part of the sacrificer) assumed the appearance of a lengthened rent, the animal was deemed useless for the purposes of sacrifice. The same thing is said in Aboda Zara, chap. 11. sec. 4: 'Rabi Simeon Ben Gamliel affirms, that when the incision is orbicular, the skins are forbidden; when it is oblong, that they are lawful.' Skins, the incision in which was oval, are there named 'heart skins'." These, however, are not the only skins which have supplied Jewish and even Christian writers with matter for controversy; since the 'tunicæ pelliceæ' which God gave Adam in Paradise after he had discovered that he was naked, have given rise to the most absurd theories; and the question that was asked nearly two thousand years ago, namely, Where did these skins come from? has not yet been satisfactorily answered. The Rabbis, who have not scrupled to declare (in order, no doubt, to add still greater sanctity to sacrifice,) that God, on the occasion of having created the moon less than the sun, offered a sacrifice of atonement for himself, as it were

in confession of error, will perhaps contend that these were the skins of the victims then killed. It certainly must cause some surprise to find that not Maimonides alone, but a whole string of Rabbis were acquainted with a mode of sacrifice almost the same as that practised by the Mexicans, which had escaped the notice of the most diligent antiquarians. The distinction likewise which they attempt to draw between wounds made of an oval shape in the breasts of sacrificed animals, and longitudinal incisions, is very nice, and might induce some persons to suppose that the Jews themselves occasionally sacrificed in the latter manner, and therefore that such skins were lawful. It may be proper to observe, that by longitudinal incisions are signified transverse wounds across the breast; since if the incision had been made in a straight line down the abdomen, it would have been impossible to recognize any holes in the hide after the animal was skinned. In the nineteenth section of the eighth chapter of Maimonides's Treatise concerning Idolatry, we are informed that the Jews were not forbidden to use altars consisting of a single stone, even though they had previously been consecrated to idols, provided their tops were mutilated: from which permission, as well as from the Hebrew language assigning to such altars the peculiar name of *bimos*, בימוס, it may be inferred that altars of single stones were very common amongst the Jews, as they were also amongst the Mexicans; since it requires little study of the philosophy of language to know that words which are not proper names are the record of things which have had specific existence in nature, or which man has fashioned in numbers after a common prototype.

Note III.

Whether America was known to the ancients, is a question which probably will never be satisfactorily solved: it may, however, confidently be said, that the assumption of the negative implies the *petitio principii*, that modern ages, knowing exactly what was comprised within the sphere of ancient knowledge, are qualified to judge of what they were ignorant. It is evident that in proportion as naval enterprise was encouraged by the most ancient states, the chances of the inhabitants of the Old Continent becoming acquainted with the existence of those of the New were increased; and it would be wrong, from the silence of Classical authors, to draw conclusive arguments justly liable to the charge of latitude of inference, that because the Greeks and Romans were ignorant of the existence of the continent of America, it must necessarily have been unknown in the elder ages of the world to the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, or other powerful maritime states. Referring to the page of history, we find that not only did the Jews and the Tyrians in the reigns of Solomon and Hiram trade to Ophir and the isles, but that the Carthaginians and the Tyrrhenians prosecuted their discoveries at a very remote epoch beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and that the Egyptians, so early as in the reign of Sesostris, possessed a powerful and numerous navy, which fact is recorded by Diodorus Siculus; and is the more deserving of attention, since it was the Egyptian priests of Sais who communicated to Solon the tradition of the existence of the island of Atlantis, as we learn from the Timæus and Critias of Plato, which, although pronounced by many persons to be merely a fiction invented by Plato, it still should be recollected has never been judged to be so by the greatest scholars who have been most familiar with the writings of that philosopher, who with a few exceptions have all been disposed to believe that at least it is founded on Egyptian tradition. To the objection which may be urged against the authenticity of the account of that island, as given by Plato in his two above-mentioned dialogues,—viz. that its extreme improbability divests it of all appearance of truth, whilst the compliments paid to the Athenians in the part ascribed to them in the war with the inhabitants of the island of Atlantis, too clearly betray a Greek and not an Egyptian origin,—it may be replied that Solon was a poet of transcendent genius as well as a famous legislator; and that having visited Egypt and become acquainted with the tradition of the Egyptians respecting the island of Atlantis, he determined to raise a poetical superstructure on so extraordinary a rumour, and, being eminently distinguished for the love which he bore his native country, to make the existence of that island redound to the glory of the Athenian name. And on this supposition the entire of the unfinished dialogue of Plato, entitled Critias, would appear to be merely the Argument of the epic poem which Solon intended to compose, and of which Plato makes express mention in the following passage of his Timæus: "Πολλων μεν ουν δη και πολλα ἐλεχθη ποιητων ποιηματα· ἁτε δε νεα κατ' ἐκεινον τον χρονον ὀντα τα Σολωνος πολλοι των παιδων ᾐσαμεν. εἰπεν

οὐν τις των φρατορων, εἰτε δη δοκουν αὐτῳ τοτε, εἰτε και χαριν τινα τῳ Κριτιᾳ φερων, δοκειν οἱ τα τε ἀλλα σοφωτατον γεγονεναι Σολωνα, και κατα την ποιησιν αὐ των ποιητων παντων ελευθεριωτατον· ὁ δε γερων (σφοδρα γαρ οὐν μεμνημαι) μαλα τε ἡσθη, και διαμειδιασας, εἰπεν, Εἰγε, ὠ Ἀμυνανδρε, μη παρεργῳ τῃ ποιησει κατεχρησατο, ἀλλ' ἐσπουδακει, καθαπερ ἀλλοι, τον τε λογον ὁν ἀπ' Αἰγυπτου δευρο ἠνεγκατο ἀπετελεσε, και μη δια τας στασεις, ὑπο κακων τε ἀλλων ὁσα εὑρεν ἐνθαδε ἡκων, ἠναγκασθη καταμελησαι, κατα την ἐμην δοξαν οὐτε Ἡσιοδος, οὐτε Ὁμηρος, οὐτε ἀλλος οὐδεις των ποιητων, εὐδοκιμωτερος ἐγενετο ἀν ποτε αὐτου." "Numerous were the poetical compositions which were recited on that occasion; but many of us, who were boys, sang the verses of Solon, which were then new, when a fellow citizen remarked, either being really at the time of the opinion, or because he knew that what he said would gratify Critias, that Solon appeared to him not only to bear away the palm of every other kind of excellence, but also to be the most spirited of the poets; on which the old man, well I recollect the time, seemed greatly pleased, and smiling replied, If at least, O Amynander, poetry had been to him more than the recreation of a leisure hour, and he had ever applied seriously to the cultivation of it, as is the case with others, and had matured the argument which he brought hither from Egypt, and had not been compelled on his return home by civil commotions and other evils, to consign to oblivion what he had already written; according to my judgment neither Hesiod, nor Homer, nor any other poet whatever, would have been more esteemed than him." The reasonableness of the above conjecture having been admitted, as well might it be contended that the improbable scenes and episodes of the Iliad furnish conclusive evidence against the existence of Troy, as that the argument of Solon's intended poem, embellished by the poetical imagination of Plato, affords proof that the Egyptian tradition respecting the island of Atlantis was a mere fable: at the same time it must be confessed that the account of that island in the dialogues of Plato, and the testimony of the priests of Sais, would be infinitely less deserving of attention, if the former did not indicate a much greater knowledge of the geography of the earth than can be discovered in the Pentateuch, and the latter had not been men of acknowledged wisdom and erudition, the subjects of the most ancient and civilized state on the globe, which preserved with a sort of religious care historical traditions, and which ages before had made discoveries in navigation. The following is Plato's account of the situation of the island of Atlantis in the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, by which name the Straits of Gibraltar were formerly designated; which would almost imply (if the agreement between his description and the physical distribution of the earth's surface be not wholly accidental) an acquaintance on the part of the Egyptians with the West Indian islands, the continent of America, and the junction of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. "Τοτε γαρ πορευσιμον ἠν το ἐκει πελαγος. νησον γαρ προ του στοματος εἰχεν, ὁ καλειτε (ὡς φατε ὑμεις) Ἡρακλεους στηλας. ἡ δε νησος ἁμα Λιβυης ἠν και Ἀσιας μειζων, ἐξ ἡς ἐπιβατον ἐπι τας ἀλλας νησους τοις τοτ' ἐγιγνετο πορευομενοις, ἐκ δε των νησων ἐπι την καταντικρυ πασαν ἠπειρον, την περι τον ἀληθινον ἐκεινον ποντον. ταδε μεν γαρ ὁσα ἐντος του στοματος ὁυ λεγομεν, φαινεται λιμην στενον τινα εἰσπλουν ἐχων. ἐκεινο δε πελαγος ὀντως, ἡ τε περιεχουσα αὐτο γη παντελως ἀληθως, ὀρθοτατ' ἀν λεγοιτο ἠπειρος." "The sea in that quarter was then navigable, for it contained an island which fronted those straits, which you call, as you affirm, the Pillars of Hercules. This island was larger than Africa and Asia united, and from it there was a passage to other islands which was practicable to voyagers of that age; and from the latter to an entire continent, which was situated opposite to them, being skirted by that which is the true sea; for the portion inclosed within the straits, of which we have been speaking, resembles a lake, to which admission is afforded by a narrow inlet; but the other is in reality a sea, and the land which encompasses it may with the greatest truth and justice be designated a continent."

It is unnecessary to refer to the authority of any particular historian, to prove that the Egyptian priests in the age of Solon were an enlightened class of men, since the visits which they received from Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Solon, and Plato, are sufficiently confirmatory of the fact: but since the naval skill of the ancient Egyptians (which would suggest a reason for the origin of the tradition of the existence of the island of Atlantis amongst the priests of Sais, making it at the same time probable, that under an allegory of the sea ceasing to be navigable for ships was signified the extinction of Egyptian naval enterprise) is passed over unnoticed by many modern writers, who still profess to draw important political maxims from reasoning on the power and greatness of ancient states, we shall quote two passages from Diodorus Siculus, which are decisive upon that subject; remarking, at the same time, that the navigation of the Nile in boats and larger vessels would have been likely to have tempted the Egyptians in the earliest ages to have ventured to sea in ships. "Κατασκευασας δε την δυναμιν, ἐστρατευσεν ἐπι πρωτους Αἰθιοπας, τους προς την μεσημβριαν κατοικουντας. και καταπολεμησας, ἠναγκασε το ἐθνος φορους τελειν, ἐβενον και χρυσον, και των ἐλεφαντων τους ὀδοντας.

ἐπειτ' εἰς μεν την ἐρυθραν θαλασσαν ἀπεστειλε στολον νεων τετρακοσιων, πρωτος των ἐγχωριων μακρα σκαφη ναυπηγησαμενος· και τας τε νησους τας ἐν τοις τοποις κατεκτησατο, και της ἠπειρου τα παρα θαλατταν μερη κατεστρεψατο, μεχρι της Ἰνδικης, αὐτος δε μετα της δυναμεως πεζῃ την πορειαν ποιησαμενος, κατεστρεψατο πασαν την Ἀσιαν. οὐ μονον γαρ την ὑστερον ὑπ' Ἀλεξανδρου του Μακεδονος κατακτηθεισαν χωραν ἐπηλθεν, ἀλλα και τινα των ἐθνων, ὡν ἐκεινος οὐ παρεβαλεν εἰς την χωραν. και γαρ τον Γαγγην ποταμον διεβη, και την Ἰνδικην ἐπηλθε πασαν ἑως Ωκεανου, και τα των Σκυθων ἐθνη μεχρι Ταναϊδος ποταμου, του διοριζοντος την Εὐρωπην ἀπο της Ἀσιας. ὁτε δη φασι των Αἰγυπτιων τινας καταλειφθεντας περι την Μαιωτιν λιμνην συστησασθαι το των Κολχων ἐθνος. ὁτι δε τουτο το γενος Αἰγυπτιακον ἐστι, σημειον εἰναι το περιτεμνεσθαι τους ἀνθρωπους παραπλησιως τοις κατ' Αἰγυπτον. διαμενοντος του νομιμου παρα τοις ἀποικοις, καθαπερ και παρα τοις Ἰουδαιοις. ὁμοιως δε και την λοιπην Ἀσιαν ἁπασαν ὑπηκοον ἐποιησατο, και των Κυκλαδων νησων τας πλειστας. διαβας δ' εἰς την Ευρωπην, και διεξιων ἁπασαν την Θρᾳκην, ἐκινδυνευσεν ἀποβαλειν την δυναμιν, δια σπανιν τροφης και τοπων δυσχωριας. διοπερ ὁρια της στρατειας ποιησαμενος ἐν τῃ Θρᾳκῃ, στηλας κατεσκευασεν ἐν πολλοις τοποις των ὑπ' αὐτου κατακτηθεντων· αὐται δε την ἐπιγραφην ειχον Αἰγυπτιοις γραμμασι, τοις ἱεροις λεγομενοις, τηνδε την χωραν ὁπλοις κατεστρεψατο τοις ἑαυτου βασιλευς βασιλεων και δεσποτης δεσποτων Σεσωσις." Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. "Sesoosis, having collected his forces, made his first expedition against the southern Ethiopians, and having conquered them, compelled the nation to pay him tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory: he next sent a fleet of four hundred ships to the Red Sea, being the first of his countrymen who caused *long vessels* to be built, and acquired possession of various islands, and subjugated that portion of the continent which bordered on the sea coast as far as India; and marching himself with his land forces, reduced to obedience all Asia; for he not only invaded the territory comprised within the later conquests of the Macedonian Alexander, but even other nations whose country the latter had not approached; for he passed the river Ganges, and traversed all India till he arrived at the ocean, and the region of the Scythians as far as the river Tanais, which divides Europe from Asia; on which occasion it is said a certain number of the Egyptians having been left behind near the lake Mœotis, became the founders of the Colchian state. That the Colchians are descended from the Egyptians may be inferred from the men of that nation being circumcised *like the Egyptians*, that custom having been preserved *by this colony*, as it has likewise amongst the Jews. He subjugated in the same manner all the rest of Asia, and most of the islands named the Cyclades, and passing over to Europe scoured the whole of Thrace, where he ran the risk of losing his army from famine and the natural difficulties of the soil; wherefore having made Thrace the boundaries of his expedition, he prepared to erect pillars in many places which he had conquered. These pillars bore an inscription in the sacred character of the Egyptians: 'Sesoosis, the king of kings and lord of lords, conquered this country with his own arms.'" This famous Egyptian hero flourished long before the time of Abraham, being the second of the twelfth dynasty of the Diospolitan kings, according to Manetho; whilst Eusebius in his Chronological Canons makes that patriarch contemporary with the sixteenth dynasty of Egyptian sovereigns, likewise named Diospolitan. If Egypt therefore so early as in the reign of Sesostris became a naval power, it is but reasonable to suppose that in later ages its maritime strength would have received great accessions from the attention which a wise government would have thought it necessary to pay to means so obviously calculated to increase national greatness. History accordingly informs us that the Egyptians became distinguished for their naval enterprize, and at last acquired the sovereignty of the seas, as Eusebius informs us in his catalogue of ancient states, to which the possession of that distinction was by general consent allowed, making mention of them there the eighth in order immediately after the Phœnicians. The Egyptian naval power was probably at its height in the reign of Apries, a short period before the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses, to which it even might have given rise, by causing jealousies between the Persians and the Egyptians; since Diodorus Siculus asserts in the following passage of his first book, that that monarch defeated the Phœnicians both by sea and land, and captured Sidon. "Μετα δε Ψαμμητιχον ὑστερον τετταρσι γενεαις Ἀπριης ἐβασιλευσεν ἐτη δυσι πλειω των εἰκοσι. στρατευσας δε δυναμεσιν ἁδραις πεζικαις τε και ναυτικαις ἐπι Κυπρον και Φοινικην, Σιδωνα μεν κατα κρατος εἱλε, τας δ' ἀλλας της Φοινικης πολεις καταπληξαμενος προσηγαγετο. ἐνικησε δε και ναυμαχιᾳ μεγαλῃ Φοινικας τε και Κυπριους. και λαφυρων ἀθροισας πληθος ἐπανηλθεν εἰς Αἰγυπτον." "The reign of Apries, which lasted two and thirty years, was four generations later than that of Psammetichus. Having undertaken an expedition with a numerous land and sea force against Cyprus and Phœnicia, he took Sidon by storm, and striking terror into the other cities of Phœnicia, compelled them to court his friendship. He obtained likewise a great naval victory over both the Phœnicians and the Cyprians, and returned to Egypt loaded with rich spoils." Enough has been said to show the possibility of the tradition of the island of Atlantis having originated in the discovery in very remote ages of a portion of the con-

tinent of America by the Egyptians, an event which is here only presumed not to be beyond the range of probability, from the naval enterprise of the early Egyptians, of which another indication is found in the votive offering of a ship, which Diodorus Siculus relates that Sesostris presented in the principal temple of Thebes. "*Ἐναυπηγήσατο δε και πλοιον κεδρινον, το μεν μηκος πηχων διακοσιων και ὀγδοηκοντα, την δ' ἐπιφανειαν ἐχον την μεν ἐξωθεν ἐπιχρυσον, την δ' ἐνδοθεν κατηργυρωμενην, και τουτο μεν ἀνεθηκε τῳ θεῳ τῳ μαλιστα ἐν Θηβαις τιμωμενῳ.*" "He also made a ship of cedar two hundred and eighty cubits long, which he caused to be gilded on the outside, and overlaid with silver within; this he presented to the god who is held in the greatest reverence at Thebes." The ship here mentioned, the value of which must have been very great, was probably preserved for many ages in the temple, where it was dedicated; and the safe return of an Egyptian expedition from a long and successful voyage of discovery, might have induced Sesostris to present such an offering. It need scarcely be remarked, that the Red or Erythræan Sea, whither that monarch dispatched his fleet, was the name by which the Indian Ocean was properly distinguished, and that the Red Sea which the Israelites crossed, usually so designated, is more generally named in profane history the Arabian Gulf. Some confusion indeed has originated from the great difference of names which sacred and profane history apply to the same persons and places; and the geographical description given by Moses in the second chapter of Genesis of the site of the terrestrial paradise, and of the four great rivers, the sources of which were the stream that watered the garden of Eden, whilst it has given rise to many curious problems in geography, does not serve to solve any. All that can with certainty be inferred from it is, that the Euphrates continued to flow after the Deluge in the same channel as it had done before it, and that the garden of Eden was situated a little beyond where it parted from the other three rivers. Doctor Robertson, remarking, in his notes to his History of America, that the ancients entertained very confused notions about geography, instances the curious fact, that when Alexander the Great, prosecuting his conquests in Asia, arrived at the Indus, some of those who composed his expedition imagined that they must be near the sources of the Nile from perceiving crocodiles in that river, an animal which they believed was peculiar to the Nile. Moses, however, cannot be supposed under the name of the river Gihon to mean the Nile. The following is the passage in the second chapter of Genesis alluded to. "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of *Ethiopia*. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates."

Note IV.

The chapter of Gomara, entitled, The Possibility of a Shorter Passage to the Maluccas, of which the subjoined is the translation, is interesting, from showing that scarcely twenty years after the discovery of the continent of America, the best informed men in Spain, of whom Gomara certainly was one, judged that the junction of the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean by an artificial passage across the Isthmus of Panama, would be by no means an impracticable task.

"The voyage from Spain to the Maluccas by the Straits of Magellan is so long and hazardous, that having had frequent occasions to discuss the subject with men well acquainted with the Indies, as well as with other persons conversant with history and of an inquiring turn of mind, I have heard of another good although an expensive passage, which, if it were made, would be no less honourable than profitable to the maker. This passage would have to be opened across the main land from the one sea to the other, by whichever might appear preferable of these four lines; either by the river of Lagartos, which rising in Chagre at the distance of four leagues from Panama, over which space of territory they proceed in cars, flows to the sea coast of Nombre de Dios; or by the channel through which the lake of Nicaragua empties itself into the sea, up and down which large vessels sail, and the lake is only distant three or four leagues from the sea; by either of these two rivers the passage is already traced and half made. There is likewise another river which flows from Vera Cruz to Tecoantepec, along which the inhabitants of

New Spain tow and drag barks from the one sea to the other. The distance from Nombre de Dios to Panama is seventeen leagues, and from the Gulf of Urava to the Gulf of San Miguel twenty-five, which are the other two more difficult lines. There are mountains, it is true, but there are likewise hands; let but the wish be formed to make the passage, and it can be made. If inclination be not wanting, there will be no want of means: the Indies where the passage is to be made will supply them. To a king of Spain, with the wealth of the Indies at his command, when the object to be obtained is the spice trade, that which is possible is in fact easy. It appeared an impossibility, and really was one, to unite Brindez to Belona by a causeway over twenty leagues of the sea; yet Pyrrhus and Marcus Varro wished and attempted it, in order to go by land from Italy to Greece. Nicanor began to open a canal of more than a hundred leagues extent by land, without reckoning rivers, for the sake of transporting spices and other merchandize from the Caspian to the Pontic or Black Sea; but having been put to death by Ptolemy Ceraunus, his generous and princely design was abandoned. Nitocris, Sesostris, Psammetichus, Darius, Ptolemy, and other kings, projected the junction of the Red Sea with the Nile by means of a canal, in order that spices, perfumes, and medicines might be conveyed straight from the ocean to the Mediterranean; but being apprehensive lest the sea should inundate Egypt either by bursting the aqueducts, or by an over supply of water, they were deterred from the undertaking; and likewise because the sea might have been detrimental to the river, without which Egypt would be nothing. If the passage of which I have been speaking was accomplished, the navigation to the Maluccas would be shortened by a third of the distance, since ships proceeding thither would always sail by the Canaries under the equator, in a warm latitude, within the dominions of Spain, and without fear of meeting with a foe: nor would our Indies derive less advantage from it, since merchandize would be conveyed to Peru and other provinces in the same ships that brought it from Spain, and much expense and trouble would thus be saved."—La Istoria de las Indias, fol. lviii.

Note V, page 250.

M. Chiarini, speaking of the T'almud, says, "Son génie malfaisant porte des coups funestes et invisibles au genre humain du milieu des ténèbres epaisses qui l'environnent: qui pourrait calculer combien il a contribué et contribue encore à multiplier les malheurs qui affligent la terre?" "Its malignant genius aims invisible blows at the human race from the midst of the dense darkness in which it is enveloped: who can calculate how much it has contributed and still contributes to multiply the evils which afflict the earth?" The Talmud is, however, as the Rabbis contend, Judaism embodied into a perfect system: it contains the decisions of the greatest Jewish doctors upon difficult and disputed points of their law; and although it has been proscribed by many Popes and sentenced to the flames, it should not be forgotten that the voice of the same nation, whose veracity is fully relied upon and whose testimony is admitted to prove the Old Testament to be the word of God, declares that the traditions and the oral laws consigned to the Talmud were likewise delivered by God to Moses from Mount Sinai, and that their claim to inspiration cannot be affected by the circumstance of their not having been *then* written down; since it might as reasonably be contended that the written law was a forgery, as the oral law an invention of the Jews; for that the national credit must be compromised, if at all, in both instances. This is the style in which the Jews reply to the objections of Christians. It must certainly be admitted that their Talmud is the development of the principles of law laid down by Moses, and by the sages of the nation for which his code was expressly framed; in lopping off the branches of the tree, it will therefore be very necessary to be careful not to injure the trunk; and to the Hebrew proverb, that "the tree is to be judged of by its fruit," none but the Jews will in this case feel inclined to yield assent. But what, it may be inquired, are the doctrines of a book which Popes have so often anathematized, kings caused to be seized and burnt in their respective dominions, universities condemned, and learned men denounced as dangerous to civil society? Are the obnoxious principles which it contains one or many, and to what source may they be traced? Those who have turned over the pages of the Talmud must confess that absurdity, fanaticism, and *universal intolerance* are its leading doctrines. Fortunate has it been for the world that the Jews have always been an insignificant and weak state; the globe would have otherwise been desolated by religious wars. And fortunate also has it been for them that other

religions were more tolerant than their own; since, strange as it may appear, the perverted sense in which the Rabbis have chosen to understand so simple an injunction as that which forbade the Jews to worship idols, associated with the recollection of the command which their ancestors received to extirpate the Canaanites, has led them to attempt to induce their countrymen to become, in almost a literal sense, the enemies and persecutors of mankind. This truth may shock the ears of modern Judaism, but, nevertheless, reference to the writings of some of their most famous Rabbis, Maimonides for example, will bear it out; wherein it will be seen, from the passages which are cited in the original Hebrew, what hatred of idolatry and of idolators they have endeavoured to infuse into the minds of a people, who have ever been led blindfold to their own and *others'* destruction, and who are taught to consider nearly all mankind in the light of idolators, and all religions except their own, idolatry.

The first passage is taken from the seventh chapter of Maimonides's Treatise concerning Idolatry: מצות עשה היא לאבד עבודת כוכבים ומשמשיה וכל הנעשה בשבילה שנא' אבד תאבדון את כל המקומות כי אם כה תעשו להם וגו' ובארץ ישראל מצוה לרדוף אחריה עד שנאבד אותה מכל ארצנו אבל בחוצה לארץ אין אנו מצווים לרדוף אחריה אלא כל מקום שנכבוש אותו נאבד כל עבודת כו"ם שבו שנא' ואבדתם את שמם מן המקום ההוא בארץ ישראל אתה מצווה לרדוף אחריהן ואי אתה מצוה לרדוף אחריהן בחוצה לארץ: "In mandatis est, ut tollatur idololatria et huic inservientia, et quicquid ejus causa fit; quia dicitur '*perdendo perdes* omnia loca; sic enim facietis illis, &c.' In terrâ autem Israelis *persequi eos jubemur*, donec ditione omni exegerimus. Extra vero terram nostram non jubemur eos persequi, *præterquam iis in locis quæ armis nostris subjecimus!!* Quia dicitur, 'et perdetis nomen eorum ex loco isto'; itaque tantum juberis idololatriam exscindere in terrâ Israel, non item extra eam." Hence it is evident that the Jews, wherever they might have the power, both *in* and *out* of the land of Canaan, are in the opinion of Maimonides bound to persecute idolators. The latitude of meaning which he as well as *all* the Rabbis assign to the words 'idolatry' and 'idolators', gives the rule here laid down a terrific character. The exception which he charitably makes of countries which the Jews had not subjected beneath their arms is truly ridiculous, since in the latter case the power and not the will would be the only thing wanting.

The following passage is taken from the sixth section of the fourth chapter of the same Treatise: עיר הנדחת שלא נתקיימו בה ובמדיחיה כל התנאים האלו היאך עושים להם מתרין ומעידין בכל אחד ואחד מהן שעבד עכ"ם וסוקלין אותם כיחידים שעבדו וממונם ליורשיהם: והיאך דין עיר הנדחת בזמן שתהיה ראויה להעשות עיר הנדחת ב"ד הגדול שולחין ודורשין וחוקרין עד שידעו בראיהברורה שהידחה כל העיר או רובה וחזרו לעכ"ום אח"כ שולחין להם שני תלמידי חכמים להזהירם ולהחזירם אם חזרו ועשו תשובה מוטב ואם עמדו באולתם ב"ד מצוין לכל ישראל לעלות עליהן לצבא והן צרין עליהן ועורכין עמהם מלחמה עד שתבקע העיר כשתבקע מיד מרבין להן בתי דינין ודני' אותם כל מי שבאו עליו שני עדים שעבד עכ"ום אחר שהתרו אותו מפרישים אותו נמצאו כל העובדים מיעוטה סוקלין אותן ושאר העיר ניצול נמצאו רובה מעלין אותן לב"ד הגדול וגומרין שם דינם והורגין כל אלו שעבדו בסייף ומכין את כל נפש אדם אשר בה לפי חרב טף ונשים אם הודחה כולה ואם נמצאו העובדים רובה מכיס את כל הטף והנשים של עובדים לפי חרב ובין שהידחה כולה ובין שהודחה רובהסוקלין את מדיחיה ומקבצין כל שללה אל תוך רחובה אין לה רחוב עושין לה רחוב. "Quid de civitate ac seductoribus fiebat, ubi non omnes conditiones istæ concurrerent? Commonebant, obtestabantur quoque adversus quemque eorum qui servierant idolis, eosque lapidibus obruebant, velut privatos idolorum cultores: bona eorum hæredibus (relicta). Quomodo autem civitas seducta, *tempore sic exigente*, condemnabatur desertæ religionis? Senatus per delegatos suos inquirebat, scrutabatur, expendebat, usque dum certis comperisset indiciis, civitatem universam, vel majorem ejus partem, seductam ad idolorum cultum deflexisse. Deinde missi duo sapientum discipuli, ut seductos commonerent ac converterent. Si ad saniorem mentem reversi pœnitentiam agerent, bene erat: sin perseverarent in dementiâ, præcipiebat Senatus toti Israeli, ut arma adversus eos caperet, eos obsideret et impugnaret donec perruptum civitatis vallum foret. Occupatâ urbe, crebra mox tribunalia constituebant, deque reis judicium ferebant. Omnes autem duorum testimonio convictos idololatriæ, ubi eos prius admonuissent, separabant. Si minor civitatis pars idola coluisset, *iis lapidibus obrutis*, cæteri periculo eximebantur. Sin autem major pars defecisset, sistebantur Senatui magno, usque dum re judicatâ idololatras omnes gladio occidissent. Omnes ejus civitatis, si tota fuerit seducta, gladio necant, *non pueris, non mulieribus exemtis*. Quin etiam si *major* pars idololatriæ adhæserit, *gladio itidem tam pueri quam mulieres necabantur*. Sive autem civitas tota, sive pars ejus fuerit aversa à Deo, seductores lapidibus obruuntur, inque medio fori præda sive bona omnia coacervantur. Quod si eo destituitur civitas, *forum paratur*." More odious maxims of intolerance than are to be found in this section of Maimonides can hardly be conceived. According to the doctrine of this "beau génie" of the Jews, the entire population of a city that proselyted from the Hebrew faith were to be put to death, men, women,

and children; the latter, because till they attained the age of thirteen they were reckoned amongst their parents' goods: and to sum up all, animals are mentioned in the next section as also adjudged to death, the plea of not guilty of proselytism availing them as much as the answer of the lamb to the wolf in the fable. The fanatical interpretation which some of the Rabbis have put on the words of the Mosaic text, "percutient omnem animam hominis," is thus noticed by Dionysius Vossius: "In Siphre de civitate seductâ dicitur: Non morientur patres propter filios, neque filii propter patres: juxta quam sententiam verba Scripturæ, *percutiendo percuties omnes habitatores illius civitatis acie gladii,* de reis intelligenda sint, non item, quorum nulla hic culpa est, infantibus. Super eâdem re disputarunt R. Elihezer et R. Aquiba: quorum ille *occidi omnes,* hic *parvulis* parcendum contendebat. Autor noster (Maimonides) Elihezerum sequitur; quia peccatum desertæ religionis usque adeo grave est, ut *omnem* ejus memoriam aboleri Deus velit, quò ad reliquos terror et exemplum perveniret. Unde addunt qui hanc sententiam tuentur, quod Dominus omnes *facultates* talium absumi jusserit: liberi autem, usque ad annum XIII juxta Thalmudistas, *inter parentum facultates numerentur.* Et simile est, quod Deus etiam animalia, quibuscum peccatum commissum est, jusserit supplicio affici." When we consider the bitterness which the Rabbis have always displayed against proselytes from Judaism, by their writings, by their example, and by their appeal to passages of holy writ, endeavouring to excite a spirit of exterminating vengeance in the breasts of their countrymen against them, we need not feel at all surprised that it is a dangerous thing even still to attempt to convert the Jews resident in the East, who live on a more equal footing with the rest of the population, and are more powerful as a body and more respected as individuals, than in this country: this perhaps Mr. Wolfe will confess, if he returns safe from his charitable expedition to the Holy Land. It is a very well known fact in Constantinople, that a Jew who becomes a proselyte not only exposes his family to certain ruin and disgrace, but himself runs imminent danger of assassination: nor, supposing that he were dragged before the secret tribunal of Judaism, would he have a word to reply against the seeming justice of a sentence, which condemned him to die for an alleged offence for which the population of whole cities, men, women, and children, had died before him. When we read in ancient history of persecutions which the Jews occasionally suffered from the Romans, and reflect at the same time that the religion of the latter was tolerant and indulgent in the extreme to those of other nations, how can we feel surprised that the emperors should have become indignant on hearing that the blood of their legions had streamed in Palestine merely to gratify Jewish fanaticism, or that they should have taken speedy and summary vengeance? Not to have resented so great an indignity might have been termed by some of the early Christian historians patience; but the Romans would not so have judged it, and it certainly would not have been human nature: the complaints, generally speaking, brought by the Jews against the Romans were vexatious and not unfrequently seditious; 'To render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's' was an injunction which they obeyed with a very ill grace, as the admonition itself would seem to imply, which would not have been given had it not been necessary. Maimonides having been eulogized by M. Beugnot as a Rabbi who was an ornament to his age and country, and whose *enlightened* views it would be well if the rest of his nation could be brought to adopt, we shall take the liberty of observing, with all due respect for his opinion, that the Jews have long adopted them to the very spirit and letter, and that the work to which they are consigned may justly be entitled the most odious birth of time, since the principles it advocates do really aim, from the midst of the dense darkness which envelops them, invisible blows at the human race: but we cannot concur in the eulogium which he pronounces on Maimonides, since the following passage occurs in the second chapter of his Treatise concerning Idolatry, from which a due estimate may be formed of the enlightened views which actuated that Rabbi, who applies the contemptuous epithet of *books composed by idolators* to works written by Christians on their religion, and attempts to distort the command given by Moses to the Jews in the fourth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, "Turn ye not unto idols, nor make to yourself molten gods," into a positive and distinct prohibition to them against reading a particular class of books, which Moses never foresaw would be written. It is almost surprising that he did not go a little further, and declare to his simple flock that to learn to read was itself idolatrous and forbidden to all but Rabbis, who by the Lord's special grace knew how to distinguish good from evil. "Multos libros composuerunt idololatræ de cultu suo, quod sit fundamentum illius, quæ opera, et qui ritus. Cæterum præcepit nobis Deus benedictus ne quidquam legeremus in libris istis, neque meditaremur in eâ (idololatriâ), aut ullâ re quæ huc pertineat. Quin etiam considerare formam imaginis vetitum est. q. d. 'Ne defigas oculos tuos in idola'. Atque ideo dictum est, 'Ne forte inquiras in deos eorum', dicendo, quo-

modo coluerunt? Ne roges de ratione colendi eos, etiamsi iis non servias; quia hoc te impellit ut convertaris ad eos, ac facias quemadmodum illi faciunt: quo respiciunt verba, 'Et faciam sic quoque ego'. Omnia autem præcepta *negativa* sub hoc uno comprehenduntur; nimirum, ne quis se convertat *ad stellas ac planetas.* Quos qui attentius respicit, ita ut opus aliquod faciat, omnino vapulat." The passage which follows in the original Hebrew is extracted from the tenth chapter of Maimonides's Treatise concerning Idolatry; and well may Vossius, the translator and commentator of the Hebrew text, on rendering such a passage into Latin, exclaim, "Maimonidem hic qui purgem, non satis video. Non eum de solis Cananææ gentibus, *sed universe de gentilibus idola colentibus, locutum esse, vel illud fidem fecerit, quod initio sequentis paragraphi generatim dicat, Hæc dicta sunt de idololatris.*" How the 'eagle of the doctors', as he is styled by his countrymen, ever dared to give utterance to such sentiments, may be matter of wonder; but they prove that fanaticism swayed his heart no less strongly than his head; and the reflection will occur to many, that if such a man had possessed power commensurate with his will to persecute, Moloch, and not Jehovah, would have been the name that would have resounded through the terrified nations of the earth. אין כורתין ברית לעובדי כו"ם כדי שנעשה עמהן שלום ונניח אותם לעובדם שנאמר לא תכרות להם אלא יחזרו מעבודתם או יהרגו ואסור לרחם עליהם שנאמר ולא תחנם לפיכך אם ראה גוי עובד כו"ס אובד או טובע בנהר לא יעלנו: ראהו נטוי למות לא יצילנו אבל לאבדו בידו או לדפחו וכיוצא בזה אסור מפני שאינו עושה עמנו מלחמה: בד"א בע"כום אבל המוסרים והאפיקורסין מישראל מצוה לאבדן ביד ולהורידן עד באר שחת מפני שהן מצירין לישראל ומסירין את העם מאחרי ה' מכאן אתה למד שאסור לרפות עובדי כו"ם אפילו בשכר ואם היה מתירא מהן או שהיה חושש משום איבה מרפא בשכר אבל בחנם אסור · וגר תושב הואיל ואתה מצווה להחיותו מרפאים אותו בחנם: "Ne pasciscantur cum idololatris, ita ut iis concedant idola colendi licentiam: quia dicitur, 'Non percuties cum eis,' &c. Sed vel à cultu avertant, *vel occidant:* nec eorum misereri licet, quia dicitur, 'Nec misereberis eorum'. Idcirco, si quis viderit *gentilem pereuntem, vel aquis demersum, ne opem ferat.* Si eum morti proximum viderit, *ne eripiat morti.* Attamen manu suâ eum perdere, præcipitem in puteum dare, vel si quid huic simile, nefas est, quia nobiscum bellum non gerit. Hæc dicta sunt de idololatris. Sed Israelitarum illos qui à religione desciverint, vel Epicurei evaserint, trucidare, atque *ad inferos usque persequi jubemur.* Quippe affligunt Israelem, populumque à Deo avertunt. Hinc discere est, prohibitum quoque esse *ne medicinam idololatris faciamus,* utcunque *mercedem* reciperemus. Cæterum si quis sibi ab iis metuat, ac se propterea fore credat exosum, mercede sanabit, gratis vero non licet. Proselytum autem inter Israelitas degentem, quia incolumem eum servare jubentur, gratis etiam curabunt." The preceding chapter of Maimonides breathes the same Jewish charity, as will more evidently appear from the following precept taken from the thirteenth section. בת ישראל לא תניק את בנה של נכרית מפני שמגדלת בן לעו"ם ולא תילד את הנכרית אבל מילדת היא בשכר משום איבה והנכרית מילדת את בת ישראל ומניקה את בנה ברשותה כדי שלא תהרענו: "Mulier Israelitica non lactabit filium idolis servientis; quia is filium ad idololatriam educat. Itidem nec obstetricabitur paganæ idola colenti. Sed licet pro mercede *odii causâ* obstetricari. Paganæ verò obstetricis operâ uti mulieri Israeliticæ licet: etiam ad lactandum filium suum uti eâ licet; sed domi matris ne occidat eum." What hateful suspicions against Christians are inculcated by Maimonides in the concluding sentence of the above paragraph! For the honour of human nature, however, we must hasten to explain away the apparent signification of "sed licet odii causâ obstetricari," by citing a note subjoined to the Hebrew text by Dionysius Vossius. "Cur ex odio permittit obstetricari? Num quia occasionem sic habitura interimendi fœtus, vel etiam puerperæ aut parturientis? Vix persuadere mihi possum, rem adeo detestabilem à Maimonide præcipi. Vera proinde interpretatio est, odii causâ posse obstetricari, hoc est, ad odium effugiendum, sive ne odium gliscat, sed potius occurratur iis, qui, si negetur hoc officium, pejus odissent, magisque malefacerent. Neque hic gratificari me Maimonidæ, sed reverà hanc ejus fuisse sententiam liquet ex capitis sequentis sectione secundâ; ubi clarè ait, si quis metuat ab iis qui religionis sunt disparis, posse ad odium evitandum medicam admovere manum; non gratis tamen, sed pro mercede." It cannot be denied that the modern race of Jews are a charitable people, and possess, as a nation, many excellent qualities; but this is owing to the inherent goodness of human nature, and not to Judaism, which strives from the cradle to make the Jews haters of those who are of a different creed from their own, but which never yet, we will venture to say, except partially and locally, has attained its end, since it is impossible for a religion, be it ever so intolerant, totally to pervert human nature; and even if it were possible for an entire generation of men to become the instruments of fanaticism, they would soon be succeeded by a new and innocent race, whom it would be most unjust even to *reproach* on account of the alleged crimes of their ancestors. That the charity of the modern Jews to strangers and persons professing a different faith does not, however, flow from the precepts of their religion as taught

and expounded by their greatest doctors, the Rabbis of days of yore, must be evident to those who peruse with attention the following and many other passages of the works of Maimonides. מפרנסין עניי גוים עם עניי ישראל מפני דרכי שלום ואין ממחין בידי עניי גוים בלקט שכחה ופיאה מפני דרכי שלום ושואלין בשלומם ואפילו ביום אידם מפני דרכי שלום: ואין כופלין להן שלום לעולם ולא יכנס לביתו של נכרי ביום אידו לתת לו שלום מצאו בשוק נותן לו שלום בשפה רפה ובכובד ראש: אין כל הדברים האלו אמורים אלא בזמן שגלו ישראל לבין האומות או שיד הגוים תקיפה על ישראל אבל בזמן שיד ישראל תקיפה על אומות העולם אסור לנו להניח גוי עובד כו"ם בינינו אפילו יושב ישיבת עראי או עובר ממקום למקום בסחורה לא יעבור בארצנו עד שיקבל עליו שבע מצות שנצטוו בני נח שנאמר לא ישבו בארצך אפילו לפישעה ואם קבל עליו ז'מצות הרי זה גר תושב ואין מקבלין גר תושב אלא בזמן שהיובל נוהג אבל שלא בזמן היובל אין מקבלין אלא גר צרק בלבד: "Sustentabuntur egeni gentilium una cum egenis Israelis, *pacis causâ:* nec obstandum quo minus gentium egeni in angulis relicta colligant, atque id *quietis ergo. Cujus* gratiâ etiam salutabunt eos festo illorum die. Nec tamen *bis* eos salutabunt, aut die festo salutandi ergo eorum ingredientur domos. Si quis in plateis offenderit, submissâ voce et capite submisso salutem dicet. Hæc locum non habent, nisi Israelita à gentilibus detineatur captivus, vel ii Israelitis fuerint *potentiores.* At ubi Israelitæ viribus prævalent, *nefas ullum inter nos relinquere idololatram;* etsi tantummodo forte fortunâ inter nos commoretur, aut uno ex loco in alterum commeet mercaturæ gratiâ. Imò nec pertransire terras sinemus, nisi antè receperit septem præcepta *Noachidis* data. Quia dicitur, 'Ne commorentur in terrâ tuâ'; ne horæ quidem spatio. Si septem illa præcepta receperint, pro peregrinis ejusmodi habentur, quibus habitare in Israelitarum terrâ liceat. Nec habitare permittitur ejusmodi peregrino, nisi tempore jubilæi: extra id tempus nullus recipitur, nisi peregrinus justitiæ." We shall quote, in conclusion, two passages from the sixth chapter of the same Treatise concerning Idolatry, which, if the saying be true that the perfection of law is the perfection of reason, which proposition, although affirmative, appears to be likewise true in its converse, if law and justice be, as they ought to be, synonymous terms, will prove that an admiration for the principles of Judaism, and a blind adherence to the literal interpretation of the Old Testament, had degraded the intellect of Maimonides in no less a degree than it had depraved his moral feeling; since what opinion can we pronounce on an author who, after recommending the butchery of the population of an entire town for proselytism from Judaism, without regard for either sex or age, becomes conscientiously scrupulous about the lawfulness of putting to death a Jew who had sacrificed not one but all his children to Moloch, because the letter of the Mosaic ordinance declares "that he who offers *of* his seed to Moloch shall die," and *of* signifying some but not all, such a person could not be condemned by the *letter* of the law to death. הנותן מזרעו למולך ברצונו בזדון חייב כרת בשוגג מביא חטאת קבועה ואם עשה בעדים והתראה נסקל שנא' ואשר יתן מזרעו למולך מות יומת וגומר ואזהרה שלו מנין שנאמר ומזרעך לא תתן להעביר למולן ולהלן הוא אומ' לא ימצא בך מעביר בנו ובתו באש: "Qui de semine suo offert sciens volensque, exscinditur: *sin errore,* sacrificium præfinitum *ad expiationem sui* adducit. Quod si testibus fecerit præsentibus, et *post admonitionem* sui, lapidatur juxta illud, 'Et qui de semine suo offert Molocho, moriendo morietur.' Interdictum autem hac de re invenitur his in verbis: 'Et de semine tuo ne des ad transducendum Molocho.' Alio etiam loco dicitur: 'Ne reperiatur inter vos, qui filium, aut filiam suam, per ignem traducat'". אינו חייב כרת או סקילה עד שימסור בנו למולך ויעבירו ברגליו באש דרך העברה: מסר ולא העביר העביר ולא מסר או שמסר והעביר שלא כדרך העברה פטור ואינו חייב עד שימסור מקצ' זרעו ויניח מקצת שנאמר כי מזרעו נתן למולך מקצתו ולא כולו. "Neque vel exscindebatur, vel lapidabatur quisquam, nisi prius tradidisset filium suum Molocho, et adegisset ad eo modo transeundum pedibus per ignem. Si tradidit, nec fecit ut transiret; vel ut transiret fecit, non autem obtulit; denique si causa est transitus, sed non recepto transierit modo; liber pronunciabatur. Neque *reus peragitur,* nisi partem seminis tradiderit, *partem retinuerit:* quippe dicitur, 'Qui *de* semine suo dederit Molocho': quasi dicas, Qui partem dederit, *non totum.*" Dionysius Vossius thus comments on this pretty quibbling of the learned Maimonides: "Mira conclusio! reus est, qui filiorum aliquem obtulerit Molocho; qui verò omnes, liber est. Aiunt Hebræi, ideo hoc institutum, quia si quis unum tantum filium obtulerit, morte suâ expiaret peccatum illud: at si omnes obtulerit, gravius esse delictum quam ut morte expiari possit. Ideoque hominem illum hic quidem effugere pœnam; sed à Deo vitâ æternâ orbari. Alii obtinuisse morem volunt, ut unus tantummodo filius offerretur; cujus oblatione pro omnibus offerentis liberis *satisfieret: eoque,* si non unus, sed universi offerrentur, recedi à cultu qui Molocho præstari solet: eâque de causâ talem esse immunem à pœnâ quâ afficitur, qui Molocho filium suum obtulisset. Sed magis mihi probatur sententia Isaaci Abravanelis, qui existimat eo dicere Scripturam, 'Qui dederit *de* semine suo'; quia parum verisimile foret, repertum iri quemquam qui universam sobolem suam offerret Molocho. Tantum igitur abest, ut trium liberorum pater, si tres obtulerit, liber sit

à pœnâ, ut tanto magis pœnæ sit obnoxius. Sed si, ut Maimonides ait, *de semine* significat partem, non totum; quid statuendum si filius offeratur unigenitus, ubi idem unica et universa soboles? Hic unigenitum dixeris seminis partem ratione totius, ut vocant, *potentialis*. Nam ut actu filium habuerit unum, potestate tamen habuit plures." We fear that Solomon himself would be unable to extricate the Rabbis from this latter dilemma: here is a Gordian knot which even he would vainly essay to cut in two.

Note VI. p. 384.

The following passage from the first chapter of the twenty-eighth book of Montesquieu's "Esprit des Lois", may be quoted to show that the clergy introduced into the barbarous codes of the dark ages many legislative enactments tending materially to affect the condition of the Jews. "Les évêques eurent une autorité immense à la cour des rois Visigoths; les affaires les plus importantes étoient décidées dans les Conciles. *Nous devons aux codes des Visigoths toutes les maximes, tous les principes, et toutes les vues de l'Inquisition d'aujourd'hui; et les moines n'ont fait que copier contre les Juifs des lois faites autrefois par les évêques.*" "The bishops possessed immense influence in the court of the Visigoth kings; the most important matters were decided in Councils. *To the codes of the Visigoths we are indebted for all the maxims, all the principles, and all the views of the modern Inquisition; and the monks have only copied the laws made formerly by the bishops against the Jews.*" The remark made by Montesquieu respecting the power of Councils even in civil matters amongst the Visigoths, is generally true of all the early Councils; and that power may be accounted for by the extreme bigotry of the age in which they were convened. As regards the present dispersed state of the Jews, it may be contended, in opposition to those who would fain discern the fulfilment of prophecy in an event which must have had other *causes* than prophecy, that habits engrafted by time are of long duration, that a dispersed people must at last become naturalized in those countries which they have chosen as an asylum, even although the law does not recognize them, by language, by prejudices, or by property, especially in land; which latter kind the framers of the old law of Europe, as if conscious that land attaches the owners of it to the soil, did not allow the Jews to acquire, by kindred, by local attachments and friendships; which was the reason, perhaps, why the regulations of most European states excluded the Jews from becoming members of corporations, and assigned to them, in the several towns and cities where they resided, separate quarters from the other citizens, encouraging them at the same time, by forbidding them to enter into honourable professions and respectable trades, to seek sordid gains from following the lowest and vilest occupations, which of itself would have been sufficient to draw a line of demarcation between them and the other members of the community; and, finally, by the sepulchres of their ancestors, which the Jews have ever been accustomed so highly to revere, it is not unlikely that when they colonized America they carried the bones of some of their supposed patriarchs thither, confiding in the protection which they expected to receive from these talismans, for such they might be called, since a relic to which superstition ascribes occult virtues differs scarcely or at all from a talisman, although the term itself is not Hebrew, but Arabic. It has been already remarked that the dispersion of the Jews is no where alluded to in the Old Testament as a judgment with which God threatened to visit that people on account of the crucifixion of his Son: those who may choose to maintain that it is, will do well to point out the passage in Scripture in which the allusion is contained. But if a nation has a right to be heard in its own defence, which the Jews certainly have, the argument by which they attempt to prove that their present dispersion is not owing to the cause above referred to, will be found to possess considerable weight with every unprejudiced mind; since, arguing from the justice of God, they contend that he would not have punished a whole nation for a crime committed only by a few; the principal actors in which, Herod and Pontius Pilate, were not Jews of the seed of Abraham, although the former was sprung from a family of Jewish proselytes; and that, even on the supposition that the whole nation were equally guilty of it then, their posterity eighteen hundred years afterwards must be as innocent of it as were their forefathers eighteen hundred years before, possessing even an advantage over them, in not being doomed to be the progenitors of so evil a generation.

Note VII. page 385.

Those who seriously consider the multitudinous sects into which religion is divided in the isle which the poet, dipping his pen in truth, has described in the lines beginning

"Behold yon isle, by palmers, pilgrims trod,"

must feel surprised at the question which is not unfrequently asked, namely, what right an old East Indian (for by that appellation a man who has spent some twenty years of his life in the East is not unfrequently designated,) has to turn liberal in religious matters, and if he gains admission to the councils of his country, to advocate in a sort of plain matter-of-fact style of eloquence the claims of Christians, Jews, Pagans, Turks, and Infidels, to equal protection from the laws of this country, which, like Rome of old, is too great, and casts the shade of her sceptre over too many lands, to choose for herself another motto than "Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur." Nothing would benefit Great Britain, or the individuals themselves more, than to send, if it were possible, the narrow-minded few who ask this question, and who, clinging to intolerance, would prefer to drive the vessel of the state itself on a rock or dangerous quicksand, to steering out of the old course on a voyage to the shores of Hindostan, that like Ulysses they might gain wisdom by seeing the manners of many men and many cities; nor can it be doubted that they would return with enlarged political views, and would feel less disposed, after beholding the state of British India, mighty in numbers, but comparatively weak in effective force, from the division of its native population into castes, which, "for ever separate, yet for ever near," exhibit a moral phænomenon that far eclipses that of Judaism in Europe, to question the right of others to disbelieve and deny the fact, that the dispersion of the Jews is the accomplishment of prophecy; which the Jews themselves, in reference to the particular prophecies which they adduce, have always denied by an appeal to arguments which have never yet been satisfactorily refuted. In addition to the many causes which have already been noticed in the course of these pages as conspiring to keep the Jews wherever they may reside a separate people, we shall mention another, which those will duly appreciate who have been in India, and have observed how powerfully the Hindoo laws, which prohibit some castes of Hindoos from eating or even tasting the provisions of others, contribute to preserve amongst them the distinction of castes; —and that is the prejudice and inflexible aversion which the Jews, of former ages at least, entertained to partaking of the same fare with Christians, or those of any other sect: and this aversion, which was instilled into them by the Rabbis, who well knew that their own interests were inseparable from their nation being a distinct people, was grounded on the charitable sense in which they chose to understand *beasts* in the following ordinance of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus, applying the term to all those that were without the pale of Judaism: "And ye shall be holy men unto me; neither shall ye eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs." But since to rest this prohibition on a single verse of the Old Testament, interpreted moreover so contemptuously of Christians, might in some places have been attended with consequences inconvenient to the Jews, their Rabbis have judged it more prudent to seek a pretext from their oral laws and from the Talmud, for forbidding their countrymen to eat with Christians, which might be more intelligible to the former and less offensive to the latter: and hence the stress which they laid on the Jews not eating the flesh of any animal which had not been killed by a butcher of their own nation, and the origin of the constitutions contained in the Schechitos Ubedikos, or Book of the Art of Killing, as well as the necessity, in former days at least, of a butcher receiving a licence or diploma from the Rabbi before he could practise a trade which amongst the Jews was a learned profession.

Note VIII. page 356.

The following extract is taken from Selden's Treatise respecting the Gods worshipped by the Syrians. It relates to the famous brazen serpent adored by the Jews, to which a place was assigned in their temple, where it was treated with little less reverence than was shown by the Mexicans to the figure of the serpent which they carried in proces-

sion on the festival of Huitzilopuchtli, and afterwards deposited in a particular place in his temple; an account of which will be found in page 415 of the present volume. In the ninety-first and four succeeding pages of the lesser Vatican MS., a serpent is represented in the hand of a deity, who was perhaps Maozim or the robust God mentioned by Daniel, whom the brazen serpent seems to have suggested mention of to Selden in the same passage. "Sunt autem quæ consulto hâctenus omisimus. Neque enim locum dedimus æneo serpenti a Judæis adorato, quippe qui jussu Dei Optimi Maximi conflatus est. Neque restat quod ad rem de eo dici posset, præter ea quæ in Ezechiæ historiâ scripta relinquuntur. Somnia quæ de eo et columnis nescio quas incisis junxit Philastrius, uti pluria ejusdem figmenta fastidit stomachus noster. Neque si Hesychii presbyteri Constantinopolitani libri quatuor, fictis ad Deum Optimum Maximum Mosis de eo orationibus, Dei vicissim ad Mosem, turgescentes, ad manus nostras pervenissent, inde quid operæ nostræ sperandum fuisse existimamus. Memoratur ille Hesychius in Photii Myriobiblo Cod. LI. deum Maozim seu robustum et potentem, quod מעזים Danielis capite undecimo, com. 38. et Μαωζειν Senioribus dicitur, prætermisimus ut plane ignotum, aliter ac locus ille Sacræ Historiæ indicat."—Seldenus de Diis Syris. Syntagma II. cap. xvii.

Selden makes a curious remark in the second chapter of the Introduction to his Treatise, that the names of the idols designated *by the Jews* 'the Gods of the Assyrians and the Babylonians' are really Hebrew, from which he would infer the primitive nature of the Hebrew tongue, and its wide diffusion over the provinces of Asia. Other persons may be tempted to draw a different conclusion from the following confession of that learned man. "Præcipui etiam Deorum quos collegimus, Ebræis, non Aramæis, aut Babyloniis vocabulis, aut adscititiâ aliquâ dialecto memorantur: ut Gad, Baal, Baal Peor, Baal Berith, Baalim, Baalzebub, Ashtaroth, *quæ mere sunt Ebræa.* Imo idem dicendum de Teraphim, et Succoth Benoth, quorum tamen Babylonicum est hoc numen, illud Aramæum; quod nec leve sane est argumentum omnia illa haud recentioris fuisse ævi, quam illud est quo Ebræa apud Aramæos viguit et Babylonios pura dialectus. *Religione, ni fallor, ducti, deorum ante alia inviolata nomina retinere volebant.*" The rule of 'audi alteram partem' is so strictly accordant with justice, that it is to be regretted that the Syrians and the Babylonians cannot be heard in their own defence in reply to the charges brought against them by the Jews. What recrimination of idolatry and human sacrifices would undoubtedly follow, with the denial that they were the tutors, and the Jews merely their pupils in these atrocities! In the absence of further evidence it must however be confessed, that the Jews are most entitled to receive judgment from posterity, since *their prophets* bear witness against them, whilst the history of the Babylonians presents a blank page.

Note IX. page 389.

Sahagun, in the Appendix to the second book of his History of New Spain, at page 101 of the seventh volume of the present work, says that the form of a Mexican oath was as follows. "'Por vida del Sol y de nuestra Señora la Tierra, que no falte en lo que tengo dicho; y para mayor seguridad como esta tierra:' y luego tocaba con los dedos en la tierra y llegabalos á la boca y lamialos; y asi comia tierra haciendo juramento." "'I swear by the life of the Sun and by our sovereign mistress the Earth, that nothing which I affirm is false; and in confirmation of my oath I eat this earth:' when immediately touching the earth with his hand, he raised it to his mouth and licked it, and in this manner ate earth on occasion of taking an oath." The adjuration of Moses in the nineteenth verse of the thirtieth chapter of Deuteronomy, "I call *heaven* and *earth* to record this day against you that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life that both thou and thy seed may live;" considered in connection with what is said in the first verse of the twenty-third chapter of Exodus, of a false witness *making use of his hand* when giving evidence, renders it not improbable that the form of the Mexican oath was borrowed from the Jews. The passage referred to in Exodus is the following: "Thou shalt not raise a false report; *put not thine hand with the wicked* to be an unrighteous witness."

NOTE X. page 334.

We are informed by Sahagun in the thirty-seventh chapter of the second book of his History, that the Mexicans on the festival of Yzcalli bored the ears of their children for the purpose of putting ear-rings into them, when certain persons stood godfathers and godmothers to them; whence it would appear that ear-rings amongst the Mexicans were connected with idolatrous rites, which may serve to illustrate the fourth verse of the thirty-fifth chapter of Genesis, which has perplexed commentators, who have not been able to understand why Jacob should have deprived his household of their ear-rings as well as of their strange gods: "And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hands, and all their ear-rings which were in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Shechem." Another custom which the Mexicans may have borrowed from the Jews, was their solemn repasts on bread at the celebration of some of their greater festivals; since we learn from the fifty-fourth verse of the thirty-first chapter of Genesis, that Jacob, whose descendants naturally would have been inclined to imitate the example of the father of the house of Israel, called his brethren to eat bread when he offered a sacrifice to God upon the mount. "Then Jacob offered sacrifice *upon the mount*, and called his brethren to eat bread, and they did eat bread, *and tarried all night in the mount*." It is not improbable that the Mexicans circumcised their sons on the above-mentioned festival of Yzcalli, and the incisions which they superstitiously cut in the American aloe, when their object was not to obtain from it the liquor of which they made wine, might have been originally derived from the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus: "And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, then ye shall count the fruit thereof as uncircumcised. Three years shall it be as uncircumcised unto you: it shall not be eaten of. But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy to praise the Lord withal. And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof. I am the Lord your God." The expression 'uncircumcised', here used metaphorically in reference to trees, may with great probability be judged to have given rise in the long course of ages to some unmeaning rite amongst the Jews, who, besides their proneness to multiply rites, were equally addicted with the Mexicans to seek luck or good fortune from omens; and they might have imagined that if fruit, which was counted as uncircumcised, was unlucky and not proper to be eaten, that which could be counted as circumcised would be wholesome and good to eat, and accordingly have made incisions in the bark of fruit trees. It further deserves to be remarked, that the Jews, dividing time like the Mexicans into larger chronological cycles of fifty years, might likewise have divided it as the latter did into lesser periods of *four years*, of which some indication seems to be afforded in the provision contained in the twenty-fifth verse of the chapter of Leviticus referred to, permitting the Jews to eat in the fifth year the fruit which they were not allowed to taste during the four preceding years, since a reason for the permission then granted might be found in the commencement of a new cycle. It is proper however to add, that the Old Testament declares that both five and seven were numbers dedicated by the Jews to the holding solemn assemblies; and perhaps at the period of the Babylonian captivity, the number five had grown into greater public estimation. Sahagun has observed that the Mexicans, like the Jews, divided their months into four equal portions or weeks; but the month of the former not being lunar and consisting of no more than twenty days, their week contained only five days: the people of Chiapa, however, whose month was lunar, counted seven days to their week.

On the supposition that the Jews colonized America, various reasons might be assigned for their changing the lunar reckoning of their year soon after their arrival in that continent into a vicesimal computation of days; but the principal motive was probably a wish to equalize the number of days contained in each month, and to simplify their calendar by not regarding the changes of the moon. All the Mexican months being religious festivals, and dedicated to the performance of *sacrifices* and rites, the priest or astrologer who distributed them into twenty days each might moreover have wished to typify in them the greatest and most solemn Jewish festival, that of the Passover, which *terminated on the twenty-first day* of the first Hebrew month Nisan (which probably began at evening), as was ordained in the eighteenth verse of the twelfth chapter of Exodus: "In the first month on the fourteenth day of the month at even ye shall eat unleavened bread until the one and twentieth day of the month at evening." The Mexicans seem even to have borrowed some superstitious practices from the Hebrew ordinances relating to the celebration of the feast of the Passover. They generally performed their sacrifices in the evening or at night, and the Jews were com-

manded in the sixth verse of the twelfth chapter of Exodus, to kill the paschal lamb *in the evening:* "And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month, and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening." The Mexican merchants were fearful of stirring out of their houses on certain days of the year; and the Jews were specially enjoined by Moses not to go out of their doors on the night of the feast of the Passover until morning, *lest the destroyer should smite them.* The Mexicans likewise computed the period of a day from the noon or middle of one day to that of another, as we are informed by the interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, in page 152 of the present volume; and this computation assigning to the night a sort of priority over the day, probably induced them to keep *the vigils of festivals as a part of the festival itself.* Another remarkable proof of the predilection which the Jews and Mexicans manifested for the employment of similar numbers in their calculations and divisions of time, is found in the former celebrating a year of jubilee at the expiration of every period of fifty years, and the latter at the expiration of every fifty-two years, and in both nations reckoning time and keeping a chronological account of historical events by cycles, so nearly agreeing in duration with each other as the Mexican and Hebrew jubilees. That the Mexicans preserved the recollection of the exact time when past events happened, by referring them to a particular year contained within a particular cycle of fifty-two years, is evident from their historical paintings; and that the Jews made use of an analogous method *before the captivity,* must clearly be understood from the following passage of Eusebius's Chronological Canons: "Apud Hebræos, usque ad nativitatem Abraham, computantur anni mille nongenti quinquaginta. Usque ad diluvium enim ab Adam habent annos MDCLVI, et inde usque ad Abraham CCXCIII. Et ideo XL jobelæi à nativitate Abraham computantur. Unus enim jobelæus quinquaginta anni sunt."—Eusebii Chronicorum Canonum, pag. 1. It is likewise the general opinion of the learned.

In reference to an observation in a preceding paragraph respecting the number five, and the estimation in which that number seems to have been held by the Jews at the period of the Babylonian captivity, it may be proper to quote the words of Zechariah, in the fourth and fifth verses of the seventh chapter of his prophecies: "Then came the word of the Lord of Hosts unto me, saying, Speak unto all the people of the land, and to the priests, saying, When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even those seventy years did ye at all fast unto me, even to me?" Serious attention to the grave charge which God himself brings in this passage against the Jews, might dispose some people to wonder less, that the lost tribes cannot be discovered at the present day, than that all the tribes had not been lost long ago. If however it were of any real importance, as corroborative of the truth of Scripture history, that these lost tribes should be discovered, the fact of their not having been yet discovered must also appear important; except in the eyes of that class of persons, who, freely admitting that if the old law had forbidden sacrifices they would have drawn from that circumstance an argument in proof of the divine legation of Moses, find on the other hand an equally strong argument in favour of it in the old law having ordained them.

NOTE XI. page 125.

'Viler than sea-weed' appears to have been a Latin proverb; nor is it likely that the Romans held this useless marine production in less esteem than other nations: it is therefore the more surprising that the Peruvians, who surpassed every ancient and modern people in the *richness* of the offerings which they made to the Deity, should have offered sea-weed with all their offerings, as Acosta expressly declares, "algæ *universis* fere sacrificiis inferuntur." This anomaly in their sacrifices might perhaps have originated in the necessity imposed upon the Jews to offer salt with all their sacrifices, in compliance with the injunction contained in the thirteenth verse of the second chapter of Leviticus, "And every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer *the salt* of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering; with *all* thine offerings thou shalt offer salt:" since on their arrival in the New World, where the revival of the sacrifices prescribed by Moses probably engrossed all their attention, they must have been at a great loss for salt; and some Rabbi might have been advised in a dream, that sea-weed, the taste of which is very salt, as the derivation of the Latin name implies, would be a proper substitute for that indispensable article.

Note XII. page 83.

The following passage of the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew affords strong grounds for supposing, that the Jews in the days of Christ believed in the doctrine of a metempsychosis: "When Jesus came into the coasts of Cesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I the son of man am? And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets." Had this notion prevailed amongst them at an earlier epoch of their history, it might have caused the rabble (for Rabbis and doctors we here put out of the question,) to expect the coming of a future Messiah or deliverer in the person of Moses himself, who would re-appear to rescue the Jews from another and more oppressive bondage than the Egyptian: and then the proper name משיח might with great propriety be considered as the derivation of משה. Many nations have cherished the idea, that the souls of those who had earned the lasting gratitude of their country, by services performed at the time of her greatest need, might, if the salvation of future generations was at stake, re-animate mortal bodies for the sake of those who were once dear to them. Thus the Chinese expect that their famous deified warrior, who has been dead for many centuries, will re-appear on earth: and the return of godlike mortals, rather than of immortal gods, may be alluded to in the line,

"Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:"

which supposes happiness once more to flourish on earth under the reign of Astrea, and when Saturn should again sway the sceptre over the golden plains of Italy; which country, at the time that the poet imagined to himself the commencement of a brighter æra, was torn by civil wars and dissensions. The assumption of several divines, whose names for their own credit we shall pass over in silence, that "Virgo" means in the verse alluded to the Virgin Mary, is so unreasonable that it does not deserve refutation. It may be not unworthy of notice, that a philosopher so justly esteemed and venerated as was Pythagoras, believed in the metempsychosis; and laying claim to the possession of an extraordinary memory, asserted that he recollected having been Euphorbus, and that he was killed at the time of the Trojan war. The doctrine of the metempsychosis is a refinement on the creed of the ancient Egyptians respecting the transmigration of the soul, but it is founded on the assumption, that the soul of man can only migrate into another rational body. Pythagoras however strictly forbade his followers to kill or to eat animals; and he only did not forbid cruelty to them, because he thought it was unnecessary for Philosophy to teach what all ought to know, and that it would be vain for him to attempt to instil a principle, where Nature herself had been faulty in her work, and the soil was evil and corrupt. As the doctrine of the metempsychosis seems to have originated in the Egyptian notion of the soul's transmigration after death into some other body, so in its turn it appears to have given rise to the more mystical idea of an incarnation, or of God becoming man, or rather being born in a human form. The many incarnations of Vishnou, who dignified even other species of animals by becoming one of them, is still the theme of exultation among Hindoo poets and philosophers. But Thibet presents a moral and political phænomenon of a nature truly extraordinary. That ecclesiastical state has been governed for perhaps nearly eighteen centuries by the deity supposed to animate, some say to become incarnate in, the body of an infant, and to inspire the person invested with the dignity of Grand Lama. It was either during Lord Minto's or the Marquis of Wellesley's government in India, that an embassy was sent to the Teshoo Lama, an interesting account of which will be found in the Annual Register. The Lama happened at that time to be an infant in arms; and the envoy, under these peculiar circumstances, felt at a loss respecting the forms to be observed on the ceremony of his introduction, and was at last ushered into the presence of a pleasing and intelligent-looking infant, quite too young to be able to speak, before whom, nevertheless, many Tartar Khans were prostrating themselves and doing homage; when the father of the Lama observed to the representative of the Governor-General of India, that although he was too young to speak, it would be wrong to suppose that reason in him had not arrived at maturity.

It certainly would be interesting to trace the history of Nestorianism in the East, since some learned men have supposed that the Nestorians in early ages penetrated to Thibet, and proselyted to their faith an extensive territory.

It is probable that many superstitions have, in the course of revolving ages, passed from Asia to America; but how truly surprising it is to find that the Mexicans, who seem to have been quite unacquainted with the doctrines of the migration of the soul and the metempsychosis, should have believed in the incarnation of the *only* son of their supreme god Tonacatecutle. For Mexican mythology speaking of no other son of that god except Quecalcoatle, who was born of Chimalman the virgin of Tula, without connection with man, and by his breath alone, (by which may be signified his *word* or his will, announced to Chimalman by word of mouth of the celestial messenger, whom he dispatched to inform her that she should conceive a son,) it must be presumed that Quecalcoatle was his only son. Other arguments might be adduced to show, that the Mexicans believed that Quecalcoatle was both god and man, that he had previously to his incarnation existed from all eternity, that he had created both the world and man, that he descended from heaven to reform the world by penance, that he was born with the perfect use of reason, that he preached a new law, and, being king of Tula, was crucified for the sins of mankind, as is obscurely insinuated by the interpreter of the Vatican Codex, plainly declared in the traditions of Yucatan, and mysteriously represented in the Mexican paintings.

It would be a useless repetition of facts already stated in the preceding pages of the present volume, to undertake separately to prove all these points; and we shall confine ourselves in this place to the three first very important articles. The reflection must have suggested itself to those who have perused the New Testament, that Christ is as frequently distinguished there by the appellation of the Son of Man, as by that of the Son of God, in reference no doubt to his humanity, and to the famous prophecy contained in the ninth verse of the ninth chapter of Isaiah: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given:" which Christians, on the authority of many passages in the four Gospels, apply to Christ, although the Jews sometimes interpret it of the Messiah, and sometimes of king Hezekiah. The Mexicans bestowed the appellation of Topiltzin on Quecalcoatle, the literal signification of which is 'our son' or 'our child,' that proper name being compounded of *to* 'our', and *piltzin*, defined by Alonso de Molina in his rare and copious vocabulary of the Mexican and Spanish languages to be *niño ó niña*, 'a boy or a girl,' and associated by him with the cognate terms of *piltontli* and *piltzintia;* and it may not be unreasonably assumed, since analogies, which are numerous and not isolated, as their number increases increase also in their ratio of probability, not only that the Mexicans were acquainted with Isaiah's famous prophecy, but to mark their belief of the accomplishment of that prophecy in the person of Quecalcoatle, that they named him Topiltzin; no less on account of his having been born from a virgin of the daughters of men, than because another equally celebrated prediction of the same prophet declared, that he should receive a name *from that very circumstance:* "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign, Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, *and shall call his name Immanuel.*" And the proper name Topiltzin does in fact bear a signification corresponding, if not literally, yet entirely in substance with that of Immanuel: since 'God with us,' which is the interpretation of the Hebrew name, means God domiciliated amongst men; and the full force of the expression is preserved in the term Topiltzin, which might be interpreted the *Son of Man*, or God on a level with men; for the Mexicans believed that Quecalcoatle took human nature upon him, partaking of all the infirmities of man, and was not exempt from sorrow, pain, or death, and that he suffered voluntarily to atone for the sins of mankind. They also believed that he alone of all the gods had a human body, and was of *a corporeal essence;* a notion which we can only wonder whence it could have been derived. Las Casas and Torquemada both assert that Quecalcoatle had been in Yucatan; and there can be little doubt, when we reflect on the mysterious history of Bacab, that the Cross discovered by M. Dupaix in the ancient temple of Palenque was connected with the tradition of his crucifixion. The four female figures, each holding in her arms an infant, which adorn the walls of another temple in the immediate vicinity of that just mentioned, probably represent Chimalman and the infant Quecalcoatle; which the two units conspicuously sculptured on the body of the second infant, the constant concomitants of the cane which was *his sign*, seem further to indicate. Smoke may perhaps also be intended to be represented as proceeding from the left foot of the female figure in the same plate. The prophecies contained in the Old Testament relating to the Messiah being so frequently only obliquely alluded to in the New, and this class being extremely difficult to trace, we must leave to others the task of ascertaining whether the promise of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, as recorded in the thirty-fifth verse of the first chapter of Saint Luke,—"The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God,"—be couched in the language of ancient prophecy; since, should this be the case, it is not improbable that the head of the dragon which forms the crest of three of the female figures, as it may also be presumed that it did of the fourth when entire, (if it be

not a symbol which Chimalman borrowed from her son's *name*,) was intended to denote that she had been overshadowed by the power of Huitzilopuchtli, whose device, as we are informed by Sahagun in the first chapter of the first book of his History of New Spain, was the head of a dragon. Representations of the female figures here referred to, as well as of the Cross, will be found in the fifth volume of the present work, Part III. of the Monuments of New Spain; and we shall only further observe in reference to the Cross, that similar ornaments to those sculptured on its two arms decorate the symbol borne aloft by the principal figure in the twenty-eighth plate of the same Part; before whom there is another figure in a kneeling attitude, which may suggest the idea of that symbol being intended to represent a cross, although nearly as unlike one as the devices, consisting of broken lines, with which the ancient Mexicans frequently decorated their shields, and as those painted on the earthenware vases discovered by Lieutenant Hardy among the ruins of Las Casas Grandes.

It is singular that the Mexicans should have viewed Quecalcoatle in the light of a god and of a man, of a father and of a son, of the creator of the world and of him by whom the world was finally doomed to be destroyed, since it is hard to reconcile such conflicting notions with each other. That they did so, will be apparent from the following passages extracted from the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, which contains the prayers addressed by by the ancient Mexicans to their gods, as well as from what has already been said of the probable derivation of the proper name Topiltzin, and from what remains to be said of the belief which the Mexicans entertained, that the world would be destroyed when the Sun should be in the sign of four earthquakes. Quecalcoatle is emphatically styled Father in the exhortation which the Mexican priest addresses to the penitent who had come to make confession to him of his sins, whose entire speech will be found at page 359 of the fifth volume of the Antiquities of Mexico. "Quando fuistes criado y enviado á este mundo, limpio y bueno fuistes criado y enviado, y *tu padre y madre* Quetzalcoatl te formó como una piedra preciosa y como una joya rica de oro muy resplandeciente y muy pulida; pero por tu propia voluntad y albedrio te ensuciastes, y te amancillastes, y te revolcastes en el estiercol y en las suciedades de los pecados y maldades que cometistes, y ahora has confesado." "When thou wert created and sent into this world, thou wast created and sent into it pure and good, and thy *father and mother* Quetzalcoatl formed thee like a precious stone, like a rich jewel of gold, beautiful to look upon and well polished; but thou *by thine own free will* and choice hast defiled and polluted thyself, and hast wallowed in the mire of the sins and iniquities which thou hast committed, and now thou hast confessed." From this passage it is plain that the doctrine of free will, as opposed to absolute predestination, was a fundamental article of the religion of the Mexicans, although in some degree qualified by their notions on judicial astrology, as we learn from the following passage of the same chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun; where the Mexican priest or confessor, supplicating Tezcatlipoca on the behalf of the repentant sinner, addresses him in the following language: "En presencia de Vuestra Magestad hablo, que sabe todas las cosas, y sabeis que este pobre no pecó con libertad *entera* del libre albedrio, porque fué ayudado é inclinado de la condicion natural del signo en que nació." "I am speaking in the presence of Your Majesty who knowest all things, and knowest that this miserable man did not sin with the entire liberty of his free will, since he partly acted under the influence of the sign in which he was born." The notion of original sin, in the acceptation in which the term is understood by Christians, which was totally different both in cause and quality from the frailty of human nature, which the ancient philosophers were all prepared to admit, was quite familiar to the minds of the Mexicans, who ascribed it to Suchiquecal, and to her disobedience in plucking fruit in the garden of Tamoanchan; and hence a difficulty may arise in understanding the construction which ought to be put on that part of the speech of the Mexican priest to the penitent, where he says to him "when thou wert created and sent into this world, thou wast created and sent into it pure and good;" which seems merely to allude to what is said in the first chapter of Genesis, of man having been created in the image of God, and of the works of his hands being all *good*, and to contain no denial of the doctrine of original sin, the Mexican belief in which is unequivocally declared in the thirty-second and thirty-seventh chapters of the same book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, in the speeches which the midwife there addresses to the infant on baptizing it and washing it with water. That the Mexicans knew that man had been created in the image of God, may be inferred from the following passage of Sahagun, which deserves to be considered in connection with the Peruvian tradition of men having been created by Viracocha after the likeness of images made by himself, which is perhaps after all only a sample of the artifices to which the Spanish clergy had recourse in order to consign to oblivion all knowledge of the ancient religion of Peru; which could more

easily and with less suspicion be effected by substituting fables of their own for those of the Peruvians, and modifying the latter as the occasion required, so as to impose even on the recollection of the Indians, than by a rude attempt to banish them wholly from their memory. "Tendras cargo de ofrecer papel y copal, y tambien de hacer limosnas á los hambrientos menesterosos, que no tienen que coman, ni que beban, ni que vistan, aunque sepas quitartelo de tu comida para se lo dar; y procura de vestir á los que andan desnudos, y desarropados; mira que su carne és como la tuya, y que son hombres como tu; *mayormente á los enfermos porque son imagen de Dios.*" These words are addressed by the Mexican priest to the penitent whose confession he has just received; and since he enjoins him *to reconcile himself* to Tezcatlipoca by charity to the poor, as well as by the performance of penance, it may be inferred that the Mexicans believed that *charity diminished sin*, which is also a Roman Catholic doctrine, and is noted as such in page 415 of the present volume; in reference to which particular passage it may be observed, that to offer charitable donations at the Temple was a Jewish custom, as we learn from the account of the widow's mite contained in the twelfth chapter of Saint Mark. The subjoined is the translation of the above Spanish passage: "You must make an offering of paper and copal, and likewise give alms to the hungry and needy, who have neither meat nor drink, nor wherewithal to clothe themselves, and this you must do although you deprive yourself of food to give it to them; do your best also to clothe the ragged and naked; consider that their flesh is as thine, and that they are men like thee, and especially the sick, *for they are the image of God.*" It is surprising to what fanciful theories the twenty-ninth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he *them*," has given rise among the Jewish Cabalists*. The transition from the singular to the plural in the above-mentioned verse, and the mention of the subsequent creation of Eve from Adam's rib in the twenty-second verse of the following chapter of Genesis, has greatly perplexed both them and the Rabbis, who have vainly taken counsel together to reconcile the former with the latter verse, deducing conclusions which have excited the laughter of many Christian commentators; which at least ought to be tempered, when it is recollected that the transition from the singular to the plural, in the twenty-sixth verse of the former of these chapters, has been considered by themselves a departure from the ordinary rules of grammar, of such importance and so full of meaning, as to be appealed to by them as an argument in proof of the Trinity. It is a remark of Selden, the truth of which the rites of the Mexicans and Peruvians abundantly testify, "Neque novum est ut impietatis initia ex *Sacris Literis* seu cabalâ sacrâ (quæ idem sunt) depromantur; quod *innumeris* illustrari posset et firmari exemplis:" and he afterwards, as it were in illustration of this passage, in his prolegomena, when discussing the nature of the Hebrew Teraphim in the second chapter of his Treatise De Diis Syris, refers the origin of that idolatry to the twenty-seventh verse of the first chapter of Genesis, as must reasonably be inferred from the association of ideas which his quotation from Hermes is necessarily calculated to produce in the minds of his readers. "Propius autem ad των Teraphim naturam accedunt imagines, quæ non solum à siderum positurâ, verum etiam ἀπο των προσεγγισεων dæmoniorum, et oracula reddere et mala depellere simul putabantur: προσεγγισεις vero ποιησασθαι dicuntur dæmones Michaëli Psello, cum invocati simulacra sibi dicata ingrediantur. Hujusmodi statuarum vetustissima memoria. Hermes ille Ter Maximus in Asclepio: 'Ita humanitas semper memor humanæ naturæ et *originis suæ in illâ divinitatis imitatione* perseverat, ut sicut Pater ac Dominus, ut sui similes essent, deos fecit æternos; ita humanitas deos suos *ex sui vultus similitudine* figuraret. Ascl. Statuas dicis, O Trismegiste? Tris. Statuas, O Asclepi; videsne quâtenus tuipse diffidas? Statuas animatas sensu et spiritu plenas, tantaque facientes et talia. Statuas futurorum præscias, ea quæ fortè omnis vates ignoret, in multis et variis rebus prædicentes, imbecillitates hominibus facientes, easque curantes, tristitiam lætitiamque pro meritis.'" Selden proceeds to observe in a succeeding passage of the same chapter, "Plurima occurrunt (i. e. angelorum nomina) in apocryphis Enochi, quæ ab illustrissimo Scaligero in Notis Eusebianis transcripta. Κεκρυμμενην etiam εἰδωλολατρειαν vocat Synodus Laodicensis ἀγγελους ὀνομαζειν και συναξεις ποιειν, quemadmodum legimus Codice Canonum cap. cxxxix. Et sub personâ impiorum, qui Salvatoris Jesu miracula calumniabantur, Arnobius adversus Gentes, lib. 1. 'Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit. Ægyptiorum ex adytis angelorum potentium nomina et remotas furatus est disciplinas'. Quin nomina angelorum

* A name borrowed from the term Cabala, which is thus defined by Selden in the prolegomena to his treatise concerning the Gods of the Syrians: "Quicquid arcano volumine condidit *postea* Moses, id Cabala *antea* erat, sive πατροπαραδοτον, quod velut jus sacrum et hereditarium ad posteros continuâ generationum serie transmittebatur".

observare *jurejurando* obstringebantur Essenorum sectæ olim initiati, uti scriptum reliquit Flavius Josephus; quos perstrinxit forsan D. Paulus ad Coloss. cap. 11. comm. 18. ubi περι θρησκειας των ἀγγελων agit." It is certainly surprising to find that every thing that was dreadful in the religious rites of the New World when first discovered by the Spaniards, or immane, if we may be permitted to use a Latin epithet which is still more expressive, was well known to the Jews of the Old Continent: the writings of the Rabbis, where the Bible is silent, prove this fact, and are evidence from which there can be no appeal: but will the force of prejudice, the particular views or private interests of any order of men, or the egotism of the Jews, maintain that it was the prerogative of the Hebrew nation, as being the chosen people of God, to know these things? and to teach them to others would be the sure and bitter retort of their enemies; and that inspiration—but here the divine altars would burn pale, and religion would avert and veil her face. Selden, in a preceding page, notices the curious opinions entertained by some *celebrated* Rabbis respecting the Teraphim, or idols worshiped by Laban, and which were stolen from him by his daughter Rachel, the wife of the patriarch Jacob: "Utrum autem ut dii colerentur Teraphim, utcunque dii dicti, an vero divinationis tantum instrumenta haberentur, vetus est inter magistros controversia, quod liquet ex Rabbi Simeone Ben Joachi in libro Zohar, fol. 94. b. ad Genesin. Modum autem feralem quo fiebant, ex Capitulis Rabbi Eleazaris adfert Elias in Thisbi. 'Mactabant,' ait ille, 'hominem primogenitum, cujus caput torquendo præscindebant (ita transtulit P. Faginus; Eliæ autem, seu Eleazaris, verba sunt מלקין את ראשו, id est, *ungue* secabant, aut manibus discerpebant, caput ejus. Nam מלק hoc sensu usurpatur Levit. i. com. 15, et v. com. 8. ubi de avibus offerendis agit Moses, quorum capita hoc ritu divellenda): caput vero abscissum sale et aromatibus condiebant, scribebantque super laminam auream nomen spiritus immundi, quâ supositâ capiti ejus, ponebant illud in pariete, incendentes coram eo candelas, et adorantes coram eo. *Atque cum istiusmodi loquutus fuit Laban'*. Eadem ferè paraphrastes ille qui Ben Uzielis nomen in Pentateuchum falsò gerit: sed suam illi præstent fidem." "Whether the Teraphim were worshiped as gods, although called gods, or whether they were simply instruments of divination, has been the subject of ancient controversy amongst the Masters, as may be proved out of Rabbi Simeon Ben Joachi, in the book Zohar, page 94. b. on Genesis. Elias declares in Thisbi, on the authority of Rabbi Eleazar, the dire method of fabricating them. They killed, says he, some first-born of man, whose head they cut off, twisting it when performing that act (so P. Faginus translates the passage, but the words of Elias or Eleazar are מלקין את ראשו, which signify *divided with the nails*, or tore off the head from the body with the hands; for מלק is used in this sense in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter of Leviticus, and in the eighth verse of the fifth chapter, in which Moses directs how birds should be offered, the heads of which were to be torn off in this manner): and they preserved the head, after it had been cut off, with salt and spices, and wrote upon a plate of gold the name of some unclean spirit, which they put under the head and placed it *in a wall*, burning torches before it and performing adoration. And this was the sort of instrument of divination which Laban consulted. That paraphraser of the Pentateuch, who goes by the false name of Ben Uziel, writes nearly to the same effect; but let those who please give credit to him." Those who peruse the curious passage which has been just quoted from Selden, whose veracity was certainly as great as his learning, must confess, that if the horrid superstition of immolating human victims and converting their embalmed heads into Teraphim was pagan, at least some notions appear to have been borrowed from the Hebrew ritual; for example, attaching superior importance to the first-born of man was eminently characteristic of the Jews, and grounded amongst them on the declaration contained in the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, that all the first-born of man should be set apart unto God; and the mode of twisting or tearing off the head from the body of the victim was such as was prescribed by Moses in Leviticus in the case of birds, in order not to cause death by strangulation, and similar to that practised by the Mexicans in their daily sacrifices, not *of young pigeons*, but of quails, as we learn from Sahagun in the Appendix to the second book of his History of New Spain, page 100 of the seventh volume of the present work, where the phrase "arrancandolas la cabeza," tearing off their heads, occurs; but if the Rabbis choose to understand מלק in the sense of dividing with the nails, it cannot apply to the separation of the head from the body, but must merely signify the division of the skin of the neck of the victim; but whether such a thought could ever have been likely to have associated itself in the mind of a Jew with religion, we leave to an expert Hebrew Mohel to decide. The Jews, ever since the age of Tobit, the sixth chapter of whose book may be found in many editions of the Old Testament, have believed in unclean spirits, and beginning with Asmodeus have succeeded in forming rather an extensive nomenclature of them; they have likewise not scrupled to make use of the divine

name, or the tetragram, in magical incantations; and the thirty-sixth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus proves, that the custom of writing upon a plate of gold existed in very early ages among them. Maimonides likewise forbade his countrymen to seek divination from skulls, knowing that the twenty-eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel disposed them to believe in necromancy. It is singular that M. Dupaix should have discovered circular niches in the walls of the palace of Mitlan, described at page 449, which, according to Indian tradition, were made for the reception of a skull; he also found skulls placed in separate bowls or chargers, in excavating the interior of another ancient monument in the vicinity of Zachila; but it would perhaps be setting no reasonable limits to conjecture, to suppose that this mode of interment might have been to commemorate the death of John the Baptist, although Europe has witnessed far greater extravagancies in the posthumous honours decreed to saints, who, like Saint Ignatius Loyola, deserved no other honour than that of martyrdom. The fiftieth plate of the second Part of the Monuments of New Spain contains a representation of one of the wooden skulls, which was placed along with the real one in the same dish, as a substitute perhaps for the latter when it should have mouldered away through time. Selden, in illustration of the hypothesis unhesitatingly advanced in the third chapter of the prolegomena to his treatise De Diis Syris, "neque novum est ut impietatis initia ex Sacris Literis seu cabalâ sacrâ (quæ idem sunt) depromantur," which partakes rather of the nature of an axiom than of a postulate, and which if true of the Jews, the Egyptians, and the Persians, it certainly will not be making a camel pass through the eye of a needle to apply to the Mexicans, proceeds to remark: "Ægyptiis quotannis in Judaico Paschate greges et arbores, minio, velut alexeterio, illinere solenne erat. Id ex depravato traditionis sacræ de Ebræorum superliminaribus sanguine illitis intellectu manavit; quod fusius narrat Epiphanius in Hæresi Nazarænorum. Perperam accepta Mosis de æneo serpente historia, ut thymiamata ei incenderentur, effecit. Thoth et Bau in Phœnicum sanctuariis ex תהו ובהו in Geneseos initio petunt docti. Id quod toties occurrit, ὁ Θεος Ἀβρααμ, ὁ Θεος Ἰσαακ, ὁ Θεος Ἰακωβ, jamdiu est cum in carmina transmigravit magica; atque ita est sumptum, ut nec Abraham, nec Isaac, nec Jacob alius quam Deus ob amphiboliam censeretur; de quâ re, si placet, consulendus Origenes adversus Celsum, lib. iv. et ejusmodi alia habet lib. i. et v. uti etiam Trallianus medicus, lib. xi. Quin et umbræ in horologio Achazi regis mystica erat Persarum sacerdotibus memoria in Mithræ τριπλασιου sacris, quæ Μνημοσυνα nuncupabant, si autori fides. Is est Dionysius Areopagita dictus, qui Epist. vii. ad Polycarpum verba faciens de recessu illo, 'Τουτο,' inquit 'ταις Περσων ἱερατικαις ἐμφερεται φημαις, και εἰσετι Μαγοι τα Μνημοσυνα του Τριπλασιου Μιθρου τελουσιν.' Ad quem locum Georgius Pachymerius, 'Persæ', inquit, 'το παρεκταμα της ἡμερας ἐκεινης δια της τελετης των Μνημοσυνων του τριπλασιου σημαινουσιν, hoc est, extensionem illius diei in sacris quæ mnemosyna, seu memoria, Triplasii, id est, triplicis Mithræ appellantur, denotant: ita et Maximus Scholiastes. Cum enim priscis xii. essent artificialis, quem vocant, diei horæ, quas inæquales seu planetarias nuncupant, et per decem gradus rediret in ortum umbra, supputant Dionysii sequaces (qui nec pauci sunt), quasi sol, superatis jam decem diei horis seu horologii gradibus, par remensus spatium horizontem revisisset, dein vero absolutum xii. horis diem ita terminasset, ut continua illa lux xxxii. horis inæqualibus constaret, quæ synecdochicωs triduum, horas nempe bis xii. et viii. conficiunt; unde τριπλασιου nomen aiunt fictum. Cæterum suam hic liberent fidem, nec in Græculorum verba juravi. Alia longè erant triplicis Mithræ mysteria, et, si fas sit dicere, sanctiora quam quæ hujusmodi peterent exordia; et sacram multo aliter merito intelligunt veteres historiam. Attamen non piguit et hæc adjecisse, ut id genus errorum origines olim agnitas amplius patefaceremus; quas eo libentius, etiam luculentius, memorare visum est, quod non alia est ansa tam frequenter arrepta, unde impia in πολυθεῳ πλανῃ sacra conflarentur; teste Justino in Apologia ὑπερ Χριστιανων ii. ubi Bacchi fabulas, Bellerophontis item, Herculis, Æsculapii, totius ferme gentium theologiæ, ex depravato Sacrarum Literarum sensu elicitas et vulgo obtrusas esse docere conatur; uti et alii patrum alibi. Unde nam Jupiter Sabazius? nonne à *Jehovah Sabaoth*, quod inculcante sæpius Jeremia proprium Dei Opt. Max. nomen?" Undoubtedly if those Fathers to whom Selden here alludes still flourished, they would, after pronouncing the opinion which they have done on Jupiter Sabazius, feel no small embarrassment at being requested to read the sixth book of Sahagun, and to return a categorical answer to the question, "Unde Tezcatlipoca? nonne à monte Sina?" And, considering the many other questions to which this first one might lead, how often, blaming themselves for the unnecessary concession of a principle, would they not feel inclined to exclaim "sed revocare gradum,—hoc opus hic labor est"! The Deity is said in so many passages of the Old Testament to be jealous of his honour, and to work miracles for his *name's* sake, that many persons may feel it hard to reconcile that professed jealousy with the desecration of his name so common among the Jews, the profanation of his temple, and

the human sacrifices which they offered to him; the corollary of all which is, that though Abraham received the covenant from God, and Moses promulgated his laws to the Jews, still Judaism was never under such special divine protection as to prevent its degenerating into most abominable rites in the Old World, nor consequently in the New; and therefore let it not be maintained that Jehovah could not have been worshiped under the name of Tezcatlipoca by the Mexicans, and human sacrifices offered to him in New Spain as in Palestine of old; but even on the assumption that this was the case, let not God impiously be made accountable for the crimes which men may have committed in his name, for the cruelty or absurdity of the religious rites by which they may have sought to honour him, or for the fables which they may have ridiculously invented of him. If some of those misguided men, commonly named the Fathers, whose writings were revered in the ages which they were so instrumental in rendering dark, but which (such is the vicissitude of all earthly things,) are little read or esteemed in the present day, were living, they would find that Christianity itself might be overthrown by the same arguments, if admitted to be valid now, which they employed so successfully nearly two thousand years ago against Paganism, which all resolve themselves into reasoning against the religions of antiquity from their abuses. Those reckless sophists scrupled not to hold up to ridicule every thing that preceding ages of mankind had held most sacred, they invented new crimes, but did not ameliorate their own age, they blasphemed the First Cause at the very time that they were pretending to teach the adoration which it was proper to pay to the God of the universe; for who will venture to maintain, that under the name of Jupiter the ancients did not worship the First Cause, who was, and is, and ever will be, as Saint Paul rightly declares, the unknown God; for it is a vain boast of the Jews to say that the world knew more of God when it became acquainted with the history of their ancestors' flight from Egypt, and their passage across the Red Sea, than it did before, since all that man *can* know of the Deity is, that he is excellent and incomprehensible: to write, therefore, in the style of invective and obscenity, which Clemens Alexandrinus has employed to destroy the reverence of the Greeks and Romans for Jupiter, was *to blaspheme the First Cause.* But if the last-mentioned Father had known that יהוה, Yaoua, would be adored by the Mexicans not under the title of Yao the God of Sabbath, but of Yao the terrible God and the God of battles; and that the sacrifices of the old law, the seal of which was circumcision, which would still be retained amongst the Indians, would degenerate into the immolation of human victims at his shrine; he, perhaps, would have triumphed less at finding that Jupiter (as the poets feigned) had sometimes forsaken the seats divine, confessing the power of mortal charms, and have thought it less advisable to feign thereat holy horror, when it would be so necessary to reserve the feeling for another and a better occasion which the future had in store for him. The Jews are accused of having corrupted the Old Testament with their traditions; and if this charge has been truly brought against them in the Old Continent, is it at all unreasonable to suppose that in the New they may not have profaned it with their paintings? and, indeed, the forty-eighth verse of the third chapter of the first book of Maccabees, which differs materially in the Roman edition from the passage as it is rendered in our English translation of the Bible, makes it very doubtful whether the Jews did not in early ages disfigure the Old Testament with frightful paintings of idols. The following is the verse alluded to: "*και εξεπετασαν το βιβλιον του νομου περι ων εξερευνων τα εθνη τα ομοιωματα των ειδωλων αυτων*:" "and they unfolded the book of the law (that they might know likewise) whence the heathen borrowed the patterns of their idols." This is the probable signification of this very obscure passage, which is evidently elliptical, because *το βιβλιον* cannot be the antecedent to *περι ων*, and the ellipsis is here supplied in a manner which accords with the idiom of the Greek language. It may be proper to observe, that in the Spanish edition of the book of Maccabees the following material variation occurs in the reading of the passage in question: "*εξερευνων τα εθνη του επιγραφειν επ' αυτων τα ομοιωματα*:" from which it would appear that the Gentiles took the pains of painting their idols on the leaves of the Pentateuch, with the intention, according to commentators, of shocking the pure eyes of the Jews with the contemplation of their law and idols at the same time. But where is the necessity of supposing that the Gentiles painted idols on the leaves of a book which contained the *word* of God, when the Jews covered the walls of the temples, in which they believed that *he* was continually *present*, with paintings of the most deformed idols that imagination can conceive, as Ezekiel himself informs us in the eighth chapter of his book of prophecies? The passage which has been already quoted from the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, proves that the Mexicans regarded Quecalcoatle in the light of a father; in the following, which is taken from the thirty-fourth chapter of the same book, it will be seen that they considered and named him their son: "O nieto mio y señor nuestro, persona de gran valor, y de gran precio, y de gran estima, O piedra preciosa, O esmeralda, O

zafiro, O plumage rico, cabello y uña de alta generacion, seais muy bien venido, seais muy bien llegado; habeis sido formado en lugar mas alto donde habitan los dos supremos Dioses, que es sobre los nueve cielos; hanos hecho de vaciadizo como una cuenta de oro; hanos agujerado como una piedra preciosa muy rica y muy labrada vuestro padre y vuestra madre, el gran Señor y la gran Señora, y juntamente con ellos nuestro hijo Quetzalcoatl." "O my son and lord, thou who art dear, estimable, and highly prized by us, precious gem, emerald, and saphire, rich feather, *hair* and *nail* of noble sires, welcome is your arrival amongst us, welcome hast thou come; thou wert formed in the highest heaven, which is above the *nine* heavens, where reside the two supreme Gods; they have fashioned thee like a bead of gold; thy father and mother, the great Lord and the great Lady, and together with them our son Quetzalcoatl, have pierced you like some rich and costly and highly polished jewel." The Mexican lords were accustomed to send formal complimentary messages to each other on the occasion of the birth of an elder son, and an old man addressed a salutation in their name to the mother and the infant in the manner thus briefly described by Sahagun at the commencement of the chapter above referred to: "Despues que yá se sabe que la Señora N. parió, luego los amigos y parientes de los pueblos circunstantes van á visitar al niño, y á la madre, y á los parientes; y primeramente en la visitacion hablaban al niño recien nacido, y para saludarle descubrele la madre, paraque esté patente al que le habla." "As soon as it was known that a lady of distinction had given birth to a child, the relations and friends of the family, who resided in towns in the neighbourhood, came to visit the infant, the mother, and her relations, and they paid the first salutation to the new-born infant, whom the mother uncovered that it might be seen by him who addressed it." The custom of presenting gifts on such occasions is noticed by Sahagun in the thirty-fifth chapter of the same book, which deserves to be considered in connection with what is said in the second chapter of Saint Matthew of the wise men of the East following the star "till it came and stood over where the young child was," since this custom was probably of Hebrew origin. "And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshiped him; and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh." "En este negocio de saludar á los niños que están en la cuna y á sus padres, no tienen medida, porque dura diez y veinte dias el saludarlos, quando los que son saludados son principales y Señores. Los que saludan dan los presentes de mantas ricas, y si la criatura és hembra, dan naoas y vipiles hasta veinte ó cuarenta; y á esto llaman Yxquemitl, que quiere decir ropa para envolver al niño. Entre los que no son Señores sino gente honrada ó rica, llevan una manta y un maxtli, ó una naoa y un vipil si és hembra la que nació; y los que son de baja suerte usan hacer esta salutacion presentando comida y bebida." "The time employed in the single formality of saluting the infant in the cradle and its parents, exceeded all reasonable bounds, for the ceremony of the salutation lasted ten or twenty days, when those who were saluted were princes and lords. Those who came to salute presented gifts at the same time, consisting of rich mantles, and, if the infant was a girl, they presented as many as twenty or forty naoas and vipiles (under and upper garments); they named these gifts Yxquemitl, which signifies clothes to wrap the infant in. Those who were not lords, but rich and respectable persons, gave a single mantle and maxtle, or one naoa and vipil, if the infant was a girl; and the lower classes of the people performed the salutation by merely presenting provisions." In the following passage of the thirty-fifth chapter of the above-mentioned book, children, which are elsewhere named the gift of Tezcatlipoca, appear to be ascribed to Quecalcoatle: "O Señora nieta é hija mia, paloma y doncella muy tierna y muy amada, como estais? que sentis? gran fatiga habeis padecido, gran trabajo habeis tenido; habeis os igualado, habeis imitado á *vuestra madre* la Señora Cioacatlquilahtli: muchas gracias haremos á nuestro Señor al presente, porque ha tenido por bien que viniese y saliese á luz esta preciosa piedra y este rico Quetzatl, llegado á la uña y cabello de nuestros Señores que yá fallecieron, que yá se fueron. Brotado ha, y florecido ha su planta y generacion *de los Señores, Consules, y Reyes;* salido ha, manifestadose ha la espina de maguey y la caña de humo, la qual dejaron plantada profundamente nuestros Señores y Reyes pasados que fueron famosos y valerosos; de vos, Señora, ha cogido una piedra preciosa; de vos ha tomado un plumage rico nuestro hijo Quetzalcoatl. Sea nuestro Señor alabado, porque con prosperidad apartó de vos el peligro y la batalla con que peleastes contra la muerte en el parto; por ventura os sobrepujará en dias el niño recien nacido; por ventura será la voluntad de nuestro Señor que viva, ó por ventura morira el primero; por ventura tierno como está, hará pedazos el Señor del mundo á esta piedra preciosa, á este sartal de piedras preciosas; por ventura nos le vendrá á tomar y llevar el que le crió; por ventura pasará de repente delante los ojos de su reino ó Señorio, y nos dejará como burlados por nuestros pecados, que no le merecemos gozar. O! hagase la voluntad de

nuestro Señor; haga él lo que fuere servido; pongamos en él toda nuestra esperanza." "O Lady, who art dear to me as my daughter or grandaughter, I am solicitous to be informed of your health; you have endured a long and severe trial, you have rivalled, you have imitated *your mother* the goddess Cioacatlquilahtli; many thanks have we now to return to our Lord, because he has vouchsafed to send us this precious gem, this rich Quetzatl which has come to light, the image, *hair,* and *nail* of our Lords who are dead, who have long since been no more. The stock and scion of our Lords, Consuls, and Kings has budded, has bloomed; the thorn of the aloe and the odoriferous cane, which our Lords and departed Kings, who were valiant and renowned, planted deep in the earth, has sprung up, has appeared; from you, Lady, our son Quetzalcoatl has received a precious gem, from you he has obtained a rich feather. May our Lord be praised, since he has happily preserved you from danger, and from the battle which you fought with death at the time of delivery; perhaps the days of the infant to which you have just given birth will outnumber yours; perhaps it will be the will of our Lord that he shall live, or perhaps he will die the first; perhaps, tender as he is, the Lord of the universe will break into atoms this precious gem, this chain of costly jewels; perhaps he who made him will come and take him from us unto himself; perhaps he will pass him momentarily before the eyes of his kingdom and state, and deprive us of him, turning us into mockery on account of our sins, because we are unworthy of enjoying him. O! let the will of our Lord be done; let him do what seemeth good unto him; in him let us place all our hope." It is evident from the concluding portion of this salutation, that the Mexican religion enjoined resignation and submission to the divine decrees, and hope in God, which after all is not an article confined to any particular creed, but a consolation that was poured into the cup of misfortune when first presented to man to taste, which if religion inculcates, reason nevertheless teaches without the aid of inspiration. We cannot omit carefully to point out here the phrase "your mother the goddess Cioacatlquilahtli," since it is perfectly analogous to that of *our mother* Eve; Cioacatlquilahtli being the Eve of the New World, who, as the Mexicans believed, brought sin into the world, and *entailed death on her posterity,* as is distinctly stated in the thirty-third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun. This goddess is more frequently named simply Cioacoatl or Quilahtli, she is also named Suchiquecal or Xochiquecal, and in the same manner as the first name seems to allude to her temptation by the serpent, so the last seems to refer to her having plucked the forbidden fruit, or the roses, in Xochitlicacan or the garden of Eden. There is also something rather equivocal in the allusion contained in the words "the stock and scion of our Lords, Consuls, and Kings:" the Hebrew patriarchs, *judges,* and kings may by possibility be here referred to, whose fame the Jews would speedily have spread abroad on their arrival in America. Having elsewhere made the observation that the Mexicans resembled the Jews in their frequent use of the same metaphors, of which the entire of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain furnishes abundant proof, we shall here remark that the 'hair and nail of their forefathers', under which simile the Mexicans represented posterity, is very like the Hebrew metaphor of 'flesh of flesh' and 'bone of bone', which the Jews applied to their near relations and descendants, as we learn from the fourteenth verse of the twenty-ninth chapter of Genesis, where Laban addressing Jacob says, "Surely thou art my bone and my flesh." The expression "cortados de vuestros *entrañas* y de vuestros *lomos,*" which is applied to children in the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun, is in the pure Hebrew idiom, and might almost have been borrowed from the Psalms. Scripture phraseology, likewise, employing the latter term 'loins' in the famous prophecy relating to the birth of the Messiah, who was to be of the seed of David, it is probable that the Jews would have quickly incorporated that metaphor into the Mexican language. In the following passage of the thirty-third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun, children, who are elsewhere named the gift of Tezcatlipoca, appear to be ascribed to Quecalcoatle. "Aqui en vuestra presencia ha nacido la criatura de nuestro Señor, que es como una piedra preciosa y una pluma rica, en cuya cara habeis ya puesto vuestros ojos. Es por cierto este niño como una planta que dejaron echada sus abuelos; és como un pedazo de piedra preciosa que fué cortada de los antiguos, y ha muchos dias que murieron. Hanos la dado nuestro Señor á esta criatura, pero no tenemos certidumbre de su vida, sino como de un sueño que soñamos. Yá vén nuestros ojos lo que ha nacido; és como una piedra preciosa y pluma rica, que yá ha brotado en nuestra presencia. Lo que puedo ahora afirmar és, que nuestro Señor Quetzalcoatl, *que es Criador,* ha puesto una piedra preciosa y una pluma rica suya en este polvo y en esta casa pobre hecha de cañas; y puedo tambien decir, que yá ha adornado vuestra garganta, y vuestro collo, y vuestras manos, con un joyel de piedras preciosas y de plumas ricas, y que raramente se hallan ni aun á comprar: puedo decir, que ha puesto en vuestras manos un manojito de plumas ricas que se llaman Quetzalli, de perfecta hechura y de perfecto

color. Y en agradecimiento de tan gran beneficio, conviene que respondais con lloros y con oraciones de votos á nuestro Señor que está en todo lugar: suspirad y llorad hasta saber su voluntad, si por ventura vivirá esta piedra preciosa y esta pluma rica, de que ahora hablamos como soñando; la qual no sabemos si crecerá y se criará, y si vivirá algunos dias ó años, ó si será imágen, y retrato, y honra, y fama de los viejos y viejas que yá pasaron, de los quales desciende: no sabemos si por ventura *resucitará la suerte* y levantara la cabeza de sus abuelos y abuelas." "Here, in your presence, the infant of our Lord is born, which is like unto a precious gem or a rich feather, on whose face you have already fixed your eyes. This child does indeed resemble a plant set by his sires; he is, as it were, the fragment of a jewel cut by the ancients, who are long since no more. Our Lord has given this infant to us, but we cannot tell whether he will live, or be like a vision seen in a dream. Our eyes now contemplate the infant which has been born; he resembles a precious stone and a rich feather, which has already displayed itself to our view. That which I am at liberty to declare is, that our Lord Quetzalcoatl, who is the Creator, has placed a precious stone and one of *his* rich feathers in the dust before us, and in this poor and cane-built hut; and I may likewise add, that he has ornamented your neck and wrists with costly gems and rich feathers, such as are rarely to be met with and difficult to be obtained even for a price; and, further, that he has placed in your hands a handful of rich feathers, called Quetzalli, of perfect form and perfect colour. In return for so signal an act of grace, it is right that you should address yourself with tears, prayers, and vows to our Lord who is everywhere; sigh and weep until you know whether it be his will that this precious stone and rich feather, of which we are speaking like persons in a dream, shall live: we know not whether he will grow and arrive at maturity, or whether his term of life will be a few days or years, or whether he will be the *image*, likeness, *glory*, and renown of the *elders*, who have already passed away, from whom he descends: we know not whether, peradventure, he will *resuscitate the fortune and raise the head of his forefathers*." The concluding sentence of this passage is very remarkable: proceeding from the lips of the Mexicans, it is enigmatical and unintelligible; since, if we reflect for a moment that the Mexican empire was, according to the testimony of all historians, at the height of its greatness in the reign of Montezuma, the wish here expressed must appear alike devoid of meaning and of application, except Mexican history was something very different from what historians have represented it to be: but in the mouth of a Jew the allusion would be plain, and would strikingly illustrate the truth of a remark previously made in page 385 of the present volume, that the Jews, wherever residing, and however well off in their temporal concerns, have been accustomed to indulge in a tone of complaint ever since the fall of their empire. It has also a tincture of Hebrew rhetoric, since children are in many parts of the Old Testament named the ornaments of their parents, and Christ is called in the New the image of his Father's glory. He likewise compares himself, apostrophizing Jerusalem in the thirty-fourth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Saint Luke, to a hen ready to protect her brood beneath her wings; which metaphor, as well as the analogous simile of shading like a tree of spreading foliage, under which type Nebuchadnezzar beheld himself in the dream described in the fourth chapter of the book of Daniel, was very familiar to the ancient Mexicans, and was frequently employed by them in their prayers to the gods. Quecalcoatle is emphatically styled 'Maker and Creator' in the following passage of the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun, into which brief space many Jewish notions are crowded: "Nieta mia muy amada, y preciosa como piedra preciosa, como chalchiuitl y zafiro, noble y generosa, es cierto ahora que nuestro Señor se ha acordado de vos, el qual está en toda parte y hace mercedes á quien quiere: yá está claro que estás preñada, y que nuestro Señor os quiere dar fruto de generacion, y os quiere poner un joyel y daros una pluma rica. Por ventura lo han merecido vuestros suspiros y vuestras lagrimas, y el entendimiento de vuestras manos delante de nuestro Señor Dios, y las peticiones y oraciones que habeis ofrecido en presencia de nuestro Señor, llamado Tiniebla y Aire en las vigilias de la media noche; por ventura habeis velado; por ventura habeis trabajado en barrer y ofrecer incienso en su presencia; por ventura por estas buenas obras ha hecho con vos misericordia nuestro Señor; por ventura esta fue la causa, porque se determinó en los cielos y en los infiernos, *antes del principio del mundo*, que se os hiciese esta merced; por ventura és verdad, que nuestro Señor Quetzalcoatl, *que es Criador y Hacedor*, os ha hecho esta merced; por ventura lo ha determinado el que reside en el cielo, un hombre y una muger que se llaman Ometecutli y Omecioatl; por ventura esto está ya asi determinado. Mirad, hija mia, que no os ensoberbezcais, por la merced que os ha hecho." "My dear daughter, precious as a gem, and as a chalchiuitl or saphire, who art good and noble, it is now certain that our Lord, who is everywhere, and shows kindness to whom he will, has remembered you: it is plain that you have conceived, and that it is our Lord's

pleasure that you should be fruitful: to whom it seems good to adorn you with a jewel, and to bestow a rich feather upon you. Perhaps your sighs, your tears, and *the lifting up of your hands* before the Lord our God, and the prayers and supplications which you have offered in the presence of our Lord, whose name is Obscurity and Air, in vigils at midnight, have merited this favour; perhaps you have watched; perhaps you have employed yourself in sweeping and in offering incense in his presence; perhaps for the sake of these good works our Lord hath dealt mercifully with you; perhaps on this very account it was determined, before the commencement of the world, in heaven and in hell, that this kindness should be shown to you; perhaps it is true that our Lord Quetzalcoatl, *who is Maker and Creator*, has shown you this kindness; perhaps it had been decreed by the pair who inhabit heaven, the man and the woman named Ometecutli and Omecioatl; perhaps it was long since so determined. Take care, O my daughter, not to allow yourself to feel proud on account of the favour which has been shown to you; take care that you say not inwardly to yourself, I have conceived; take care that you attribute not this favour *to your own deserts*, for should you do so, you will not be able to hide your inward thoughts from our Lord, for nothing is hidden from him, be it within either rocks or trees; and thus you would excite his displeasure against you, and he would send some chastisement upon you, so that we should lose that which is within you; our Lord slaying it in the womb, or causing it to be born an idiot, or to die in its tender infancy; or perhaps our Lord would visit you with some disease of which you would die; for the fulfilment of our wish to have children and posterity depends upon the sole mercy of God; and if our thoughts are at variance with this truth, imagining that it happens through our own deserts, we defraud ourselves of the boon which is vouchsafed to us. Perhaps, daughter, pride will render you unworthy of letting the light behold that which has begun and is now coming." A Jewish tone of sentiment, it must be confessed, pervades the entire of this address; whilst Christian ethics, Scriptural allusions, and Hebrew customs seem all wonderfully mixed up in it. It was a Hebrew custom to lift up the hands in prayer, as we learn from the second verse of the hundred and forty-first Psalm: "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifices." And David commemorates his midnight vigils in the sixty-second verse of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm: "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee, because of thy righteous judgments." Children are named in various parts of the Old Testament the ornaments of their parents, and compared to jewels about their necks: they were likewise believed by the Jews to be the gift of God, on the authority of many passages of Holy Writ; and they are so expressly stated to be in the third verse of the hundred and twenty-seventh Psalm, "Lo children are an heritage of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb is his reward." Jacob, likewise, in the thirty-third chapter of Genesis, answers in reply to Esau's question, "Who are those with thee?" "The children which God hath graciously given thy servant." And Isaiah exclaims in the eighth chapter of his Prophecies, "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion." The admonition towards the conclusion of the address might have suggested itself to the mind of the speaker, from the recollection of the example in the Old Testament of Sarah's having incurred the displeasure of God, by laughing and commenting inwardly to herself on the promise made by him to Abraham, that she should bear a son; the occasion of which is thus described in the eighteenth chapter of Genesis: "And he said, I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard it in the tent-door, which was behind him. Now Abraham and Sarah were old, and well stricken in age; and it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women. Therefore Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also? And the Lord said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old? Is any thing too hard for the Lord? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son. Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not: for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou *didst* laugh." It must have been Sarah's fear that induced her on that occasion to contradict God, since, having been so long the wife of the patriarch Abraham, she could not have been ignorant that he knew what passed in her heart; and, except on this assumption, her want of faith would have been a lesser crime than her presumption; nor would a contradiction in return from God have been a punishment adequate to her temerity. A famous example however of pride of heart, venting itself in boastful language, and meeting with severe chastisement from God, is afforded in the case of king Nebuchadnezzar, who having exclaimed to himself, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" was driven from his throne and the habitations of men, "had a *beast's heart* given unto him,"

and did *eat grass* as *oxen:* which expressions in the fourth chapter of Daniel have induced some of the Rabbis to maintain that he was changed into a real ox, asking at the same time the rational question, Whether a man could live on grass alone? Without pausing to reply to their query, we shall proceed to observe, that the New Testament affords an example in Herod of exultation of heart immediately drawing down Divine vengeance: "And upon a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, *because he gave not God the glory:* and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." The manner of Herod's death, as recorded in the twenty-third verse of the twelfth chapter of the Acts, resembles that of Antiochus, who in the ninth verse of the ninth chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees is said to have been eaten by worms as a punishment for his pride. It is probable, therefore, that the extreme fear which the Mexicans entertained that God would severely punish them for the slightest degree of pride or presumption, was borrowed from the Jews, with whom, "Keep me, O Lord, from presumptuous sins" was a prayer. Their supposition, likewise, that Tezcatlipoca would punish the infant for the sin of its mother, was strictly in accordance with the doctrine inculcated throughout the Pentateuch; which induced the Jews to reproach the blind man, whose sight had been restored to him by Christ, with having been *born in sins*, as related in the thirty-fourth verse of the ninth chapter of the Gospel of Saint John: "They answered and said unto him, Thou wast *altogether* born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they cast him out." This principle of the Jewish religion is also asserted in the second commandment, where the threat, "I am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children," being denounced against the *sin of idolatry*, and not against *intemperance*, does in fact require a very *different* explanation from that which most commentators have chosen to give to it. The notion of God not permitting children to arrive at perfection from displeasure against their parents for their sins, was Hebrew, as we learn from the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon: "As for the children of adulterers, they shall not come to their perfection; and the seed of an unrighteous bed shall be rooted out." Other exceedingly curious notions respecting children were entertained by the Mexicans: they believed that they were dear to God, and that they *interceded* with him for the world and for men; that on their deaths they went to heaven, and were nourished by the tree distilling milk, which grew in the garden of Tonacaquahtitlan, where they ever abided in the presence of Tonacatecutli: the name of the tree was Chichiualquauitl, and a representation of it will be found in the fifth page of the larger Vatican MS. When we recollect what is said in the New Testament of little children, and the mysterious words of Christ in the tenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Saint Matthew, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones: for I say unto you, *that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven,*" coupled with the preceding ones in the sixth verse, "But whoso shall *offend* one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea," and compare them with other similar passages contained in the ninth chapter of Saint Mark and the seventeenth chapter of Saint Luke;—considering at the same time that the signification of Tonacaquahtitlan is, 'the place where grows the tree of our bodies or of life', that word being compounded of *tonacayo*, defined by Molina in his Lexicon of the Mexican language to be "cuerpo humano ó nuestra carne," i. e. the human body or our flesh, and *quauitl*, which signifies, according to the same author, "arbol ó palo," a tree or a piece of wood (*quauitl nepaniuhtoc*, meaning 'a wooden cross'), to which is added a particle of local reference;—can a doubt remain in our mind that the Mexicans borrowed some of their notions about children from the Scriptures, and had heard of the tree of life which grew in the garden of Eden, the fruit of which is said in the twenty-second verse of the third chapter of Genesis to confer *immortality* on the taster; and which is again mentioned in the following terms in the last chapter of the Revelations by Saint John, in his description of his vision of *New Jerusalem;* "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare *twelve* manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the *leaves* of the tree were for the healing of the nations"? which passage might have been corrupted by course of time and tradition into the doctrine, that the tree of life bestowed immortality upon the souls of children who died before attaining the knowledge of good and evil, or, as the interpreter of the Vatican MS. expresses it, "che muorono senza l'uso della ragione," and who therefore could not have earned it by faith or good works. The god Tonacatecutli was believed by the Mexicans to reside in the garden of Tonacaquahtitlan: he was the father of Quecalcoatle, and was also named Ometecutli, which signifies, the Most High, that name being compounded of *ome*, 'twice', which particle when prefixed to an adjective has an intensive

force like the Latin *ter*, and *tecutli*, 'lord' or 'king'. This observation will serve to correct an erroneous explanation of the proper name Hometeuli, in the note subjoined to page 156 of the present volume. The meaning of the proper name Tonacatecutli, is 'the lord of our bodies or of our flesh'; and it deserves to be remarked, that the Jews styled Jehovah *the Lord of all flesh*, or of all living things, the two expressions being synonymous, because animal life cannot exist without flesh, nor flesh enter on its first stage of existence without life, or remain flesh any length of time after death: hence it is apparent that the tree of life was named with the greatest propriety by the Mexicans, Tonacaquauitl or Tonacaquahuitl. And since the Jews believed that the life of the flesh was the blood, grounding that notion upon the fourth verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis, "But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat," it is probable that the Mexicans represented the tree, described in page 127 of the present volume, *bloody* and cracked in the middle. This tree must have been very celebrated in Mexican mythology, since it has a *distinct place* assigned to it in the Tonalamatl or Mexican calendar; Suchiquecal also is recorded to have sinned by plucking its fruit. Having observed above that the Mexicans believed that the intercessions of children in behalf of men were efficacious with God, we shall quote a remarkable passage from the twenty-first chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History, in confirmation of that curious fact: "Decian, que por estos sustentaba Dios al mundo, y que ellos eran nuestros intercesores para con Dios." "They say, that it is for their sake that God preserves the world, and that they (children) are our intercessors with God." Which passage deserves to be considered in connection with what is said of children in the second verse of the eighth Psalm: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." From the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of the hundred-and-thirty-ninth Psalm,—"My substance was not hid from thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them;"—as well as from other parts of Scripture, it would appear that it was a Jewish doctrine that children were fashioned by God's eternal decree *before* they had any material existence in their mother's womb, and that *there* they became the objects of his peculiar care and love;—that this was precisely the belief of the Mexicans is evident from the passage last cited from Sahagun: in reference to a curious sentence which there occurs, "perhaps on this very account it was determined, before the commencement of the world, *in heaven* and *in hell*, that this kindness should be shown to you," it may be proper to observe that the Mexicans believed, like the Jews, that God was omnipresent both in heaven and in hell; and that, therefore, that which was decreed in the one place, must necessarily have been decreed in the other; the latter grounding their belief on the eighth verse of the hundred-and-thirty-ninth Psalm: "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, *thou art there*." The omnipresence of the Deity is so often insisted upon in the prayers which the Mexicans addressed to Tezcatlipoca, that it is difficult to imagine but that they must have borrowed that notion from the Jews; for the ancient philosophers did not imagine that their idea of the Deity was heightened by adding to *omnipotence* and *omniscience* the attribute of omnipresence, but, on the contrary, that it was materialized and debased by it: and hence the Jews were accused, in very early ages, of being Cœlicolæ, or worshipers of the material heavens; to which Juvenal alludes in the verse

"Nil præter nubes et Cœli numen adorant,"

in his fourteenth Satire; and Petronius, with more irony, in the line

"Et Cœli summas advocet auriculas;"

and, indeed, שמים,* the Hebrew name for heaven, being so often understood in Scripture to mean Jehovah, might have

* From this Hebrew word some writers have imagined that the Indians of Haiti, or the island of Saint Domingo, named the phylacteries which they bound to their hair, *zemes*. Piedrahita, in the third chapter of the first book of his History of the Conquest of New Granada, describes the stranger who preached to the Mozcas, or Indians of Bogota,—whom some named Nemquetheba, others Bochicha, and others Zuhe,—as wearing a kind of phylactery on his forehead, in imitation of which the Indians of that province of South America continued to wear roses made of feathers hanging over their eyebrows, until the conquest of their territory by the Spaniards. "Este tal, dizen, que tenia la barba muy crecida hasta la cintura, los cabellos recogidos con una cinta como trença puesta á la manera que los antiguos Fariseos usaban los philacterios ó coronas con que se rodeaban las cabezas, trayendo colocados en mitad de la frente los preceptos del Decalogo. Pues á esse modo refieren le usaba, y en essa forma en los rodetes que se ponen los Indios en las cabezas, colocan una rosa de plumas, que les cae sobre las cejas. Andaba este hombre con las plantas desnudas, y traia una almalafa puesta,

disposed both the idolatrous amongst the Jews, who worshiped many gods, and the atheistical, like the Sadducees, who denied the existence of any, and were a most numerous sect in the days of Christ, to worship the material

cuyas puntas juntaba con un nudo sobre el ombro; de donde añaden aver tomado el traje, el uso del cabello, y de andar descalços." The Ingas of Peru wore a tassel hanging from the forehead as the insignia of royalty, which in the Peruvian language was named 'suntur-paucar'[1], and by the Spaniards 'borla'; which, considering that they accounted themselves the representatives of Viracocha, might have served to remind them to keep his laws, and, like the rose worn by the Mozcas, have been in imitation of the head-dress of Bochicha: a comparison of the royal costume of the Ingas, as represented in the plate inserted by Herrera in his General History of the Indies, with that of the Zippas, or sovereigns of Bogota, in the plate prefixed by Piedrahita to his History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of New Granada, will render this supposition more probable from the extreme similarity of the dress of the Ingas to that of the Zippas, who it is to be supposed imitated even more closely than their subjects the costume of Bochicha. The cleft or episcopal mitre upon the head of Sugamuxi, the founder of the empire of Bogota, and those upon the heads of Pachacuti Yupangui and Topaynga Yupangui, the tenth and eleventh Ingas of Peru, are very deserving of notice, and remind us that the Ingas of Peru and the Zippas of Bogota consi-dered a priest the founder of their respective dynasties. The mitre does in fact seem to have usurped the place of the crown in the New World, for the copilli worn by the Mexican monarch was a half-mitre; and the coincidence is curious, that all the native Indian monarchs, at the period of the discovery of America by the Spaniards, should have worn mitres as the ensign of royalty; for the only monarchies then existing worthy of the name were those of New Spain, of Peru, and of Bogota, which, though widely apart, had many things in common in their religion, laws, and institutions. An interesting account of the latter state, which was advanced in civilization, and the subjects of which made use of golden money in their dealings with each other, will be found in the Supplemental volume of this work: it is taken from an unpublished manuscript of the most authentic character. To an objection which may be urged against admitting the plates referred to in the Histories of Herrera and of Piedrahita in proof of what was the ancient costume of the Ingas, on the ground of the Spaniards being themselves ignorant of it, it may be observed that these plates are found in the works of two eminent historians, that they mutually confirm each other, and that the accuracy of another plate in Herrera, in which Acamapichtli, the first sovereign of Mexico, is represented in the true costume of the Mexican kings, tends further to that confirmation. A more reasonable exception may be taken to the crosses placed over the heads of each of the Zippas, since no such symbols are added to the portraits of the Ingas, al-though crosses, as Garcilaso de la Vega asserts in the second part of his Royal Commentaries, were adored in Cuzco, and found in the temples and the palaces of the Ingas[2] by the two Spaniards dispatched to that city by Pizarro. The cross being likewise immemorially the companion of the crozier, the acquaintance with the latter, implied by the question put by the Peruvians to the Spaniards on first seeing a bishop, whether he was the Guaca of the Christians? argued acquaintance on their part with the former symbol. Gomara incidentally records, in the following passage of his History of the Indies, this curious question of the Peruvians: "Entre sus muchas Guacas, assi llaman los idolos, avia *muchas* con baculos y mitras de obispos." "Amongst their many Guacas, by which appellation they name their idols, there were *many* with bishops' croziers and mitres." But he immediately afterwards adds, with perhaps well feigned simplicity, "*mas la causa dello aun no se sabe*," "but the reason of this is not yet known;" nor does it appear that the Spaniards took any great trouble to clear up this mystery. If, however, any proof were wanting to show that the crozier and the mitre were associated with the cross in the New World as well as in the Old, it would be found in the larger Vatican MS., the fifth page of which represents Quecalcoatle holding a crozier, and habited with a mitre, and a mantle covered with red crosses. The objection, however, that Spanish authors could not insert in their works plates representing the costume of the Ingas which their countrymen had never seen, although very futile, would be rendered in appearance even superfluous, regard being had to the weightier objection, that the portraits con-tained in the two plates referred to must be merely imaginary, because the sovereigns whom they represented had been dead many years before the arrival of the Spaniards. This is an objection that Dr. Robertson would have admitted, proceeding on his assumption that the Indians were barbarians in a sense almost unlimited, and that the arts of sculpture and painting were wholly unknown in America. That the contrary however was the case, is evident from original monuments still in existence. Neither was Europe so enlightened at the beginning of the sixteenth century as to justify Dr. Robertson in the parallel which he has been pleased to draw between the civilized population of his part of the world and the barbarous Indians. The Spaniards, it cannot be doubted, had the opportunity of seeing many statues and paintings of the Ingas which represented them attired in the royal costume; and embalming was carried to such perfection in Peru, that when they opened the tombs of the Ingas for the sake of plundering them of the gold and silver which they contained, they found the bodies of those princes preserved with such art, that, according to the testimony of Acosta and Garcilaso de la Vega, who saw them, they appeared to be alive; their features were plain and distinct, and covered with a sort of varnish. Acosta remarks, that a golden plate was substituted for the eyes in each, shaped so as exactly to resemble them. Garcilaso says, that the licentiate Polo Ondegardo showed him five of these royal bodies in a room in his house at Cuzco, observing to him, "Since you are going to Spain, come into this room, and you shall see some of your ancestors whom I have brought to light, that you may have something to tell when you arrive

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[1] Balboa, in the eighteenth chapter of his inedited History of Peru, to which he has given the title of "Miscellanea Antarctica," men-tions, along with the tassel, a sceptre, mantle, and sandals, as composing the regalia of the Ingas, and assigns to them the names, in the order in which they stand, of Suntur-paucar, Topa-yauri, Tarco-gualca, and Oxotas.

[2] Vide cap. xxxii. of the first book of the Second Part of the Royal Commentaries of Peru, entitled, "Llegan los dos Españoles al Cuzco, hallan Cruces en los Templos y en las Casas Reales."

heavens, *to all the host of which* their forefathers offered up their vows. The Mexicans commended a lying-in woman to the care of the tiçitl or midwife, to the goddess Yoaltiçitl, and to Tezcatlipoca, who was otherwise named

there." And a MS. copied from the original in the archives of Simancas, with the simple title of "A Report addressed to the Viceroy of Peru, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marques de Cañete," but to which is added, in a note at the end, "El autor de este papel parece ser el Licenciado Polo de Ondegardo," has the following curious passage, in which the writer, speaking of himself, mentions his discovery of the embalmed body of the Inga Yupangui, together with some knots, or quipus, recording the principal events of his reign, which it is singular should have been buried with him: "Yo hallé su estatua en el Cuzco en poder de su gente; la qual era de ciertas mantas muy gruesas: *y hallé el cuerpo del Ynga Yupangi embalsamado en gran veneracion, y los hilos y cuenta de sus hazañas y fiestas e idolatrias que estatuyó,* y la principal era que havia dado este renombre al Viracocha, y que con el havia subjetado todo el reyno, al qual el comun tenia en mucha mas veneracion que á Guainacapa, á lo que á mi me pareció, aunque no fue tan rico en joyas, aunque tuvo muchas; y dicen los Yndios haverse pagado de ellas y de lo de Guainacapa el rescate de Cajamalca, y no se hizo mas averiguacion por no impedir el descubrimiento de los ídolos." The statue alluded to was that of Viracocha, to whom the Inga Yupangui gave the title of Pachayachachi, which signified, the creator of the universe, in consequence of his having appeared to him in a dream, and declared to him that *he* had created the sun and the universe, and that the sign of it should be, that the Inga should vanquish his enemies, which accordingly came to pass; the Peruvians dating the prosperity of their empire from the period when their Inga had his memorable dream. The same author accounts in the following manner for the appellation of Viracocha, which was given to the Spaniards by the Peruvians, respecting the origin of which name, he says, there was much diversity of opinion. "When the generals of Atabalipa got possession of the person of Guascar by treachery, the Ingas, after they had carried him off, celebrated a great sacrifice to Viracocha, in order that he might liberate him, in which they burnt a great number of children, cattle, and a quantity of apparel; and the intelligence of Atabalipa's having been taken prisoner by the Christians, happening to arrive immediately after the sacrifice, they believed that they were men sent by Viracocha in consequence of the sacrifice, and named them Viracochas; and this name originated in Cuzco, where it was given; for in the camp of Atabalipa, both before and after his imprisonment, they only named them Zungazapa, which signifies 'men with beards'; and this is a true historical fact which ought to be known, although it has no connection with the question put by His Majesty." "Desta fabula que estos cuentan, se entenderá la ocasion que tuvieron de llamar á los Cristianos Viracochas en que tantas opiniones hay, y es asi, que al tiempo que los capitanes de Tabalipa prendieron en el Cuzco á Guascar Ynga por engaños, despues que le llevaron, hicieron los Yngas un gran sacrificio al Viracocha para que le librase, en que quemaron gran suma de niños y carneros y ropa; y como immediamente quando se acabó, vino nueva que los Cristianos havian prendido á Atabalipa, entendieron que fuese gente que huviese embiado el Viracocha por razon del sacrificio, y llamaron los Viracochas, y este nombre bajo del Cuzco donde se introdujo, porque en el campo de Tabalipa antes y despues que le prendieron, no los llamavan sino Zungazapa, que quiere decir barbudos; y esta es verdadera historia y es bien que se sepa, aunque no haga al proposito de lo que S. M. pregunta." It would be wrong to infer utter ignorance on the part of the Peruvians of a bearded nation before the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them, from the name of Zungazapa which they gave to Pizarro and his army, since the ancient traditions of Peru, as well as those of Mexico, recorded the arrival ages before of white men with beards; and Cieza de Leon, and especially Balboa, in his Miscellanea Antarctica, mention the edifices which they constructed; the latter author affirming, that in a progress which Topa Inga, the son and successor of the Inga Yupangui, made through his empire, he was shown, in Xauxa, monuments erected by white strangers. The following are the words of Balboa: "Pasó á Xauxa, donde le fueron mostrados ciertos antiquisimos edificios que alli se ven, que dicen los naturales haver sido obra de unos valerosisimos estrangeros, blancos y de buena estatura, tan inumerables y valientes que solo el tiempo los pudo contrastar." "The Inga passed on to Xauxa, where some most ancient edifices, which are there to be seen, were pointed out to his observation, which the natives say were constructed by strangers of white colour, tall stature, and extreme valour, so numerous and brave that time alone could withstand them." We shall reserve for the Supplemental volume some further extracts from the MS. of Balboa relating to the appearance of certain holy men in Peru, who preached a new law to the natives, wore long beards and decent apparel, and left impressions of their hands and feet engraved upon rocks and stones; as also an account of the famous general council, convoked at Cuzco by the Inga Yupangui for the abolition of the undue homage which the people paid to the sun, and the promulgation of the decree that Ticci Viracocha Pachacamac was the supreme God and the creator of the universe, ("cosa notable y de admiracion," as Balboa terms it,) to which all the religious orders in the state were summoned, the Inga himself presiding at the solemn conclave. But we cannot refrain from inserting here the curious relation which the same author gives of the sea voyage, of a year's duration, undertaken by Topa Inga Yupangui, the successor of the Inga Yupangui, and of his discovery of some islands situated far in the bosom of the South Sea, to which the Peruvians gave the appellation of Hagua-chumbi and Nina-chumbi, and which the Spaniards supposed might have been the islands of Solomon, the name which was first given to the islands of Otaheite; which supposition is not so improbable, from the Deity being supposed by the natives of Huaheine to reside in an ark expressly named by them *Ewharre no Eatua,* 'The House of God,'—from circumcision being practised in other islands, as Captain Cook declares in the narrative of his Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, who says that the men of Tongataboo were *all* circumcised,—and from the Jewish doctrine of uncleanness[1] having been found amongst those islanders, as exemplified in the account which Captain

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[1] This doctrine held among the Jews a middle state between positive sin and virtue: modern jurisprudence has, however, rejected it as little conducive to morals; time having shown, and indeed the history of the Jews, whose whole ceremonial law, although an inspired code, was still only one of conventional virtue, having fully proved, that it is better that vices and virtues should be few in number,

Yoalliehecatl, which proper name signifies 'obscurity' and 'air,' that epithet having been applied by them to the Deity for the reason contained in the ejaculation with which the first prayer in the sixth book of Sahagun commences: "O

Cook gives of the rite of 'taboo mattee,' or 'purifying from uncleanness' contracted by the touch of a dead body, which rite was strictly enjoined by Moses to the Jews in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers; and it is singular enough that the phrase 'taboo mattee' should so nearly resemble the Hebrew expression מת מא, in the eleventh verse of the above-mentioned chapter. If the Ingas, when in the height of their glory, had wished to imitate Solomon by undertaking naval expeditions, and the result of some voyage had been the discovery of the islands of Otaheite, it cannot be doubted that they would have introduced many of their customs amongst the natives. The question however deserves to be considered, Whether all the islands of the South Sea lying to the east of the Indian Archipelago may not have been originally colonized from America? Some interesting remarks respecting two supposed aboriginal races of men, the one black and woolly-haired, and the other of the brown complexion of the Peruvians, will be found in the first chapter of the first book of Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago.

The following is Balboa's account of the naval expedition of Topa Inga, which is extracted from the seventeenth chapter of his 'Miscellanea Antarctica'; a valuable history of Peru, which never has been published, and of which the MS. in our possession may be possibly that to which Solorzano refers[1], in the fifth chapter of the first book of his treatise 'De Indiarum Jure,' as belonging to himself: which history Calancha, in the tenth chapter of the second book of his 'Coronica de S. Augustin en el Peru,' a work of the greatest rarity, belonging to that class of books which underwent proscription in Spain, seems to allude to in noticing the worship which the Jungas (a race of Indians inhabiting the sandy plains in the neighbourhood of Lima) offered to Pachacamac, although 'Miguel Cabello Balboa, clerigo presbitero del Arzobispado de los Reyes en el Piru, Natural de la Villa de Archidona en Andaluzia,' is the name which the author gives to himself in the title-page of the 'Miscellanea Antarctica'; which work he began in Quito in the year 1576, and completed on the 9th of June in 1586; professing in his preface to have conferred, when in New Granada, with the Adelantado Don Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, upon the obscure question of the origin of the Indians, whose ancestor he supposes to have been the patriarch Ophir. "Tuvo noticia el Topa Ynga como muy cerca de alli (Apelope) avia buen puerto para poder sulcar, y ver si en la mar avia alguna empresa en que poder ganar con el mundo nombre y reputacion, y aviendo consultado con sus mayores su deliberacion y intento, se puso en camino con sus esquadrones (y casi innumerables) y se aposentó en Manta, y en Charapoto, y en Piguaca, porque en menos espacio no podia aloxarse, ni sustentarse tanta multitud de naciones como tras si traia. En este lugar fue donde la vez primera el rey Topa Ynga vió el mar, al qual como lo descubriese de un alto, hizo una muy profunda adoracion y le llamó Mamacocha, que quiere decir, madre de las lagunas: y hizo apercibir gran cantitad de las embarcaciones que los naturales usavan (que son ciertos palos livianos notablemente) y atando fuertemente unos con otros, y haciendo encima cierto tablado de cañizos texidos, es muy segura y acomodada embarcacion, á las quales nosotros avemos llamado balsas: pues aviendose juntado de estas la copia que parecio bastante para la gente que consigo determinava llevar, tomando de los naturales de aquellas costas los pilotos de mas experiencia que pudo hallar, se metio en el mar con el mismo brio y animo que si desde su nacimiento huviera esperimentado sus fortunas y truecos. De este viaje se alejó de tierra mas que se puede facilmente creer; mas cierto afirman los que sus cosas de este valeroso Ynga cuentan, que de este camino se detuvo por la mar duracion y espacio de un año, y dicen mas, que descubrió ciertas Yslas, aquien llamaron Hagua-Chumbi y Nina-Chumbi: que Yslas estas sean en el Mar de el Sur (en cuya costa el Ynga se embarco) no lo osare determinadamente afirmar, ni que tierra sea la que pueda presumirse ser hallada en esta navegacion. Las relaciones que de este viage nos dan los antiguos,

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and that mankind should strictly observe or avoid these, than invent a thousand new and imaginary crimes, the only effect of which is to lessen the respect to which virtues, coeval with human nature, are alone entitled; to make vices and virtues clash with each other; and to render it necessary, according to the views of many modern political economists, that some vices should not only be tolerated but publicly encouraged, to avoid what they are pleased to name greater.

[1] Solorzano mentions the work of Balboa in the fifth chapter of his first book 'De Indiarum Jure,' slightly changing the title which the author himself gave to it; "Tres libros non contemnendos scripserat Michael Balboa Cabello, Peruensis Presbyter, sub nomine 'Miscellaneæ Australis,' qui apud me manuscripti servantur." He also cites in a marginal note to the fifth chapter of the first book of his 'Politica Indiana' the treatise of the celebrated Garcia, concerning the preaching of the Gospel in the New World, which like the 'Peruvian Monarchy' of the same author has disappeared, and refers to page 20 of the fourth chapter of the first book of that treatise. Calancha, professing to give an account of the origin of the Peruvians from a MS. in his possession composed by Luis de Toruel a Jesuit, speaks likewise in high terms of commendation of Balboa: "Prueva la fabula de su origen con la autoridad y trabajada informacion que hizo de todo el Dotor Juan de Balboa, Canonigo de la Catedral de Lima, varon muy docto i diligente investigador de las antiguas tradiciones destos Indios, Catedratico de su lengua en esta Universidad, cuyo libro dice que tiene en su poder; i la fabula del origen dellos i de sus guacas, tiene mas abilidad i similitud con lo que dice el Genesis de la creacion del mundo, i suceso del diluvio, que lo que fabularon Ovidio, i los poetas Griegos i Latinos, que creyeron los Españoles antes que se convirtiesen á la Fé." Coronica de S. Augustin en el Peru, cap. x. lib. 2. fol. 366.—Calancha's Augustine Chronicle of Peru is a large folio volume, containing 922 pages: it was printed in Barcelona in the year 1638, and is a book full of the most curious information. Its scarcity may be estimated from the assertion of Pinelo, page 643 of his 'Bibliotheca Occidental,' that the celebrated Spanish scholar Don Nicolas Antonio, who published the 'Bibliotheca Hispana,' doubted whether the Peruvian History of Brulius was not a translation of it. We are enabled, from possessing both works, to say that they are totally distinct; the latter is a book printed in Holland in the year 1652, which is also interesting, and seldom to be met with.

valeroso Señor nuestro, debajo de cuyas alas nos amparamos, y defendemos, y hallamos abrigo; tu eres invisible y no palpable, bien asi como la noche y el aire." "O valiant Lord, beneath whose wings we shelter and defend our-

son que trujo de allà *Yndios prisioneros de color negro,* y mucho oro y plata, y mas una silla de laton y cueros de animales como caballos: y de parte donde se puedan traer las tales cosas, de todo punto se ignora en este Piru, y en el mar que lo va prolongando." It must be admitted that this account of the voyage performed by Topa Inga is extremely curious, and it deserves to be considered in connection with a very remarkable passage in Gomara's History of the Indies; where, describing at page cxvi. the province of Quivira, and the Spanish expedition thither in search of the seven cities reported in the first instance, by Brother Mark de Niza, to belong to a king who exhibited some conformity, in his adoration of the cross and homage to the Queen of Heaven, to the religion of the Spaniards, and whose history on that account might have been consigned to oblivion,—he observes, speaking of the coast of the Pacific Ocean, "Vieron por la costa naos que trayan arcatraces de oro y de plata en las proas, con mercaderias; y pensaron ser del Catayo y China, porque señalavan aver navegado treynta dias." But how much more curious will the following relation of Brother Antonio Tello be judged! taken from an original MS., which it would be wronging history to suffer to remain unpublished, in which mention is made of the north-west passage having been accidentally discovered in a remote century by two ships, to what nation belonging is unknown; one of which was wrecked, while the crew of the other is recorded by native tradition to have colonized the north-west coast of America, and taught the Indians to adore the Cross, to wear scapularies, and to shave the crown of their heads; on which account the Spaniards, on first entering their province, and beholding the strange attire of the Indians, and their mode of wearing their hair, named it Provincia de los Frayles; and the Indians themselves, Indios Coronados, from the round tonsure on the crown of their heads. The Indians, in confirmation of the truth of this tradition, which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, showed the Spaniards a large iron anchor (una ancora gastadisima de errumbre). Tello himself supposes that these ships must have been either Dutch, English, or Spanish vessels, which, sailing through the Straits of Anian, entered by that route into the Pacific Ocean: and next follows, in order to render this supposition plausible, an assertion of an extraordinary fact unknown to the present age, which it may be proper to insert in the original Spanish.—"Como lo hicieron en nuestros tiempos ciertos estrangeros los quales llevados por las costas de los Bacallados y Tierra-nueva pasaron el Estrecho de Anian, y dieron con su navio en el Mar del Sur: y de su viage hicieron una relacion al Rey N. S. Felipe Segundo, y despues de su muerte el Rey N. S. Felipe Tercero viendola, mandó á su Virrey Conde de Monterey que á costa de sus reales haveres hiciese el descubrimiento de esta navegacion, lo qual se puso en execucion en cinco de Mayo del año de 1602, que se hicieron á la vela dos naos, capitana y almiranta, y una fragata, y fue por General Sebastian Viscayno; y habiendo navegado y descubierto muchas yslas llegaron al Cabo Mendozino que está en quarenta y dos grados de altura, y se pusieron en quarenta y tres en un cabo ó punta que nombraron Cabo Blanco, junto á el qual se hallaron un rio caudaloso y hondable: procuraron sondearle y las corrientes no dieron lugar: entendiese que este rio és el que descubrieron los Holandeses viniendo derrotados, y que es el Estrecho de Anian por donde el navio que le descubrió atravesó y pasó del Mar del Norte al del Sur:"—the substance of which relation is briefly as follows; "That certain strangers (who, from the ardour displayed in Queen Elizabeth's reign for prosecuting naval discoveries, and especially for exploring the North Pole, we must suppose were Englishmen), at a period not very remote from that in which Tello lived (for in this sense the phrase "en nuestros tiempos" must be understood, except it be opposed to the presumed antiquity of the period when the passage was first effected through the Straits of Anian by the two ships previously mentioned), had coasted the shores of Bacallaos and Newfoundland, and passing through the Straits of Anian, penetrated with their ships into the South Sea; information of which having been transmitted to Philip the Second, which was perused by Philip the Third, the latter monarch commanded his viceroy, the Count de Monterey, to fit out an expedition at the public expense to discover this passage, which was completed on the 5th of May in the year 1602, when two ships and a frigate sailed under the command of Sebastian Viscayno; which, having discovered many islands, arrived at Cape Mendozino in 42° north latitude, and prosecuted the voyage as far as a cape or point, to which they gave the name of Cabo Blanco, situated in latitude 43°, near which they found a great and deep river, unfathomable from the strength of the current. Tello is persuaded this was the river discovered by the Dutch, and the same as the Straits of Anian, through which the ships that discovered those straits sailed, and passed from the Northern into the Southern Ocean." From this account it would appear that a north-west passage, of the existence of which little doubt has ever been entertained, but of the practicability of navigating it the greatest, has twice served as a channel of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Two reasons might be alleged for so important a fact having been buried in secresy, till it became finally forgotten; but it could be only the effect of their combined action, and the jealousy which Spain must have naturally felt of the ambition of England, whose powerful navy in the reign of Elizabeth threatened, by effecting disembarkations in various parts of the southern continent of America, to revolutionize the Indian population, in the beginning but imperfectly subdued, and long impatient of the Spanish yoke. The reasons are these:—first, the unwillingness of Philip to cede to his rival, Queen Elizabeth, the honour of a discovery which he might have judged more properly belonged to himself; and, secondly, the cautious policy of that monarch, his regard to the mercantile interests of his kingdom, and perhaps erroneous anticipations respecting the utility which such a passage, when once declared practicable, would be of to the northern European powers, to the prejudice of Spanish commerce, which might have made him little eager that it should be discovered. A prince, moreover, even more inclined to protect philosophy and science than was Philip, might have deemed that one age at least should rest content with the great discoveries in geography which had so recently been made, and which it would be better to acquire a more perfect knowledge of, than to attempt new ones.—Before terminating this note we may be permitted to observe, that the only conclusion which the relation of Tello seems to warrant, appealing as he does to Indian tradition and to the proceedings of the Spanish Government, in proof of ships having sailed through the northern straits into the Pacific, and thus uniting the testimony both of Spaniards and Indians in favour of the supposed passage, is, that there is an appearance of probability that the north-west passage has been found by experience to be practicable for ships.

selves and find protection, thou art invisible and impalpable, just in the manner of night and air." And here we shall take occasion to observe, that Acosta's not knowing that Yoalliehecatl, which proper name is compounded of *yoalli*, 'night', and *ehecatl*, 'wind or air', was an epithet belonging to Tezcatlipoca, led him into the error of asserting that the Mexicans adored night, wind, and darkness on the festival of Tezcatlipoca, imploring *their* succour and protection; and he has fallen, in almost the next sentence, into the graver error of maintaining that the religion of the Mexicans did not hold out threats to the wicked of any punishment in a future state. The passage of Acosta referred to, will be found in the note subjoined to page 224 of this volume. The Mexicans styled Tezcatlipoca 'valiant Lord,' because they considered him the god of battles, by which latter title he is expressly designated in the prayer which the Mexicans addressed to him, beseeching of him victory over their enemies; which prayer will be found entire in the third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun,—a short extract from which is here inserted, not only because it contains the above-mentioned title, but on account of the Jewish tone of sentiment which pervades it, and its Scriptural phraseology, and likewise because it serves to illustrate an observation of Torquemada in the note annexed to page 245 of this volume. "Y por quanto és vuestra magestad Señor de las batallas, y de cuya voluntad depende la victoria, y á quien quereis desamparais, y no teneis necesidad de que nadie os dé consejo; y pues que esto es así, suplico á vuestra magestad, que desatineis y emborracheis á nuestros enemigos, para que se arrojen en nuestros manos, y sin hacernos daño caigan todos en las manos de nuestros soldados y peleadores, que padecen pobreza y trabajos. O Señor nuestro, tenga por bien vuestra magestad, pues que soys Dios, y lo podeis todo, y lo ordenais todo, y entendeis en disponer todas las cosas, y en ordenar y disponer á que esta *vuestra* republica sea rica y prospera, y ensalzada, y honrada, y afamada en los ejercicios y valentias de la guerra." "And inasmuch as your majesty is Lord of battles, on whose will depends victory, who forsakest whom thou wilt, and standest in no need of counsel from any one; since so it is, I supplicate your majesty *to deprive our enemies of reason and to make them drunkards*, in order that they may throw themselves into our hands, and, without doing us any harm, may all fall into the hands of our soldiers and men of war, who endure poverty and hardships. O Lord, may it please your majesty, since thou art God and can do all things, and ordainest all things, and art ever employed in directing the affairs of the universe, and in ordering and providing for the riches and prosperity and glory and honour and fame of this *thy* republic, in the deeds and achievements of war."

It is very remarkable that the Mexicans should have prayed to Tezcatlipoca to afflict their enemies with drunkenness, since that prayer accords with what is said in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the twelfth chapter of Job: "He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way: they grope in the dark without light, and he maketh them to stagger like *a drunken man;*" and with the threat pronounced by Jeremiah in the thirteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of his Prophecies against the Jews themselves, who were very fond of denouncing against others the judgments which Moses, speaking in the name of God, uttered against them in case of disobedience to his laws. The passage of Jeremiah referred to is the following: "Then shalt thou say unto them, Behold, I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit upon David's throne, *and the priests, and the prophets*, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, with *drunkenness*." A sort of spiritual drunkenness is certainly here signified, which in the case of the prophets, if compatible at all with inspiration, must nevertheless have rendered the predictions which they uttered very innocuous, and still more calculated to excite the mirth than the fear of the Canaanites, and their other enemies, against whom they were chiefly directed, who would have felt inclined to pay little regard to the prophecies of these blind leaders of the blind. The notion of Tezcatlipoca protecting the people beneath his wings,—which metaphor was employed by the ancient Mexicans, who emphatically styled themselves *his* people, and their kingdom God's kingdom, and the throne of their kings God's throne and the seat of judicature,—strongly assimilates itself to the language of David in the fourth verse of the ninety-first Psalm: "He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler." They likewise considered this supreme God their shield and buckler; and the proper name Chimal*man*, which is derived from *chimalli* the Mexican name for a shield, being compounded of that term with the elision of the final syllable *li*, and *man* devoid of signification, as is most probably here the case, and which perhaps would have been *mar* but that the Mexican language wants the letter *r*, may not unreasonably be supposed to have been given to the Virgin of Tula, the mother of Quecalcoatle, on that account. In reference to two opinions of the ancient Mexicans which have already been noticed,—one of which seems related to Hebrew usages,

and the other to be strangely allied with a prejudice to which the second verse of the eighth Psalm might have given rise among the Jews,—we must observe, that it was customary for Hebrew women to seek the favour of Jehovah by ministering in the service of his temple, an example of which is recorded by Saint Luke of the prophetess Anna in the second chapter of his Gospel: "And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser: she was of a great age, and had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity; and she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, *which departed not from the temple*, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day." And hence perhaps the interrogation in the passage already quoted from Sahagun, "por ventura habeis *velado;* por ventura habeis trabajado en barrer y ofrecer incienso en su presencia; por ventura por *estas buenas obras ha hecho con vos misericordia* nuestro Señor." The passage in the Psalms which in the English version of the Bible is rendered "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies that thou mightest still *the enemy* and *the avenger*," which is translated in the Septuagint "ἐκ στοματος νηπιων και θηλαζοντων κατηρτισω αἰνον· ἑνεκα των ἐχθρων σου, του καταλυσαι ἐχθρον και ἐκδικητην," might have induced the Mexicans, borrowing the notion from the Jews, to imagine that through the intercession of children with God the world was preserved; since if the latter had understood the enemy and the avenger to mean Satan, which it is highly probable they would, because he is *expressly named* the adversary and the accuser in many places of the Old Testament, and more especially in the book of Job, here we might seek the origin of this extraordinary doctrine. The English translation of the Bible, which although generally formed on the Hebrew text of Scripture, sometimes, and *not unfrequently* when the translators were in doubt which was the word of God, prefers the Septuagint rendering of a passage involving difficulty or contradiction, has in this place 'still the enemy and the avenger,' to which the Greek phrase του καταλυσαι ἐχθρον και ἐκδικητην corresponds; and it must be confessed that the word 'still' would be very applicable to Satan, who is compared elsewhere in Scripture to a roaring lion going up and down the earth to seek whom he might devour. 'Enemy' and 'adversary' are in English synonymous terms, and literally expressive of the signification of ἐχθρον, which was a name for Satan; but 'accuser' and 'avenger' are terms of which the meaning is materially different, although by both these names, taken in acceptations widely different from each other, Satan was known to the ancient Jews, who called him the avenger of blood, and when they killed cattle were careful to cover up the blood with dust, lest Satan beholding it should demand vengeance at the hands of God on account of their having put to death an innocent animal. The Mexicans likewise, who were probably well acquainted with what is said in the eleventh verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, of the earth having opened her mouth to receive the blood of Abel from the hand of Cain, and with the Hebrew custom of covering blood with dust, entertained a superstitious notion about blood being the beverage of the earth, as has elsewhere been observed. It may be proper however to remark that the Greek word ἐκδικητης signifies both an 'accuser' and an 'avenger', undoubtedly because a legal accuser becomes in a manner an avenger; and Stephanus thus defines it in the former sense, "persequutor, cujus munus est judicio experiri contra eos qui aurum vel argentum vel pecuniam reipublicæ debent;" from which it would appear that it signified the person who conducted ex-officio or state prosecutions on the part of the Crown or the public when money was concerned, but not blasphemy; for that was a crime which even in the age of primitive simplicity, when Rome beheld her dictators guiding the plough, Roman lawyers disdained to meddle with, and "qui secus faxit, Deus *ipse* vindex sit" became a maxim of their jurisprudence, which, rude as was the Latin of the Twelve Tables, could not have come adorned from the lips of Cicero. From the name of 'the accuser' which the Jews bestowed upon Satan, from believing that his chief function was that of an accuser of men to God,—which of itself would have suggested the idea of *a mediator*, (traces of both which doctrines may perhaps be recognized in the Mexican fable of Tonatiuh or the Sun, who was the same as Quecalcoatle, conducting with acclamations the souls of saints to heaven, and of Miquitlantecutli the god of hell endeavouring to intercept them on the way,)—the Greek word Διαβολος is derived. But although the New Testament, by bestowing the name of Διαβολος upon the devil, seems to lend the strongest sanction to the reasons which led the Jews to name him 'the accuser,' still when we reflect that it no where inculcates the Jewish doctrine upon that point, inferences from the proper name Διαβολος must be considered nugatory, or be condemned as opposed to the silence of the Evangelists. The Book of Job places Satan before us in the light of an accuser. But the same Book places God himself almost in the situation of a tempter, since he it was who, at least by sufferance, afflicted Job with all manner of diseases to try his patience; and hence the Mexicans might have derived the notion that Titlacaoa or Tezcatlipoca sometimes tempted them to sin to try their obedience to his commandments; nor can it

be denied, if Moses has been named, on the authority of the sixteenth chapter of Numbers and the thirty-second chapter of Exodus, the first inquisitor*, that Satan has as fair a claim, on that of the Book of Job, to be styled the first who was zealous to take cognizance of blasphemy. Reasons for supposing that the Mexicans were acquainted with the Book of Job will be found at page 382 of this volume; and their custom of shaving their hair, sitting down upon the ground, and sprinkling dust upon their heads as a sign of humiliation, closely resembles what is said in the first and second chapters of that Book, of the mourning of Job and his three friends.

To add another remark to those which we have already made on the passage in the Psalms, which might have induced the Mexicans to suppose that Tezcatlipoca spared the world at the intercession of children, we may observe, that the wicked are perpetually named in Scripture God's enemies, and that ἑνεκα των ἐχθρων, in the second verse of the eighth Psalm, being understood to mean *them*, the literal translation of the entire passage would be, "Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, for the sake of the wicked, that thou mightest confound the adversary and the accuser." The propriety of understanding the verb καταλυσαι in the signification here assigned to it, will be evident to those who consider, that to dissolve the strength or to unnerve the limbs of an adversary, is to confound him; and the omission of the article before ἐχθρον is not of the least importance, and might be justified by reference to innumerable passages in Scripture: the sense even of the verse as it is here translated becomes more obvious than before, and is strictly accordant with the Jewish notion, that prayers which were acceptable to God confounded Satan when he presented himself before him to accuse them of sin; which was more reasonable than the Rabbinical doctrine that the accusations of Satan were confounded by the noise of the trumpets which Moses commanded the priests to blow on their solemn festivals; and which the Mexicans,—as it were in compliance with the precept contained in the eighth verse of the tenth chapter of Numbers, "And the sons of Aaron the priests shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall be to you for an ordinance for ever throughout your generations,"—continually sounded in the courts of their temple; a custom which the interpreter of the Vatican Codex *believed that they borrowed from the Jews*, as he unequivocally declares at page 224 of the present volume. It has been already observed, that the Mexicans imagined that children were the gift of Tezcatlipoca, and that he fashioned and watched over them in their mothers' womb; and it is wonderful to find how conformable their customs, as well as their opinions, in every thing relating to the treatment of mothers and their children, were to those of the Jews. Sahagun, in the 24th, 34th, and 35th chapters of the sixth book of his History of New Spain, informs us, that married women amongst the Mexicans received two salutations from their friends and kindred, the first on their becoming pregnant, and the second on their safe delivery, when the mother and the infant were both saluted, and *gifts were presented to the latter*. And that this accorded with Hebrew usage is evident from what Saint Luke says, in the first chapter of his Gospel,

* The following panegyric upon the Inquisition, Moses being placed first on the list of inquisitors, is pronounced by Betancurt in his Treatise concerning the City of Mexico, p. 29. "El Tribunal del Santo Officio es el joyel de la Santissima Trinidad, arbol que plantó Dios, para que cada rama estendida por la Christiandad fuesse la vara de justicia con flores de misericordia, y frutos de escarmiento. El primero que exercitó este oficio fue el mismo Dios quando al primer herege que fue Cain, como dice la traslacion Caldaica, donde se dice, que mató á su hermano Abel porque le contradijo sus heregias, que decia no haver juez ni justicia, ni otro siglo, ni premio para los buenos y pena para los malos (como dice S. Geronymo), y Dios le hizo Auto publico condenandole á traer una señal en la frente impressa como habito de afrenta, y en su contumacion le sentencio el Cielo á que Lamec le diesse muerte,—Lamec que quiere decir pobre y humilde, que para la sobervia de un Herisiarca le bastan á Dios ministros humildes y sacerdotes pobres que defienden su honra. *El primer Inquisidor que substituyó por Dios fue Moyses, que condenó á muerte en un dia veinte y tres mil Heneges Apostatas*, que adoraron el bezerro que deshizo, y dio á beber en agua sus cenizas. El segundo fue Elias, que valiendose del auxilio real que el Rey Acab le dio, passó á cuchillo todos los Hereges de Samaria, haziendo Auto de la Fe en el torrente Cison. *Elias fue el primero á quien Dios subdelegó el quemar á los Apostatos con fuego*, como se vio en dos vezes en que el Rey Ocozias le embió á prender, que en cada una quemó cinquenta soldados con su capitan, sentenciandolo Elias, y al pronunciarlo se executava por los Angeles (*que á este Santo Tribunal le sirven Angeles y le obedece el Cielo*) en el se vio la misericordia como la justicia, pues el tercer capitan que la pidió le perdonó, que mas tardan en pedir misericordia los reos, que en concedersela los ministros." When we consider the enormities which the Inquisition has perpetrated in the name of religion, and recollect how many victims of all ages—

. . . . . "Pueri, innuptæque puellæ,
Impositique rogis juvenes ante ora parentum"—

have expiated imaginary crimes in the flames, it is impossible not to rejoice that the dungeons of that horrid tribunal are at last pervious to the pure light of the sun, that its portals are for ever open, its "bridge of sighs" broken, and that pilgrims can now seek repose in those mouldering courts which once blazed bright with funeral piles.

of the Virgin Mary going to salute Elisabeth the mother of John the Baptist: "And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda; and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, that when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost."—and from what Saint Matthew and Saint Luke both record of the salutations which the Virgin Mary herself received from the angels, the shepherds, and the wise men of the East, after she had given birth to the Messiah, to whom the magi presented an offering of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The *second* salutation which Elisabeth received from her friends and kindred is likewise mentioned by Saint Luke in the fifty-seventh and fifty-eighth verses of the first chapter of his Gospel: "Now Elisabeth's full time came that she should be delivered; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and her cousins heard how the Lord *had showed great mercy upon her;* and they rejoiced *with* her."

The deference with which women who officiated as midwives were treated by the ancient Mexicans, the appellation which they gave them of spiritual mothers, and the belief which they entertained that they were under the immediate inspiration of Tezcatlipoca, are so closely allied to habits and a mode of thinking which, with the greatest show of probability, may be presumed to have been Hebrew, that it is only necessary to refer to what is said in the first chapter of Exodus of the meritorious conduct of the Hebrew midwives, who had been commanded by Pharaoh to destroy the male children of the Israelites at the moment of their birth, and to the declaration contained in the twentieth verse of the same chapter, "*Therefore God dealt well with the midwives,*" to render it probable that the Mexican usages were founded on Hebrew traditions. The treatment of lying-in women amongst the Mexicans seems likewise to have been the same as amongst the ancient Jews; since a comparison of the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of Exodus with the following passage, taken from the speech of the mother of the young married woman to the midwife to whose care she had been entrusted, shows that the bath was resorted to as the chief means of promoting a safe delivery by both nations: "'Muy amada Señora, y madre nuestra espiritual, haced, Señora, vuestro oficio, responded á la Señora y Diosa nuestra que se llama Quilaztli, y comenzad á bañar á esta mucacha; metedla en el baño, que és la floresta de nuestro Señor, que le llamamos Temazcalli, en donde está y de donde cura y ayuda la abuela que és Diosa del Temazcalli, que se llama Yoalticitl'. Oido esto, la partera luego ella misma comienza á encender fuego para calentar el baño, y luego metia en el baño la moza preñada." "'Highly esteemed madam, who art our spiritual mother, perform your office, aid our Lady, the Goddess who is named Quilaztli, and begin to bathe this young woman; put her into the bath, which is the nursery garden of our Lord, and is called the Temazcalli, where is ever present, to relieve and to lend assistance, our grandmother, who is the Goddess of the Temazcalli, whose name is Yoalticitl'. This address having been delivered, the midwife immediately began herself to light the fire to heat the bath, and next proceeded to put her charge into it." The verse of the first chapter of Exodus, above referred to, is translated in the Septuagint, "Και ειπεν, Οταν μαιουσθε τας Εβραιας, και ωσι προς τω τικτειν, εαν μεν αρσεν ᾖ, αποκτεινατε αυτο· εαν δε θηλυ, περιποιεισθε αυτο." "And he said, When ye officiate as midwives to the Hebrew women, and the period of their delivery has arrived, if it be a male child, kill it; but if it be a female, preserve it." A material difference will be observed between the translation here given of this passage of Scripture, and that which is found in our English version of the Bible; whence it is evident that the old translators into English preferred in this place the original Hebrew to the Greek text; since there is no mention of stools in the latter, but in the former the word אבנים occurs, which Parkhurst understands in this place to mean 'baths,' and contends that they have erroneously and even absurdly explained to signify 'stools'; assigning himself, in his Hebrew Lexicon, the definition of vessels made of stone, troughs or cisterns to hold water, to the Hebrew word אבנים, and referring to the nineteenth verse of the seventh chapter of Exodus, in which the same translators have understood the same word in the sense of vessels of stone made for the purpose of holding water. From all which it follows, that it is extremely probable that the warm bath was resorted to as a means of promoting safe delivery in the earliest ages by the Jews, and that its use was continued, and efficacy extolled, in later centuries, on account of mention of it having been made by Moses in the Pentateuch; and that, finally, they introduced the knowledge of it to the Mexicans. The chief objection to understanding אבנים in the sense of 'a stool' or 'seat' in the abovementioned passage is, that the proper signification of its singular, אבן, is 'a stone'; which, although a very proper material for baths which were to be heated with fire, would have been in the other case a strange substitute for wood, as Parkhurst himself observes. Clavigero, in section LXII. of the seventh book of his History of Mexico, describes the structure and use of the Mexican *temazcalli,* of which he says there were several kinds;

and he has accompanied his description with a plate, which shows that an arch was employed in their construction: which curious fact he notices more particularly in the following passage of the third section of the Dissertations annexed to his History: "The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezcuco, and still more their *temazcalli* or vapour baths, show us the ancient use of arches and vaults among the Mexicans and the other nations of Anahuac." The twentieth plate of the Collection of Mendoza presents us with what may not improperly be named an original painting of a temazcalli; it varies considerably in form from that described by Clavigero, but its component parts are essentially the same, and it is evidently constructed on the same principle: the bath itself is there represented with a flat roof, but the stove attached to it is arched above: it occurs in the abovementioned plate (No. 16.) as the symbol of the tributary city Temazcalapan, which was probably so named on account of the number of its baths. It deserves also to be remarked, that in the plate representing Cuzco, the capital of the Ingas, which Ramusio has inserted in the third volume of the Italian edition of his Voyages, published at Venice in the year 1565, the entrance to that city is through arched gates; and its famous temple is covered with a dome or cupola, which, with its square walls flanked with high and narrow towers, assimilates it in some measure to the temple carved upon the box represented in the fourth volume of the present work, and supposed to contain a collection of quipus*; whence it may be inferred that

* This box is formed out of a solid piece of wood of the colour of mahogany. Its cover consists of a sliding lid, which is ingeniously fastened by turning to the left the human figure in the centre of the planetary system represented on its side; its exterior has been gilt; the carvings upon its sides have been executed with great care, and the subject of them all appears to be connected with the ancient religion of the Peruvians and their mythological traditions. The principal side represents (most probably) Pacachama, the supreme God of the Peruvians and the first person in their trinity, riding through the universe upon some unknown animal partaking of the nature of the Hebrew cherub, whilst the universe itself may be not inaptly typified by the figures of animals belonging to each of the four elements carved around. The Hebrew metaphor "he *rideth* upon the cherubim" seems almost to have been present to the imagination of the Peruvian artist when carving the lid of the box; and, at least, it must be admitted that the rather singular choice of the metaphorical expression 'ride' to express the motion of an incorporeal spirit, (for such the Peruvians believed Pacachama to be,) argues some identity in Peruvian and Hebrew taste, or some acquaintance on the part of the former with the language of the Psalms. All Spanish authors describe the temple dedicated to the sun at Cuzco, as one of the most magnificent structures that man ever consecrated to religious worship; but while they notice the immense size of the stones of which it was built, and the incalculable riches of which Pizarro and his soldiers plundered it, they say little of its outward appearance or the style of its architecture, which perhaps was owing to their never having seen more of it than its ruins. The representation, therefore, of this temple in its perfect state, on one of the sides of this box, is very curious: and its Gothic look, the pointed arches of its windows, doors, and roof, resembling that of the Pantheon at Rome, with an aperture at the top of the cupola for the admission of light, cannot fail to interest those who may have leisure to peruse the concluding note of this volume; from which it will appear, that it is not impossible that monks of the order of Saint Columba were the founders of it, whom an accidental shipwreck, when returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to their monastery at Iona, had cast on the shores of the southern continent of America. That Greenland became in early ages the resort of Christians, and that a flourishing monastery existed there during several ages, which probably sent forth missionaries to many parts both of North and South America, (which would account for the tradition, which was general throughout the New World, that Saint Thomas had preached the Gospel to the Indians, since the monastery in Greenland was dedicated to Saint Thomas, and the monks would have taken care to preach that Saint unto them,) will be apparent from the perusal of the note subjoined to page 190 of this volume. The coincidence is curious, that the habitations of the monks should have been vaulted above and lighted from an aperture in the roof, their church in all probability being lighted in the same manner, and the simple vault of their dwellings changed into a cupola,—since the temple of Cuzco was built on this plan. Nor is it less worthy of observation, that the Mexican temazcallis, small as was their scale, must have nearly resembled, both in structure and appearance, the houses built by the Greenland monks, who would have been the most likely people in the world to discover the salutary nature of *steam baths*, such as were the temazcallis, which were arched buildings with an aperture above for the exit of smoke and the admission of air, as the representation of one of them in Plate XV. of Clavigero's History of Mexico clearly shows. If those monks had been animated with a spirit of enterprise, two reasons for a portion of America having been possibly long known to them, and their concealing all knowledge of it from the rest of the world, might be found in the jealousy which they would naturally have felt of all foreign interference,—a feeling which in later centuries actuated the Jesuits of Paraguay,—and in the profitable monopoly of trade which they might have carried on with the Indians, which would account for the lavish payments which they were able to give for articles of mere luxury, and for the concourse of barks which came to them from Trondon (probably Drontheim) in Norway. The discovery of arches in America, although not so mysterious, is quite as unexplained a fact as that of crosses; neither can their existence be accounted for by recurring to the old solution of all the doubts and difficulties to which the Patriarchal institutions, Mosaic laws, and Hebrew rites of the Mexicans and Peruvians gave rise, which proceeded on the assumption that Satan counterfeited in the New World whatever God had ordained in the Old and New Testament amongst Jews and Christians; since an arch is no where mentioned in Scripture: neither did Moses command his countrymen to build their public or private edifices with arches, as he did with battlements, with which latter injunction the Mexicans seem to have been acquainted, since battlements on houses and fringes on garments were as common in Mexico as they were in Jerusalem. The supposition being as reasonable that America was colonized in early ages by Christians as by Jews, from

the Peruvians were acquainted with the arch as well as the Mexicans: and although the plate in Ramusio is coarsely executed, still, agreeing as it does with the accounts contained in the earliest Spanish authors of the magnificence of

the reverence in which the Indians held the sign of the cross, both parties may consider that they have an equally fair claim to the honour of having introduced the arch into that continent; but "non nobis est tantas componere lites" would be the only reply which the result of our inquiries on this interesting subject would enable us to return to either. It has been already observed, that the temple represented upon the side of the Peruvian box has a Gothic appearance; and a sort of mixed style of architecture, combining Gothic with Indian taste, seems to be displayed in the temple of Palenque: a church or monastery appears there to occupy the summit of a teocalli, and the roofs of its spacious and double cloisters invariably terminate in a pointed arch, whilst the height of the pyramid afforded security to its inmates from any sudden hostile attack. M. Dupaix has observed, that stones of vast size were employed in the construction of the palaces of Mitlan; and Acosta likewise notices the prodigious size of those which he observed in the ruins of the temple of Cuzco: but, although the style of architecture of the former edifices is as unlike as possible to Gothic, Greek, or Roman, and displays no vestige of the pointed arch, while the mosaic decorations of the walls of that which is in the best state of preservation, like the devices sculptured upon the walls of the fortress of Xochicalco, would seem mysteriously to refer to the worship of Quecalcoatle; still the discovery of some pillars which once supported the roof of those palaces shows that they had something in common with the temple of Cuzco which the temple of Palenque was without. The use of pillars in the architecture of the New World is certainly deserving of attention; and it is extremely probable that the Tultecas taught the Mexicans and the Peruvians the method of fabricating them, and of afterwards raising and fixing them on their pedestals. The Jews employed them at the earliest period of their history, as we are informed in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh chapters of Exodus, where mention is made of the wooden pillars which supported the sides and hangings, not only of the tabernacle, but of the tent of the tabernacle, otherwise named the tent of the congregation, and of the court of the tabernacle: and Acosta, in the twelfth chapter of his Natural History of the Indies, after noticing the rich temple of Pacachama, situated at the short distance of one league from Lima, proceeds to mention the still more sumptuous one of Cuzco, a pillar of which was entire, and perhaps standing in his time: "Alterum in Peru templum priore multò augustius et sanctius habebatur. Illud olim in civitatis Cusco eo loco positum erat, quo nunc cœnobium S. Dominici erectum visitur. Inter ejus rudera cætera, columnam adhuc salvam et inconfractam videre licet, ex quâ de templi magnitudine, præstantiâ et eminentiâ *certissima* documenta desumi possunt liquidissima. Delubrum hoc Romanorum Pantheo, deorum omnium domicilio, quâdam tenus simile erat." The resemblance of the temple of the Sun at Cuzco to the Roman Pantheon is not pointed out by Acosta in reference to the style of any portion of its architecture, but to the images of the gods of the conquered nations which were placed in it, as in the Pantheon. And this remark, whatever might have been the association of ideas which led to it, could scarcely have been expected from Acosta, who, evidently not caring how many gods the Peruvians had, provided they had more than one, says, in the thirteenth chapter of the fifth book of his Natural History of the Indies, "Si universa Indicæ linguæ nomina evolvamus, ex omnibus tamen ne unicum inveniemus, quod Deo genuinum sit æquè ac apud Hebræos El, apud Arabes, Ala: idque tam in Cusco, quam in Mexico. Ideoque hodie Hispanicum vocabulum *Dios* imitantur, illud definiunt ac explicant per proprietates Indicorum idiomatum, quorum frequentia et varia sunt." In venturing to use a tone of levity in speaking of an author whose wilful errors on some material points do not entitle him to unqualified praise, it is by no means our intention to disparage the merits of so justly celebrated an historian, who still, it should be recollected, had a theory to support, and became, later in life, rector of the college of Salamanca,—a proof that his writings were not disagreeable to the age in which he lived. A concession, however, in the very passage in which he intended to demonstrate that the Indians had no idea of one supreme God, and that the Peruvians did not adore him under the names of Pacachama and Viracocha, paves the way to the important question, whether, if the Saracens, the bitter enemies of the Christian name, worshiped Jehovah under the name of אלהים [1] (or Allah), the Mexicans might not equally have adored him under that of יהוה (or Yao); and if the former epithet, which many pious persons associate with the notion that the doctrine of the Trinity was in the earliest ages revealed to the Jews, and believed (for of what use would revelation be without belief?) by the more ancient patriarchs, became the war-cry of Mahometan hosts, bent on the slaughter of unbelievers in the Koran,—why the latter may not have been equally profaned in the New World in hymns responsive to the dying groans of victims immolated at the shrine of Tezcatlipoca. Having already referred to the authority of Acosta in proof of what has been observed of the size of the stones employed in the structure of the temple at Cuzco, we shall here quote the words of that writer, as cited by Garcilaso de la Vega in the twenty-seventh chapter of the seventh book of his Royal Commentaries of the Ingas; a work which, though highly deserving of praise, has tended more than any other, from the partiality of the author for his countrymen, to the dissemination in Europe of the most erroneous opinions respecting the religion of the ancient Peruvians, which was quite as cruel as that of the Mexicans: "Dice, pues, el P. Acosta, lib. 6, cap. 14. 'En Tiaguanaco, medi yo una piedra de treinta y ocho pies de

[1] A very curious dissertation upon the name אלהים occurs in Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon; where, deriving it from אלה, 'a denouncing of a curse', that learned author defines it to be "a name usually given in the Hebrew Scriptures to the ever-blessed Trinity, by which they represent themselves as under the obligation of an *oath* to perform certain conditions, and as having denounced a curse on all, men and devils, who do not conform to them." The absurdity of the idea of the Trinity binding themselves by an oath to man can scarcely be surpassed! since, if seeming propriety in the mere utterance of words, where the relative situations of persons imply superiority and inferiority in one of them, was so scrupulously regarded by the ancient Jews that David could not be understood to have called his son his Lord, how infinitely derogatory to the majesty of God it must appear, that man should receive an oath from those lips that with their word created the universe!

that imperial city, and the great estimation in which Ramusio has always been held on account of the discrimination which he exercised in selecting and admitting into his work only what was authentic, being further considered, it ought not to be judged of no authority. That the Mexicans were acquainted with the cupola, is evident from several of their ancient ruins discovered by M. Dupaix, and especially from that represented in the twenty-fourth plate of the Second Part of his Monuments of New Spain; and that they employed the arch in their temples, as well as in their baths, is stated by Diego Valades, an author whom Clavigero makes casual mention of, but whose work belongs to that class of books which have disappeared. The fact of the existence of arches in American buildings having been proved, the question which naturally arises is, Who were the inventors of them amongst the Indians? and assuming that they were not the Mexicans or the Peruvians,—not on the ground of either of those nations wanting capacity to invent an arch, as some writers have pretended, since the quipus of the latter were a more ingenious invention, if reliance can be placed on Acosta's account of them, but because it is more probable that the New World was indebted for that invention to the Old,—it becomes extremely likely that both those nations derived their knowledge of the arch* from the Jews, whose descendants, the Tultecas, were famous architects and skilful workmen, as were also their forefathers in the days of David, who in the passage of the Psalms, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand *forget her cunning*," can only allude to a mechanical quality in which his countrymen excelled, which, considered as a mental one, he would have disapproved even in Jacob.

largo, y de diez y ocho de ancho, y el grueso seria de seis pies; y en la muralla de la fortaleça del Cuzco, que es de mamposteria, ay muchas piedras de mucha major grandeça; y lo que mas admiro es, que no siendo cortadas estas que digo de la muralla, por regla, sino entre si mui desiguales en el tamaño, y en la faccion, encajan unas con otras con increible juntura, sin mezcla.'" "I myself measured in Tiaguanaco a stone thirty-eight feet long and eighteen broad, and about six feet in thickness; and there are many stones of much greater magnitude in the wall of the fortress of Cuzco, which is of masonry; but it is even more wonderful that the stones of the wall which I have mentioned, which are not cut by rule, but of very dissimilar shapes and dimensions, should be inlaid with each other with incredible nicety and without cement." M. Dupaix remarks that no cement was employed in the mosaic ornaments of the palaces of Mitlan, and that their durability was owing to the exact correspondence of the stones with each other, and to the tenacious composition in which they were inlaid. It has elsewhere been observed that Scripture seems to declare that Solomon's temple was adorned with stones set in mosaic, and Sahagun intimates by the comparison with which he closes the thirty-ninth chapter of his fourth book that the Mexicans cultivated that art. Some remarks having already been made upon the temple carved upon the principal side of the Peruvian box, we shall add to them by observing that a garden is evidently represented in the back-ground of that temple, and the garden of the temple of the Sun at Cuzco was one of the most famous things belonging to it. The most respectable Spanish historians, including Garcilaso de la Vega, declare that there, as well as in the garden of the Ingas in the island of Puna, the plants, trees, and shrubs were of gold, made so as to exactly counterfeit nature; and the excessive richness of the Peruvian mines divest the accounts of these Spanish authors of the appearance of falsehood. Over the middle gate of the temple is an animal, the erect tail and head of which assimilate it to a lion, the ancient armorial bearing of the tribe of Judah: on another of the sides are the planets, and it is very remarkable that Saturn should be represented with a ring. The ancient Jews seem to have reckoned eleven the number of the planets; since Joseph, declaring in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis his dream to his brethren, says: "Behold, I have dreamed a dream more; and, behold, the sun, and the moon, and the eleven stars, made obeisance to me." The aggregate number of these signs it may be remarked was thirteen, a number highly esteemed by the Mexicans. At the four angles of the box are figures, as it has been presumed, of the Ingas, and the dress of one of them corresponds exactly with the costume of the Jewish high-priest, as described in the twenty-eighth and thirty-fifth chapters of Exodus; the girdle, the breast-plate, the ephod, the band round the neck, the four rows of stones in the breast-plate, even the chains fastening it at *the shoulders* to the ephod, appear to be accurately represented; but it deserves to be remarked that the stones are set vertically and not horizontally, which was perhaps the Hebrew fashion; and the bells to make a tinkling sound are wholly wanting, although the Mexican paintings afford evidence that a tinkling sound was considered by the Mexicans a matter of religious moment, and accordingly their priests occasionally wore bells on their ancles. In the thirty-ninth page of the Mexican painting preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden a figure occurs, with a vestment to the fringe of which are fastened bells.

* The language of the ancient Mexicans, which was one of the most copious in the world, (an argument in favour both of the antiquity and civilization of their state,) had four different names for an arch in architecture: *vitoliuhqui, tecululli, tenolli,* and *tequiauatl.* The Mexicans named the rainbow *ayauhcoçamalotl* and *coçamalotl,* and a bow for shooting arrows *tlauitolli.*

Note XIII. page 224.

Yoalliehecatl, the signification of which proper name is 'night and wind,' was an epithet which the Mexicans bestowed upon their supreme deity Tezcatlipoca, denoting thereby the obscurity and subtilty of the divine essence. Acosta has been led into the mistake, through not considering that this compound term formed a proper name, of asserting that the Mexicans *adored, on one of their principal festivals, the winds and darkness;* but Sahagun no where says that they attributed divinity to the elementary portions of nature. Fire and water were in no other manner considered sacred by them, than as being the symbols of Xiuhtecutli and of Chalchiuitlicue.

Note XIV. page 215.

Gomara says, that Guaca, the name which signified in the language of the Peruvians 'a temple', properly meant a place of sorrow or affliction; being derived from *guai*, a Peruvian exclamation expressive of grief, which nearly resembles *οὐαι*, of such frequent occurrence in the New Testament.

Note XV. page 215.

The trophy of a hand borne upon the top of a staff was used by the ancient Mexicans, and is sometimes represented in their mythological paintings. It is singular that a hand elevated aloft should also have been a Hebrew trophy, as Parkhurst informs us in his Lexicon; who assigns, as a fourth signification to the Hebrew word יד 'a hand,' that of a trophy. "יד is used for a trophy or monument of victory, probably because made in the shape of a large hand, the emblem of power, erected on a pillar. Thus Saul, after smiting the Amalekites, in the pride of his heart, מציב לו יד, erected to or for himself, not for Jehovah, a hand, 1 Sam. xv. 12; where, LXX, χειρα 'a hand.' 'And David smote Hadadezer, king of Zobah, when he was going להציב ידו, to erect his hand or trophy by the river Euphrates,' 2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Chron. xviii. 3. And this appears to be the most ancient use of these memorial hands; whence Absalom seems to have taken the hint of erecting one merely to keep his name in remembrance, 2 Sam. xviii. 18; where observe that this monument is expressly called not only יד 'a hand', but מצבה 'a pillar'; which, together with the use of the verb הציב in the above texts, shows that the hand was wont to be put on a pillar. See more in Bate's Crit. Heb., and compare Josephus, Ant. lib. vii. cap. 10. s. 3."

Note XVI.

The Mexicans, according to Sahagun, were accustomed to carry their mirrors about their persons, when they celebrated their solemn dances in the court-yard of their greater temple; and from the eighth verse of the thirty-eighth chapter of Exodus, it may be inferred that the same custom prevailed at least amongst the Jewish women.—"And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." This vanity on the part of the Jewish women who assembled at the door of the tabernacle, seems to have led to the consequences described in the twenty-second verse of the second chapter of the First Book of Samuel: "Now Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel; and how they lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."

Note XVII. page 293.

Bishop Cumberland estimates the value of the gold which David prepared for the House of the Lord at 507,575,000*l.* sterling, and of the silver at 353,500,000*l.* sterling; the two sums added together amounting to 861,075,000*l.* sterling. It may be proper to add, that the learned prelate grounds his calculation upon the following passage of the twenty-second chapter of the First Book of Chronicles: "Now, behold, in my trouble I have prepared for the House of the Lord an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron without weight." How great must have been the wealth of Jerusalem in the ensuing prosperous reign of Solomon, when David in his trouble was able to amass such vast riches! And where is the absurdity of understanding in a literal sense, what most persons are inclined to consider an hyperbole, viz. that silver was really as common in Jerusalem, as stones in the days of the former king; which would serve to explain how the Jews could have maintained, in their small territory of Palestine, so large an army as that described at page 49 of this volume.

Note XVIII. page 191.

It has been remarked in a preceding note, that superstitious nations are too ready to ascribe to prophetic inspiration things which have been foretold, merely because they were highly probable, and which accordingly afterwards came to pass. A fictitious case has also been recurred to at page 368, to show that true prophecies need not be always either miraculous or accidental in their nature. Having already quoted a passage in the chorus of one of the tragedies of Seneca, which, had it occurred in the Old Testament, would have been accounted a famous prophecy, we shall here introduce a beautiful passage of Pope's Windsor Forest, which contains a number of accidental prophecies, and amongst others one the accomplishment of which we trust will be late. The greatest of poets could little have foreseen, when writing that admired poem, how many of his predictions time would verify; nor would it perhaps have pleased him to have known, that the period would arrive when his favourite villa, and the grotto in which "St. John sat and thought," would no longer be the chosen resort of the muses, but would be comprised within the suburbs of the gay metropolis. But who will contend that Pope, by inspiration, knew that London would be doubled in size in the course of a century; that parliament would grant millions to build new churches; that the Burmese war would take place; that an expedition would be sent to the North Pole; that the ports of South America would be open to British commerce; that Englishmen with capital would embark extensively in mining speculations; and that Mr. Huskisson would advocate the principles of free trade: yet the perusal of the following lines will convince the most sceptical, that he saw all these things as through a glass darkly which we now behold in the clear light of day.

"*Hail, sacred peace! hail, long expected days*
That Thames's glory to the stars shall raise,
Though Tiber's streams immortal Rome behold,
Though foaming Hermus swells with tides of gold,
From heaven itself though sevenfold Nilus flows,
And harvests on a hundred realms bestows;
These now no more shall be the Muse's themes,
Lost in my fame, as in the sea their streams.
Let Volgas banks with iron squadrons shine,
And groves of lances glitter on the Rhine,
Let barbarous Ganges arm a servile train,—
Be mine the blessings of a peaceful reign.

No more my sons shall dye with British blood
Red Iber's sands, or Ister's foaming flood;
Safe on my shore each unmolested swain
Shall tend the flocks, or reap the bearded grain;
The shady empire shall retain no trace
Of war or blood, but in the sylvan chace;
The trumpet sleep, while cheerful horns are blown,
And arms employed on birds and beasts alone.
Behold! the *ascending villas* on my side
Project long shadows o'er the crystal tide.
Behold! *Augusta's glittering spires increase,*
And temples rise, the beauteous works of peace.
I see, I see, where two fair cities bend
Their ample bow, *a new Whitehall ascend!*
There mighty nations shall inquire their doom,
The world's great oracle in times to come;
There kings shall sue, and suppliant states be seen
Once more to bend before *a British Queen.*
Thy trees, fair Windsor! now shall leave their woods,
And half thy forests rush into the floods,
Bear Britain's thunder, and her cross display
To the bright regions of the rising day;
Tempt icy seas where scarce the waters roll,
Where clearer flames glow round the frozen pole;
Or under *southern skies* exalt their sails,
Led by new stars, and borne by spicy gales!
For me the balm shall bleed, and amber flow,
The coral redden, and the ruby glow,
The pearly shell its lucid globe unfold,
And Phœbus warm the ripening ore to gold.
The time shall come, when, free as seas or wind,
Unbounded Thames *shall flow for all mankind.*"

Note XIX. page 419.

Nieremberg affirms, in the following passage of his Historia Naturæ, that the tradition of St. Thomas having preached the gospel to the Indians was common in various parts of South America: "Apud Iaiaobæ Indos in Occidenti tradita per avos viget memoria S. Apostoli Thomæ, quam retinent a transitu ejus per illas plagas, cujus non levia extant indicia: præcipuè quædam semita in illis solitudinibus hactenus perseverat, in quâ non oritur herba nisi valdè humilis et parvula, cum utrumque latus herbescat ultra modum; eo itinere dicunt Apostolum incessisse, et inde profectum in Peruana regna. Apud Brasilienses quoque traditio est, ibi prædicasse. Apud alios barbaros, etiam in regionem Paraguay venisse, postquam descendit per fluvium Iguazu, deinde in Paranam per Aracaium, ubi observatur locus in quo sedit defessus Apostolus, et fertur prædixisse, ut a majoribus acceptum est, post se illuc adventuros homines qui posteris eorum annuntiarent fidem veri Dei, quod non leve solatium et animos facit nostræ religionis prædicatoribus, ingentes labores inter illos barbaros pro dilatione Ecclesiæ perpetientibus."—Joannis Eusebii Nierembergii Historiæ Naturæ, lib. xiv. cap. cxvii. Nieremberg's Historia Naturæ was printed at Antwerp in folio in the year 1635: it is valuable from containing copious extracts from the inedited MSS. of the celebrated Spanish naturalist Hernandez, chiefly relating to the plants and animals of New Spain.

NOTE XX. page 269.

Clavigero, in the account of the writers on the ancient history of Mexico which he has prefixed to his own work, mentions the name of Doctor Carlos de Siguenza é Gongora in the highest terms of commendation; praising him as an author of the greatest diligence and research, and expressing at the same time his deep regret that only some fragments of his writings should have been preserved, which he thinks was owing to the negligence of his heirs, not suspecting that other causes might have consigned to intentional oblivion the fruits of Siguenza's learned labours. In the list of his unpublished MSS. inserted by Eguiara in the first volume of his Bibliotheca Mexicana, one occurs of peculiar interest, from the title of which it might be inferred that Siguenza had discovered clear proofs, in the traditions and paintings of the Mexicans, that Christianity had once been established in New Spain. The title is as follows: "Occidentis Phenix S. Thomas Apostolus, nomine Quetzalcoatl, inter antiquarum cineres traditionum inventus, conservatus in lapidibus et carminibus Tultecorum, et Theochichimecorum ac *Mexicanorum canticis.*" The brief account given by so grave and learned an author as Eguiara of the subject-matter of Siguenza's curious treatise is deserving of the most serious attention; and we therefore transcribe it from page 481 of his Bibliotheca Mexicana, observing at the same time that the hymns of the ancient Mexicans, which Sahagun translated into Spanish, and inserted in the Appendix to the second book of his History of New Spain, which might possibly have contained traditions of Quecalcoatl, were destroyed by order of the Inquisition, as a note in the original MS. expressly states. Nor is it unlikely that the Phenix of Siguenza perished in a pile lighted by the same hands. "Ejus argumentum in prædicationem S. Thomæ Apostoli ad Septentrionalem usque Americam nostram productam inquirebat, atque multis undique conquisitis monumentis, primum Apostolos per omnem, quà latè patet, orbem effusos author probabat. Mox Americam nostram non perinde antiquis incognitam penitus fuisse agebat. Denique S. Thomam, è duodecim Apostolis unum, in eam migrasse, quem nomine Quetzalcoatl Indi signaverant, collatione utriusque factâ, nominis, vestimenti, doctrinæ, vaticiniorum, concludebat; expensis quæ peragravit locis, rimatis relictis à se vestigiis, portentisque in lumen eductis è discipulis, *ut minimum quatuor in hisce regionibus Christianè institutis.*"

NOTE XXI. page 465.

The Teponaztli, or hollow Mexican drum, might have borne some resemblance to the Hebrew musical instrument. סומפניא, mentioned by Parkhurst in page 507 of his Hebrew Lexicon.

NOTE XXII. page 331.

The Mexican women were accustomed to anoint their faces with a yellow ointment named *tecoçauitl;* and we learn from the third verse of the third chapter of Ruth, that Naomi desired her daughter-in-law to anoint herself and put on raiment before she introduced herself to Boaz, in order to request him to perform the part of her near kinsman, by taking her for a wife. In the fourth chapter of the Fourth Book of Kings, or Second Book of Chronicles as it is more usually designated, the widow's oil which was multiplied by the prophet Elisha is said to have been that which she used for anointing herself: "Οὐκ εστι τῃ δουλῃ σου οὐδεν ἐν τῳ οἰκῳ, ὁτι ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ ἀλειψομαι ἐλαιον." "Thy servant hath nothing in the house save the oil with which I anoint myself." Hence it would appear that the Jewish as well as the Mexican women were accustomed to anoint their bodies or faces, either for the sake of health or ornament.

Note XXIII.

In the nineteenth chapter of the fourth book of his History of New Spain Sahagun says, that the family of a Mexican merchant who had been killed in a foreign country, immediately on receiving the intelligence of his death, made a wooden image of him, which they adorned with paper, and carried to the temple, where it remained a short time previously to being burnt. The author of the Apocryphal book of Scripture entitled the Wisdom of Solomon seems to allude, in the fifteenth verse of the fourteenth chapter, to an analogous custom, whether existing amongst the Jews or Gentiles is immaterial, since the latter invented no idolatrous custom which the former did not immediately adopt: "For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and *sacrifices*."

Note XXIV. page 227.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints," is an exclamation of David in the ninety-sixth Psalm, which occurred to the recollection of the interpreter of the Vatican MS. when explaining the meaning of 'Tlatzolli Tzonpantli,' who does not appear to have recollected equally well the ejaculation with which the Book of Psalms may be almost said to close, where David eloquently invokes the saints to sing the praises of God with a two-edged sword in their hand: "Let the saints be joyful in glory: let them sing aloud upon their beds: let the high praises of God be in their mouth, *and a two-edged sword in their hand;* to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written: this honour have *all* his saints. Praise ye the Lord." The royal bard could never have contemplated Sicilian vespers when pronouncing this ejaculation; yet we shudder at the remembrance of the atrocities perpetrated in a recent age by the Anabaptists, who, applying to themselves the prophecy contained in the eighteenth verse of the seventh chapter of Daniel,—"But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever,"—thought to establish the fifth monarchy, and to begin the millennium, by first wading through a sea of blood. The language of truth being so often mistaken for that of exaggeration, we cannot but entreat modern Anabaptists, who may feel disposed to doubt the fact above mentioned, to consult the annals of Germany; which having done, it will not be at all surprising if they should be induced to abandon their creed. It cannot be denied that the ancient Jews were cruel beyond belief to their vanquished enemies: the innocence of childhood, the sweetness of youth, admiration for valour, or respect for age, never stayed their murdering swords; and the faults of the father were too frequently visited upon his poor and unoffending babes. In reading the seventh and following verses of the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, strongly significant though equivocally worded, at the same time recollecting the latitude of meaning which the Rabbis assign to the phrase "the children of *Edom*," and the great regard which the Jews have always manifested for ancient precedent, a doubt may reasonably be entertained whether David's apostrophe to Babylon, "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones," may not have led the Ingas to view with indifference the crime of infanticide, when the children slaughtered were those of their enemies. It is an old observation, that the code of the Pentateuch nowhere inculcates patriotism as a virtue, which Christ appears to have had in contemplation when he uttered the words, "A *new* commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another;" which could only have referred to the Mosaic law, since the laws and maxims of antiquity, which have been preserved to the present time, afford the most convincing proof that they inculcated patriotism and humanity. It is however even more surprising that clemency and pity for a fallen enemy should have found no place amongst the Levitical enactments; which strengthens our conviction that the ancient Jews, believing it to be impious in other nations to go to war with God's chosen people, considered it virtuous to execute vengeance upon their enemies, and to show no mercy to prisoners taken in battle. Their example was imitated by the Mexicans, who in massacreing their captive enemies only followed the rules of Jewish warfare.

NOTE XXV. page 226.

The following curious passage occurs in the first book of Leo Africanus: "Hujus mali (venerei) ne nomen quidem ipsis Africanis notum erat antequam Hispaniarum Rex Ferdinandus Judæos omnes ex Hispaniâ profligasset: qui ubi in patriam jam rediissent, cœperunt miseri quidam ac sceleratissimi Æthiopes cum illorum mulieribus habere commercium, ac sic tandem veluti per manus pestis hæc per totam se sparsit regionem, ita ut vix sit familia quæ ab hoc malo remanserit libera. Id autem sibi firmissimè atque indubitatè persuaserunt, ex Hispaniâ ad illos transmigrasse: quamobrem et illi morbo Malum Hispanicum, ne nomine destitueretur, indiderunt."

NOTE XXVI. page 202.

Reference to the seventh page of the Dresden Codex, and to an analogous painting contained in the forty-first page of the MS. of Archbishop Laud, representing a bird inserting its bill into the mouth of some personage, perhaps a Mexican diviner, may render the following obscure passage of Maimonides more intelligible: כיצד מעשה הידעוני מניח עצם עוף ששמו ידוע בפיו ומקטיר ועושה מעשים אחרים עד שיפול בנכפה וידבר בפיו דברים שעתידים להיות וכל אלו מיני כו"ם הן ואזהרה שלהן מניין שנ אל תפנו אל האובות "Quod est opus arioli? Os avis, cui nomen Jaduah, *inserit ori suo*, et suffitum aliaque facit, donec fiat mente commotus, et loquatur quæ videntur eventura. Universa hæc sunt idololatrici generis; atque eorum interdictum habemus, cum dicitur, Ne vos convertatis ad Pythones."—Maimonides de Idololatriâ, cap. vi. Divination by a skull, another Jewish superstition noticed by Maimonides, is perhaps represented in the twentieth page of the Mexican painting in the possession of M. de Fejervary; and in that painting some regard seems to be manifested for the number twelve, by those who appear to be employed in weaving the spell. Maimonides, in the ninth section of the third chapter of his treatise concerning Idolatry, declares, "Qui amplectitur idolum aut osculatur; qui *verrit* vel *aquam effundit* coram eo; qui illud *lavat*, vestit, *calceat*, aut simili afficit honore, transgreditur interdictum: quia dictum est, Nec servies eis." It is hence evident that he was well acquainted with these various superstitions; and from his mention of them in that place, coupled with a prohibition to his countrymen against the practice of them, it is to be presumed that the Jews were acquainted with them likewise; but it is very remarkable that they should all be represented in the Mexican paintings.

NOTE XXVII. page 294.

Sahagun, describing in the first paragraph of the twenty-ninth chapter of the tenth book of his History of New Spain the manners of the Tultecas, says, "La manera de cortarse el cabello era segun su uso pulido que traian los cabellos desde la media cabeza atrás." "They cut their hair in such a manner as to wear it, agreeably to their refined fashion, only on the hinder half of the head." That precisely the same custom prevailed amongst the Jews, we learn from the following verse of the poet Nonnus's Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John:

"Χριστος ὀπισθοκομων μεροπων θοινητορι λαῳ
Κλητος ἐην συνδορπος."

"Christ, an invited guest, sat in company with the revelling crew, who were bald except at the back of their heads." The Galileans are here alluded to; and the epithet ὀπισθοκομων applied to them would seem to signify that they used that particular kind of tonsure which the Greeks named ἑκτοριος κουρα, it is to be presumed after Hector, as they also named it θησηϊς, according to Plutarch, from Theseus, on account of that hero having cut off the hair which grew on the fore part of his head for an offering at Delphos. The Rabbis have denied that either the epithet of ὀπισθοκομων, or that of τροχοουριδες, could be applicable to the ancient Jews, because they would both necessarily imply a breach

of the Mosaic law. Josephus, however, was of a different opinion, and did apply the latter to his countrymen: and as for the modern Jews, having long since done away with phylacteries, they have at last prudently thought proper to do away with that part of the Mosaic law which relates to beards.

Note XXVIII. page 402.

The Mexican goddess Cihuacohuatl, or Suchiquecal, was also named Quilaztli, as we learn from the twenty-eighth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, who there expressly declares that she was Eve: "Esta és Eva, que és la muger que primero parió." The probability of the Mexicans having been acquainted with the history of Cain and Abel is pointed out in page 221 of the present volume; and it seems only necessary, in order fully to identify Suchiquecal with the Eve of Scripture, to show that the Mexicans believed that she brought death into the world, which involves the supposition that they were not ignorant of the doctrine of original sin. From the following passage of page 469 of the preceding volume, which contains the address of the midwife to the relatives of a woman who had lately been delivered of a son, it may confidently be inferred that such was their belief: "Por cierto este negocio és una batalla en que peligramos las mugeres, porque este negocio és como tributo de muerte que nos echa nuestra madre Cioacoatl y Quilahtli." "This necessity (of giving birth to children) is, indeed, a battle in which we who are women are exposed to great dangers, *for it is as it were the tribute of death bequeathed to us by our mother Cioacoatl and Quilahtli.*" It is singular that the Peruvians should have believed, as well as the Mexicans, that twins were unlucky; they, perhaps, had also a tradition that Cain had murdered his brother Abel. Cieça de Leon says of the former people, "Tenian por mal aguero estos Indios que una muger pariesse dos criaturas de un vientre, ó quando alguna criatura nasce con algun defecto natural, como es en una mano seys dedos, ó otra cosa semejante. Y si, como digo, alguna muger paria de un vientre dos criaturas, ó con algun defecto, se entristecian ella y su marido, y ayunavan sin comer agi, ni bever chicha que es el vino que ellos beven, y hazian otras cosas á su uso y como lo aprendieron de sus padres."—Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru, cap. lxv. Amongst the Jews, persons born with any natural defect were forbidden to discharge the Levitical functions, and Hebrew parents would probably have felt compunction, as well as sorrow, when such misfortunes befell their children, from the erroneous belief, which even some of Christ's disciples shared, that the sins of the father were frequently visited by God upon the child; and hence they might, like the Peruvians, have fasted on the occasion of the birth of deformed children.

Note XXIX. page 449.

M. Dupaix, in describing the palace of Mitlan, observes, that not only the inner walls, but even the pillars which supported the roof of that edifice, had once been painted with vermilion. That this was a Jewish custom, is evident from the following passage of the twenty-second chapter of Jeremiah: "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work; that saith, I will build me a wide house and large chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar, and *painted with vermilion.*" Selden, in a passage of the Introduction to his treatise De Diis Syris, says, on the authority of Epiphanius, that it was an Egyptian custom to dye the trees and cattle red on the anniversary of the Jewish passover, in commemoration of the sprinkling of the door-posts with the blood of the Hebrew lamb. The ancient ecclesiastical writers were so credulous, and so prone to indulge in pious frauds in their narrations, that it may reasonably be doubted whether such a custom ever existed amongst the Egyptians; it is at the same time, however, highly probable that the Jews might have dyed the *pillars* and walls of their houses with vermilion in commemoration of the flight of their ancestors from Egypt. The following is the passage of Selden alluded to: "Ægyptiis quotannis in Judaico Paschate greges et arbores minio, velut alexeterio, illinere solenne erat: id ex depravato traditionis sacræ de Ebræorum superliminaribus sanguine illitis intellectu manavit, quod fusius narrat Epi-

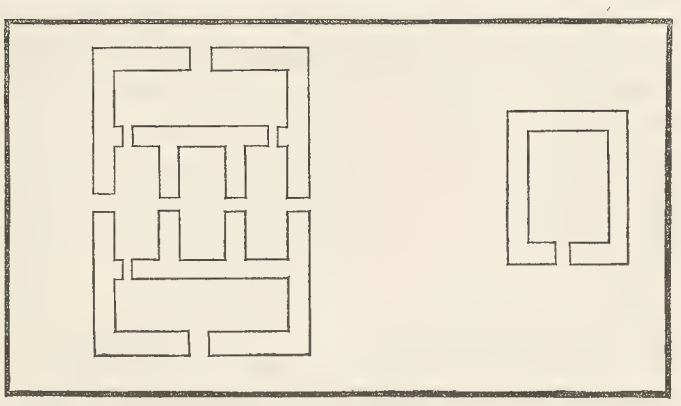
phanius in hæresi Nazaræorum. Perperam accepta Mosis de æneo serpente historia ut thymiamata ei incenderentur effecit." The supposition that the miracles which Moses performed, by holding up his rod that became a serpent, inclined his superstitious countrymen in later ages to pay adoration to that reptile, and to regard it in the light of a tutelary genius, has here the sanction of high authority; and if Selden has judged it not unreasonable to refer to this example in Jewish history, to show the probability of Epiphanius's narrative, who will deny the validity of the argument by which an attempt is here made to prove that the adoption of the serpent as a sacred *symbol* by the Mexicans was in commemoration of the brazen serpent which Moses set up in the wilderness? It may be proper to add, that although the Mexicans carried the figure of a serpent in their religious processions, and wore it on their persons as a sacerdotal ornament, not scrupling to invest the image of Tezcatlipoca with a symbol so appropriate to Tetzauhteotle, or the terrible god, they did not adore it except as the type of Quecalcoatle.

Note XXX.

The account which Gomara gives of the Spanish expedition in search of the seven cities of Sibola, and the causes that led to it, is interesting, not only because it records the earliest attempt made by the Spaniards to investigate the provinces situated to the north of Mexico, but likewise because much mystery attaches to the relation of the friars, from whom the intelligence of the existence of those cities was first received, who seem either themselves to have discovered traces of Christianity in that part of America, or to have heard rumours to that effect which they judged to be worthy of credit. The probability that their relation was a mere forgery, is counterbalanced by the much greater improbability, that, if that had been the case, they would have ventured to have stated a deliberate falsehood, likely to involve such serious consequences as an expedition disastrous to the Spaniards, to Cortes, and the Viceroy of Mexico; or that they would have been able to deceive two persons of such great penetration as were Cortes and Don Antonio de Mendoza; or, finally, that those persons would have quarrelled with each other about the right which each claimed, Mendoza as Viceroy of Mexico, and Cortes as Captain-general of New Spain, to undertake the conquest of Sibola, the former of whom fitted out a numerous army of Spaniards and Indians, with a regiment of four hundred cavalry, to take possession of that province, and the latter retired from motives of disgust to Spain. The unfortunate result, however, of the enterprize, which did not, as was usual in such cases, lead even to the establishment of a settlement in the provinces which the Spanish army had traversed, furnished Gomara with the opportunity of indulging in a jest against Brother Mark de Niça, who was the friar who in the year 1539 returned to Mexico, "diziendo maravillas de siete ciudades de Sibola:" which cities he proceeds thus briefly to describe; "Las famosas siete ciudades de Fray Marcos de Niça, que estan en espacio de seys leguas, ternan obra de quatro mil ombres. Las riquezas de su reyno es no tener que comer, ny que vestir, durando la nieve siete meses." "The famous seven cities of Brother Mark de Niça, which occupy six leagues of country, may contain a population of about four thousand men, whose only wealth is to have nothing to eat, and to go naked during seven winter months." Gomara is, however, obliged to own that the courage of the Indians opposed a most vigorous resistance to the Spaniards, who were much disappointed on taking a town, after a siege of forty-five days, at finding that they had burnt all their turquoise-stones and property of value in a blazing pile which they had kindled for the purpose. It cannot be doubted that Gomara represents the provinces of Quivira and Sibola such as he believed them to be; but the following description, by Lieutenant Hardy, of the ruins which still cover a vast extent of country in the neighbourhood of Las Casas Grandes may induce some persons to suppose that king Tatarrax did really "adore a cross of gold, and pray to the image of a woman who was queen of heaven." "Casas Grandes is one of the few ruins existing in Mexico, the original owners of which are said to have come from the north, and I therefore determined to devote a couple of hours on the morrow to its investigation. On the thirteenth I examined a ruin about half a mile from my last night's lodgings. Only a portion of the external walls is standing; the building is square, and of very considerable extent; the sides stand accurately north and south, which gives reason to suppose that the builder was not unversed in the science of astronomy, having determined so precisely the cardinal points. The roof has long lain in the area of the building, and there are several excavations, said to have been made by the Apache Indians, to discover earthenware jars and

shells. A specimen of the jars I was so fortunate as to procure, and it is in excellent preservation. There were also good specimens of earthern images in the Egyptian style, which are to me at least so perfectly uninteresting that I was at no pains to procure any of them. The country here for the extent of several leagues is covered with the ruins of buildings capable of containing a population of at least twenty thousand or thirty thousand souls. Casas Grandes is indeed particularly favourable for maintaining so many inhabitants. Situated by the side of a large river which periodically inundates a great part of the low surrounding lands, the verdure is perpetual. There are ruins also of aqueducts, and in short every indication that its former inhabitants were men who knew how to avail themselves of the advantages of nature and to improve them by art; but who they were and what has become of them there is no chronicle to tell, and conjecture is left to build as many theories respecting them, as of other extinct nations as little known. On the south bank of the Rio Gila there is another specimen of these singular ruins; and it may be observed that wherever these traces are found, the surrounding country invariably possesses great fertility of soil, water, and wood. About half a league to the north-west of Casas Grandes is an old convent built by the Jesuits, who were equally careful to avail themselves of similar advantages. It is in ruins also, and stands on an eminence; it appears to have been a very large building."—Travels in the Interior of Mexico, page 465. We have availed ourselves with greater pleasure of this extract from Lieut. Hardy's Travels, because the ruins of Las Casas Grandes, situated nearly a thousand miles to the north of Mexico, have been known rather by rumour than in any other manner to Spanish authors who have mentioned them in their writings, and their existence has often been considered problematical. In a note subjoined to page 183 of the present volume will be found the opinion of Cardinal Lorenzana, that these ruins were the deserted habitations of the Mexicans; but in the same page reasons are assigned for not attaching much weight to that learned prelate's opinion, whose *certainty* on so obscure a matter of history, resting wholly unsupported by any *evidence*, cannot be shared by the reader of his edition of the Letters of Cortes. It is to be regretted that Lieut. Hardy should not have been at the pains of procuring any of the little earthen images in the Egyptian style, of which he says good specimens were to be found in the neighbourhood of Las Casas Grandes, since it is evident, from the terms in which he mentions them, that disappointment at their loss would not have caused him to exclaim with Boturini, "no las trocara por oro y plata por diamantes y perlas;" and the comparison of them with the Mexican Penates or images of baked clay of a similar description, which a well-informed traveller says are still frequently found in the vicinity of Mexico, Cholula, and other ancient cities of New Spain, might have enabled intelligent persons to judge whether the religion of the population of Las Casas Grandes, and their taste for the arts, resembled that of the Mexicans. The jar, an engraving of which is given in page 465 of his work, is interesting, because the symmetrical lines that ornament its surface are not unlike those traced in mosaic on the walls of the palace of Mitlan. In Honduras, stone vases have been found embellished in a more simple manner with broken lines, representations of which will be found in the American Monuments of Baron de Humboldt. It is probable that the town of Chihuahua, with its extensive plains, described by Lieut. Hardy as entirely destitute of wood, and lying on the route to Las Casas Grandes, is that to which Gomara gave the appellation of Cicuic. The numerous herds of cattle grazing upon its neighbouring plains were by no means indicative of the poverty of the subjects of king Tatarrax: they are thus described by that historian; "De Tiguex fueron en quatro jornadas a Cicuic, lugar pequeño, y a quatro leguas del toparon un nuevo genero de vacas fieras y bravas, de las quales mataron el primer dia ochenta que bastecieron el exercito de carne. Fueron de Cicuic a Quivira, que a *su cuenta* ay casi trezientas leguas, por grandisimos llanos y arenales tan rasos y pelados que hizieron mojones de boñigas, a falta de piedras y de arboles, para no perderse a la buelta, ca se les perdieron en aquella llanura tres cavallos y un Español que se desvio a caça. *Todo aquel camino y llanos estan llenos de vacas corcobadas como la Serena de ovejas, pero no ay mas gente de la que los guardan;* fueron gran remedio para la hambre y falta de pan que llevavan. Cayo les un dia por aquel llano mucha piedra como naranjas; y uvo hartas lagrimas, flaqueza, y votos: llegaron en fin a Quivira, y hallaron al Tatarrax que buscavan, ombre ya cano desnudo, y con una joya de cobre al cuello, que era toda su riqueza."—La Istoria de las Indias, fol. CXVI. In the first edition of Gomara's History of the Indies, printed at Saragoza in 1553, from which the above extract is taken, a wood-cut is given representing a Quivira ox which appears to have been a real buffalo; another domestic animal with which the Indians of that province of America were acquainted, and for which they might have been indebted to the Greenland monks, was a large kind of dog which they employed in carrying burthens. "Ay tambien grandes perros que lidian con un toro, y que llevan dos arrobas de carga sobre salmas quando van a caça o quando se mudan con el ganado y hato."—La Istoria de las

Indias, fol. CXVI. A very small species of dog, less than a guinea-pig, inhabits the plains of Quivira, and burrows in the ground like a rabbit; and here we shall take occasion to observe, that various species of dogs being known in the New World, it is probable that the Indians were acquainted with the hydrophobia, and perhaps with a cure for it, since accident frequently reveals what the greatest sagacity has failed to discover, and the medicinal properties of American plants which the Mexicans so well understood, many of which they used as antidotes against the bites of the most poisonous serpents, are yet but very imperfectly known. The account therefore which Lieut. Hardy has given of the mode by which an Indian woman professed to cure the hydrophobia is not undeserving of attention, and her notion that the complaint began with an affection of the mouth and tongue, which if removed in time, before the disease had extended itself through the system, would not prove fatal, acquires some plausibility from the consideration that the nerves of the mouth as well as those situated about the eye are exquisitely sensitive, and that their derangement or vitiated action would be likely to produce the most violent disorders. In the relation above, Lieut. Hardy has compared the ruins of Las Casas Grandes to others situated on the bank of the Rio Gila, a plan and description of which we subjoin from the MS. relation of the New Discovery of the Port of Monte Rey, composed by the missionary Pedro Font, who accompanied the expedition which was dispatched thither from Queretaro for the purpose of colonization in the year 1775. In the eighth volume of the Antiquities of Mexico will be found extracts from valuable ancient MSS. which will throw new light on the history of the provinces situated to the north of Mexico, of which so very little is as yet known.



"Salimos del picacho de Facca á las ocho de la mañana y á las cinco y media de la tarde llegamos cerca del Rio Gila, y paramos en una laguna algo distante de él, haviendo caminado unas doce leguas con el rumbo, como seis al Noroeste, tres al Nornoroeste, y al ultimo unas tres quasi al Norte. Con el recado que ayer se embio salieron al camino á recibirnos el gobernador de las rancherias de Papagos Aquituni, y Cuytoa, y el gobernador de Uturituc, pueblo del Rio Gila, con su alcalde, acompañado del gobernador de Sutaquison, y otros Indios, todos á caballo, los quales se apearon para saludarnos, y presentaron á los soldados dos cabelleras de Apaches que mataron el dia antecedente con quienes tienen guerra continua, y luego montaron á caballo, y nos acompañaron hasta el parage. Preguntaban si veniamos yá á vivir con ellos, y bautizar la gente, lo que parece desean mucho, y se manifestaron muy alegres por nuestra llegada.

"Determinó el Señor Comandante que descansara oi la gente, y con esto tubimos lugar de ir á registrar la casa grande que llaman de Moctezuma, situada á una legua del Rio Gila, y distante del parage de la laguna unas tres leguas al Estsudeste á donde fuimos acompañados de algunos Indios, y del gobernador de Uturituc, quien en el camino nos contó una historia y tradicion que conservan de sus pasados sobre dicha casa, que toda se reduce á patrañas mescladas confusamente *con algunas verdadades Catolicas.* Observé este parage de la casa grande, y es señalada en el mapa con la letra A. y lo hallé en 33°. 3′. y asi digo: en la casa grande del Rio Gila, dia 31 de Octubre de 1775, altura meridiana del bordo inferior del Sol, 42°. 25′. Registramos con todo cuidado este edificio, y sus vestigios, cuya planta ichnographica es la que aqui pongo; y para su mejor inteligencia doi la descripcion, y esplicacion siguiente. La casa grande, ó palacio de Moctezuma, tendrá de fundacion unos 500 años segun las historias, y escasas noticias que hai de ello, y dán los Indios; porque segun parece esta fundacion la hicieron los Mejicanos quando en su transmigracion los llevaba el Demonio por varias tierras, hasta llegar á la tierra prometida de Mexico, y en sus mansiones que eran largas, formaban poblacion, y edificios. El sitio donde se halla esta casa es llano por todas partes, y apartado del Rio Gila como una legua, y las ruinas de las casas que formaban la poblazion se estienden mas de una legua para el Oriente, y demas vientos; y todo es de terreno: está sembrado de pedazos de ollas, tarros, platos, &ª., unos ordinarios, y otros pintados de varios colores, blanco, azul, colorado, &ª., indicio que fué poblacion crecida, y de distinta gente de los Pimas Gileños, pues estos no saben hacer semejante losa. Hicimos exacta inspeccion del edificio y de su situacion, y lo medimos con una lanza por lo prompto; cuya medida reduje despues á pies geométricos, y á poco mas ó menos es la siguiente.

"Está la casa quadrilonga, y perfectamente á los quatro vientos cardinales, Este, Oeste, Norte, y Sur, y al rededor están unas ruinas que indican algun cerco, ó muralla, que encerraba á la casa, y otros edificios particularmente en las esquinas en donde parece habia alguna fabrica como castillo interior, ó atalaya, pues en el esquina que cae al Sud-oeste hai un pedazo de pie con sus divisiones, y un alto. La cerca exterior tiene de Norte á Sur 420 pies*, y de Este á Oeste 260. Lo interior de la casa se compone de cinco salas; las tres iguales en medio, y una en cada extremo mas largas. Las tres salas tienen de Norte á Sur 26 pies, y de Este á Oeste 10. Las dos salas de los extremos tienen de Norte á Sur 12 pies, y de Este á Oeste 38. Las salas tienen de alto 11 pies, y todas son iguales. Las puertas de comunicacion tienen de alto 5 pies, y de ancho 2, y son casi iguales todas, excepto las quatro primeras de las quatro entradas, que parece eran otro tanto anchas. Lo grueso de las paredes interiores quatro pies, y estan bien ensaradas, y de las externas 6 pies. La casa tiene por lo exterior de Norte á Sur 70 pies, y de Este á Oeste 50. Las paredes están escarpadas por de fuera. Delante de la puerta del Oriente separada de la casa, hai otra pieza que tiene de Norte á Sur 26 pies, y de Este á Oeste 18, sin el grueso de las paredes. El madera era de pino por lo que se vé, y la sierra mas cercana que tiene pinos dista unas 25 leguas; y tambien tiene algo de mesquite. Todo el edificio es de tierra, y segun las señales es tapia fabricada con cajones de varios tamaños. Viene del Rio, y de bien lejos, una acequia bien grande con que se socorria de agua la poblazion y está yá mui cegada. Por fin se conoce que tenia el edificio tres altos; y si es verdad lo que se pudo rastrear de los Indios, y por los indicios que se vieron tenia quatro, profundizado el piso de la casa á modo de pieza subterranea. Para dar luz á las piezas no se vén mas que las puertas, y unos agujeros redondos en medio de las paredes que miran al Oriente, y Poniente; y dijeron los Indios que por aquellos agujeros (que son algo grandes) miraba el Principe, que ellos llaman el hombre amargo, al Sol quando salia, y se ponia para saludarlo. No se hallaron rastros de escaleras, por lo que juzgamos que eran de madera, y se destruyeron con la quemazon que padeció el edificio por los Apaches.

"Dia 1 de Noviembre salimos de la laguna á las $9\frac{1}{2}$ de la manaña, y á la una de la tarde llegamos al pueblo de San Juan Capistrano de Uturituc haviendo caminado 4 leguas con el rumbo al Oest Noroeste. Nos recibieron los Indios, que regulé como mil almas puestos en dos filas, los hombres de un lado, y las mugeres del otro, y haviendonos apeado vinieron todos por su torno á saludarnos, y darnos la mano, primero los hombres, y luego las hombres digo mugeres, manifestando mucho contento de vernos, y nos hospedaron en una gran ramada que hicieron para este fin; delante la qual plantaron una cruz grande *aunque gentiles*, y luego trajeron agua al real para la gente. Son estos Pimas Gileños Indios mansos, y de buen corazon."—Plan. Geo. Hist. del Nuevo Descr. de el Puerto del Monte Rey.

* The East and West sides of this outer wall are, in the annexed plan, less extensive than the North and South; an inaccuracy which the description serves to rectify.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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